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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

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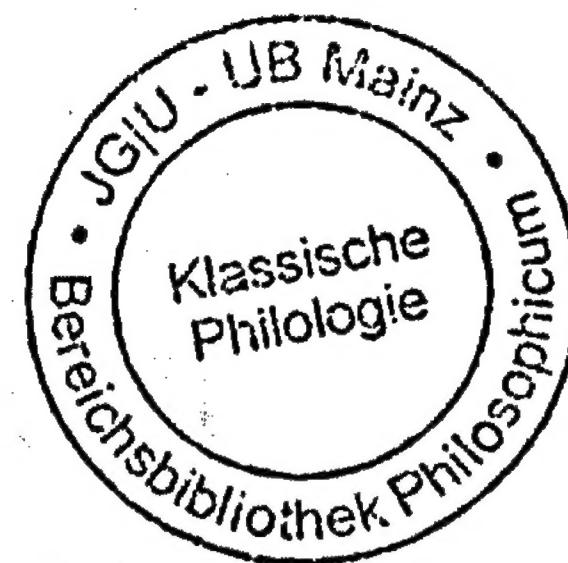
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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

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5.7.2.5	θά	1856
5.7.3	μέλλω + Infinitive	1856
5.7.4	πά (νά) + Subjunctive	1857
5.7.5	θέλω ἔρθῃ νά + Subjunctive	1857

Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes

For the general orientation of the non-specialist user of this Grammar, this correspondence table indicates the relationship between the letters of the Greek alphabet and the phonemes they represent in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. It does not include graphematic particularities such as ligatures, abbreviations, special symbols or scribal idiosyncrasies which may be encountered in manuscript, epigraphic and printed sources, for which see the specific bibliography given in section 4 of the General Introduction (Volume 1). Further details concerning allophonic, regional or other particular realizations are provided, when necessary, in the relevant phoneme sections in Phonology.

Grapheme	Phoneme	Allophone
A α	/a/	
B β	/v/	
Γ γ	/ɣ/	[j]
Δ δ	/ð/	
E ε	/e/	
Z ζ	/z/	
H η	/i/	
Θ θ	/θ/	
I ι	/i/	
K κ	/k/	[c]
Λ λ	/l/	[ʎ]
M μ	/m/	
N ν	/n/	[ɲ]
Ξ ξ	/ks/	
O ο	/o/	
Π π	/p/	
P ρ	/r/	
Σ σ ς	/s/	
T τ	/t/	
Υ υ	/y/ > /i/	
Φ φ	/f/	
Χ χ	/x/	[ç]
Ψ ψ	/ps/	
Ω ω	/o/	

Digraph	Phoneme	Allophone
αι	/e/	
αυ	/af/ - /av/	
γγ	/ng/	[ŋg] - [g]
γκ	/ng/	[ŋg] - [g]
ει	/i/	
ευ	/ef/ - /ev/	
μπ	/mb/	[b]
ντ	/nd/	[d]
οι	/y/ > /i/	
ου	/u/	
τζ	/ts/ - /dz/	
υι	/y/ > /i/	

Abbreviations

Cross-references within the Grammar are given by Chapter and Section, e.g. 2.6.3, if they refer to the same Part, but if to a different Part they begin with the relevant Part number, e.g. II, 3.1.

Periods and Dates

AG	Ancient Greek
EMedG	Early Medieval Greek
LMedG	Late Medieval Greek
EMG	Early Modern Greek
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
ca.	circa
c.	century

General

app. crit.	apparatus criticus
f., ff.	folio(s)
ibid.	in the same text, i.e. the one cited immediately before
id./idem/eadem	by the same author
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
vs.	versus

Grammatical Terms

acc.	accusative
act.	active
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
F/fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
M/masc.	masculine
N/neut.	neuter
NP	noun phrase

List of Abbreviations

xxi

nom.	nominative
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural (e.g. 3 pl. = 3rd person plural)
pluperf.	pluperfect
PP	prepositional phrase
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular (e.g. 1 sg. = 1st person singular)
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Languages

Alb.	Albanian
Fr.	French
IE	Indo-European
Ital.	Italian
MedLat.	Medieval Latin
Lat.	Latin
Occit.	Occitan
OFr.	Old French
Port.	Portuguese
Rom.	Romanian
Slav.	Slavonic
Turk.	Turkish
Ven.	Venetian

Part III

Verb Morphology

1 Introduction

Part III deals with the morphology of the verb. It is divided into four sections: Verb Morphology (Chapters 2–4) and Morphosyntax (5). The verb morphology sections discuss how synthetic verb forms are made up, from the formation of the imperfective and perfective stems to conjugation (i.e. endings) and the addition of the augment in past-tense forms. Morphosyntax deals with periphrastic, or auxiliary verb, constructions.

1.1 Overview of Developments in the Verbal System

1.1.1 Stems

Due to the demise of the perfect and the synthetic future in the post-classical period the verbal system of LMedG and EMG, as SMG, relied on two stems to form all its moods and tenses: the imperfective or present stem and the perfective or aorist stem.

From Antiquity onwards, the Greek verbal system had been subject to various processes of simplification, regularization and analogical levelling, especially in the imperfective stem. Verbs in $-\mu$ had gradually lost their athematic formation and acquired thematic imperfective stems, while the copula $\epsilon\iota\mu$ was remodelled into a passive paradigm. Verbs in $-\sigma\sigma\omega$ (Attic $-\tau\tau\omega$) had long before started to form new imperfective stems modelled on verbs in $-\zeta\omega$, based on the fact that both verb classes had perfective stems in [ks] (see 2.2.1.3); as a consequence, verbs in $-\zeta\omega$ sometimes acquired alternatives in $-\sigma\sigma\omega$ (e.g. $\tau\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega > \tau\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$). Interaction between barytone verbs, i.e. verbs that bear the stress on the verb stem such as $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$, and oxytone verbs, i.e. verbs that bear the stress on their endings such as the A-stem verb $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\omega}$ and the E-stem verb $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$, continues into the period covered by this Grammar, with the spread of the verbal affixes $-l\zeta\omega$, $-\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ and $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ / $-\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omega$ at the expense of oxytone $-\acute{\omega}$, a development that, again, predates the period covered by this Grammar.

Verbs with nasal stems in $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $-\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, which had identical imperfective and perfective stems, underwent an extensive levelling process before the period covered by this Grammar, acquiring new imperfective verb stems in $-\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu$.

Long before the LMedG period oxytone O-stem verbs such as $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}$ and $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}$ had acquired new barytone stems in $-\acute{\omega}\nu$ (HORROCKS 2010: 305). The earliest example of this found so far occurs in a 4th-c. papyrus: $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota \acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota \delta\lambda\eta\nu \tau\eta\nu \kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\eta\nu$ *P.Nepheros* 19 (see www.papyri.info). Addition of /n/ is a trend that can also be observed in other verb classes such as barytone vowel stems (e.g. $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega > \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$), stems ending in /r/ (e.g. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega > \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\nu\omega$), spreading to /l/ ($\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega > \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\nu\omega$) and certain velar stems ($\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\kappa\omega > \delta\iota\acute{\omega}\chi\nu\omega$) in the period covered by this Grammar. Moreover, barytone vowel-stem verbs

may become consonant stems through the addition of <γ> (ἀκούω > ἀκούγω) or make a partial or full transfer to the oxytone paradigm (e.g. λύω > λυῶ). As a result, certain consonant stems in -γ may lose their consonant and acquire vowel-stem alternatives, after which one of the two consecutive vowels may be deleted in all persons but 1 sg., e.g. λέγω > λέω, λές.

The perfective stem generally remained more stable. The majority of verbs, both barytone and oxytone, continue to have a sigmatic perfective stem, which may show phonological developments such as the dissimilation of /fs/ to /ps/ in the active voice of verbs in -εύω and -ούω and of /fθ/ to /ft/, /sθ/ to /st/ and /xθ/ to /xt/ in the passive voice (see I, 3.8.1). Regionally /ft/ and /xt/ can subsequently "re-assimilate" and become /pt/ and /kt/ respectively (see 2.2.1.2.2, 2.2.1.3.2). Other, non-phonological, developments include the appearance of a velar in certain nasal stems, e.g. μαζώνω, μαζώξω (2.2.1.5.1); and the appearance of /ks/ in certain oxytone verbs by analogy with barytone verbs in -άζω and -ίζω with an underlying velar: e.g. ἐρωτῶ, ἐρώτηξα; πλαντῶ, ἐπλάνταξα (2.2.1.9.2, 2.2.1.9.4). Certain verbs, both barytone and oxytone, have an alternative aorist indicative in -κα. This is not restricted to inherited ἔδωκα, ἄφηκα, ἔθηκα and εὔρηκα (originally a perfect), but also extends to βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives, to certain verbs in -ώνω (e.g. ἐγλύτωκα, ἐπλήρωκα), certain oxytone verbs (e.g. ἔποικα, ἐβάρηκα), and to a few other isolated verbs (ἔπεκε for ἔπεσε) (see 2.2.1.10.1). These /k/-stems, especially of δίδω and ἀφήνω, but sporadically also of other verbs, are sometimes also employed in non-past forms, such as the subjunctive, the gerund, the infinitive and the imperative (see 2.2.1.10.2).

Verbs that do not have a sigmatic perfective stem can be divided into two categories: those with a liquid/nasal perfective stem (2.2.2.1) and those with a thematic perfective stem (2.2.2.2). The first group includes certain inherited verbs with an imperfective stem ending in a nasal (e.g. λαμβάνω, κρίνω) or liquid (e.g. ἀγγέλλω, σφάλλω). The second group includes verbs that had a thematic (second) aorist in AG (e.g. βάλλω, ἔρχομαι), which usually retain their inherited perfective stem, though some transfer to the sigmatic formation (e.g. prefixed forms of ἄγω, λείπω, τρέχω). The verbs τρώγω and ὑπάγω may lose their intervocalic /γ/ in their perfective stems φαγ- and ὑπαγ-, after which, similarly to imperfective vowel stems, the second of the two consecutive vowels may be deleted in all persons but 1 sg., e.g. subjunctive φάω, φᾶς; πᾶω, πᾶς; aorist indicative ἔφας (see 2.2.2.3).

1.1.2 Participles

Throughout the LMedG and EMG periods two participles remain in use: the present passive participle and the perfect passive participle.

The present participle had a wider use in the period covered by this Grammar than in SMG, and is not restricted to passivizable and deponent verbs, even appearing with active meaning with verbs that lack passive morphology (e.g. πηγαινόμενος, τρεμούμενος). Its use is mainly adverbial, comparable to the gerund, or adjectival. There is variation in the thematic vowels: for barytone verbs it may be inherited /o/, /u/ (originally that of oxytone E- and O-stem verbs) or /a/ (originally that of the middle aorist); for oxytone verbs /u/ is by far the most common for both E-stem and A-stem verbs (see 2.3.1.2).

Inherited perfect participles, mainly in unreduplicated form, remained in use after the demise of the perfect, functioning as verbal adjectives and used in periphrastic tenses such as the perfect and the pluperfect. The participle remained a very productive verbal category. New "perfect" participles were formed by adding -μένος to the aorist stem (see 2.3.2). For the declension of these participles see II, 3.2.1.

1.1.3 The Augment

The augment remains widely in use in the period covered by this Grammar to mark a verb form for past tense (aorist or imperfect). The syllabic augment, employed with verbs that start in a consonant, is generally /e/, though /i/ occurs widely with a few specific verbs and regionally with all verbs (see 3.1.2). The temporal (or quantitative) augment, employed with verbs starting in a vowel, has ceased to be a productive category in the period covered by this Grammar, limiting itself mainly to inherited verbs (3.1.4). In consonant-initial compound verbs, external /e/ augment only is by far the most common (e.g. ἐνεφροκοποῦνταν, ἐπερνοδιόβαινε; see 3.2.1). In vowel-initial verbs, sometimes the temporal augment is used (e.g. ἡκροεκύσπαζε, ἡύχαριστεί; see 3.2.2.1), but more often the forms remain un-augmented (ἀκροστάθηκα, οἰκονομήθη, ὁμολόγησαν; 3.2.2.5) or the /e/ augment replaces the initial vowel of the verb (e.g. ἐκροβάσταξεν, ἐκονόμησεν, ἐμολόγησε; 3.2.2.2). Verbs that are prefixed with a preposition, on the other hand, may have internal augment, external augment, both or neither, syllabic or temporal, leading to great variation (see the introduction to 3.3).

1.1.4 Conjugation

In the period covered by this Grammar the verbal system has two voices: the active and the passive (sometimes called mediopassive), the middle voice having fallen into disuse long before the LMedG period (see 4.9.1 and 4.9.2). Three of the four moods remain: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative. There are three synthetic tenses: the present, the aorist and the imperfect; the future, the perfect, the pluperfect and the future perfect are expressed periphrastically (see Chapter 5). Alternative periphrastic constructions also exist for the aorist indicative and the imperfect (5.6), as well as for the subjunctive (5.7). Invariable verbal categories include the infinitive (4.6) and the innovative gerund (4.7).

There is tremendous innovation and variation in the conjugation of verbs, especially in the passive voice. For some persons and tenses it is easier to establish which form has the more general use than for others. Some show great chronological and/or regional variation, others, notably 2 pl., surprisingly little.

In the LMedG and EMG periods oxytone E-stem verbs are under pressure from A-stems, and A-stem endings are widely employed with E-stem verbs. Furthermore, towards the end of the LMedG period E-stems also become influenced by the barytone paradigm, adding active past-tense endings for 2 sg. and 3 sg. and the sg. ending of the imperative to modify less transparent forms, e.g. imperf. ἐκάλει > ἐκάλειε, ἐκάλεις > ἐκάλειες (4.3.2); imp. κάλει > κάλειε (4.5.1.2). In the imperfective passive voice, too, the endings of the barytone

paradigm are employed, starting with 3 sg. and 2 sg. Strikingly, the /i/ of the earlier ending is retained (often simplified from <ει> to <ι>): βαρεῖσαι > βαρειέσαι, βαρεῖται > βαρειέται; ἐβαρεῖτον > ἐβαρειέτον. Contrary to the active voice, where the phenomenon is limited to forms with /i/ in their ending, in the passive voice the resulting semivowel /j/ spread to other forms as well: e.g. βαροῦμαι > βαρειόμαι; κρατοῦνται > κρατειόνται. A little later /u/ was reintroduced in these forms: βαρειοῦμαι, κρατιοῦνται (see 2.1.2.2.4).

The endings of the present and aorist subjunctives had been replaced with those of the present indicative, as due to sound change they had become largely homophonous. This development predates the LMedG period by many centuries (see 4.2).

A small group of verbs, namely μπορῶ, μέλλω, θέλω and πᾶω, present the following peculiarity: when used impersonally followed by the conjunction νά, univerbation of the verb and the conjunction into a single lexeme may occur, resulting in μπορά (see 4.1.2.1), μελλά (see 5.1.2), θελά (see 5.1.4.5) and πᾶ (see 2.4 s.v. ὑπάγω) followed by a bare subjunctive (see BAKKER 1988/89: 304 on μπορά and πᾶ in Varouchas).

In past-tense morphology (aorist indicative and imperfect) a common set of past-tense endings, combining elements from the aorist, the imperfect and the perfect, had been introduced for the active voice of barytone verbs: -α, -ες, -ε(ν), -αμε(ν), -ετε, -αν/-ασι(ν) (BABINIOTIS 1972: 203–31; HORROCKS 2010: 318–19). For the passive imperfect various innovations on the old middle forms came into being, the most common of which end in -μουν for 1 sg., -σουν for 2 sg., -μεστε/-μεσθε for 1 pl. and -νταν for 3 pl. (see 4.3). In texts of northern provenance the imperfect and aorist indicative show columnar stress, e.g. ἐπαιζα, ἐπαιζόμεν; ἔγραφα, ἔγραψάμεν, ἐστάθηκα, ἐστάθηκάμεν (see 4.3.1 and 4.4 and cf. NEWTON 1973: 220–1 for the same phenomenon in modern northern dialects).

The aorist indicative shows less variation than the imperfect. The AG thematic aorist in -ον occurs residually, with minor regional variation (see 4.4.1.2). Other than that, all verbs make use of the common set of past-tense endings for the active voice and select from two alternative sets of endings for the passive, inherited -ην and innovative -ηκα (see 4.4.2). In texts with Pontic features evidence has been found for the modern Pontic passive aorist indicative, which is formed by adding the active past-tense endings to the passive verb stem (see 4.4.2).

The active present imperative of barytone verbs makes use of the inherited endings -ε (2 sg.) and -ετε (2 pl.), whereas oxytone verbs have inherited -α, -ᾱτε for both A- and E-stem verbs, and -ει, -εῖτε for E-stem verbs. The passive present imperative is inherited -ου and -εσθε/-εστε for barytone verbs, and for oxytone verbs -οῦ (originally that of E-stem verbs) and -ᾱσθε/-ᾱστε (originally that of A-stem verbs), or -εῖσθε/-εῖστε (E-stem verbs only). There is some regional variation to be noted (see 4.5). The active aorist imperative of barytone and oxytone verbs ends in -ε and -ετε. Certain verbs have active imperatives in -α, -ᾱτε (4.5.1.1.1).

The passive aorist imperative has two main alternatives for the singular: -ου and -ησε, the first borrowed from the present, and the second a reanalysis of the old form in -ητι. For the plural the most common ending is -εῖτε/-ῆτε, which is in fact the ending of the subjunctive replacing that of the imperative (-ητε) (see 4.5.2.2). Certain verbs have passive imperatives in -α, -ᾱτε (4.5.2.3).

The active and passive present and aorist infinitives are the only ones that survived into the period covered by this Grammar. The active present infinitive of barytone verbs ends in -ει(ν) (see 4.6.1.1.1), as does the active aorist infinitive of both barytone and oxytone verbs (4.6.2.1). The passive present infinitive ends in -εσθαι/-εσται for barytone verbs (see 4.6.1.2.1), in -ᾱσθαι/-ᾱσται for oxytone A- and E-stems, whereas -εῖσθαι/-εῖσται is only employed with E-stem verbs (4.6.1.2.2). The passive aorist infinitive adopted -εῖ(ν) for -ῆναι long before the LMedG period (see 4.6). Verbs with a thematic active aorist develop alternative paroxytone variants in -ει(ν) instead of oxytone -εῖ(ν) from the 11th/12th c. onwards (see 4.6.2.3).

The innovative category of the invariable gerund developed from the active present participle in -ων, during a long process that took place before the LMedG period (see 4.7). It originally ended in -οντα for barytone verbs, and for oxytone A- and E-stem verbs in -ῶντα (originally A-stem) or -οῦντα (originally E-stem). In the LMedG period, the present-day SMG variants in -ντας emerge (4.7.1). Contrary to SMG, LMedG and EMG also have aorist gerunds in -ντα(ς) (4.7.2). There is some regional variation in the formation of the gerund.

The chapter on conjugation concludes with a section on the rich morphology of the verb εἶμαι, which had started gradually to move over from the -μι paradigm to a passive one, with variation comparable to the passive voice of other verbs (see 4.8).

1.1.5 Morphosyntax

By the beginning of the LMedG period the synthetic future, perfect, pluperfect and future perfect had disappeared from the spoken language and had been replaced by various analytic constructions.

The future tense can be formed with νά + subjunctive, or with an auxiliary verb such as μέλλω, θέλω or ἔχω (see 5.1) with various complementations among which the infinitive, the subjunctive, and νά + subjunctive. Alternative formations of the future include θε(ν) νά + subjunctive, θά + subjunctive and εἶμαι νά + subjunctive.

The future periphrases with an auxiliary verb have past-tense counterparts, which are used to express future in the past, conditionality and/or counterfactuality (see 5.2). The complementation of these auxiliary verbs shows the same variation as that of the future. Regionally, there is even a past-tense equivalent ἦθε(ν) for invariable θε(ν) (see 5.2.3.6). Cypriot Greek is unique in using ἦρτα, the aorist indicative of ἔρχομαι, as an auxiliary to form the conditional (see 5.2.5).

Periphrastic constructions for the pluperfect emerge in the LMedG period. The first, εἶχα + active or passive infinitive, evolved from the conditional. The second, εἶχα + perfect passive participle, evolved from the use of εἶχα + (adjectival) participle in apposition, denoting a stative past equivalent to an imperfect. The passive of this construction is formed by substituting ἦμουν for εἶχα. In the EMG period ἦθελα + infinitive, common for the conditional, starts to be used for the pluperfect as well, though this is regionally restricted to texts from southern areas. Furthermore, various regionally differentiated complementations can be found for εἶχα, ἦμουν and ἦθελα including the subjunctive, the gerund, verbal adjectives and even nouns (see 5.3).

The most common periphrasis for the perfect indicative is ἔχω + perfect passive participle for the active voice and εἶμαι + perfect passive participle for the passive (see 5.4.1). Sporadically the present passive participle is substituted for the perfect. The same construction can be found in Venetian-ruled areas with a past participle in -δος. Regionally a verbal adjective in -τός may replace the participle (see 5.4.1.3), whereas in texts from Crete the gerund may take its place (5.4.1.5). A construction consisting of ἔχω + noun occurs quite regularly with certain nouns (5.4.1.4). Finally, the SMG perfect ἔχω + aorist infinitive appears towards the very end of the period covered by this Grammar and is geographically restricted to texts of northern provenance (5.4.1.6).

Although in theory all ways in which a future can be formed could be used to form the future perfect as well, this is not the case. Because the future perfect is much rarer than the future, variation is more limited: very few examples have for instance been found with νά and μέλλω νά. The most common way of expressing past in the future is the perfect infinitive (ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle; regionally ἔχει(ν) + gerund or ἔχει(ν) + loanword in -δος) preceded by θέλω, which marks it for future (see 5.5).

It is not uncommon for the ἦθελα and εἶχα constructions to be equivalent to an aorist indicative or an imperfect rather than a conditional or pluperfect (see 5.6).

Before and in LMedG and EMG even the subjunctive can be expressed periphrastically, most commonly by the future periphrases ἔχω or θέλω + infinitive (see 5.7.1, 5.7.2), and regionally by other future constructions such as θέ νά and θά + subjunctive (5.7.2.4 and 5.7.2.5).

1.2 Paradigms and Tables

For each paradigm, several tables are provided. Each section starts off with a synoptic table of all forms found in the texts examined, in the form of a paradigm. Where applicable, the variant forms of the paradigm are divided into three categories: **General** for endings – either inherited or innovative – that are widely in use in the period under investigation; **Restricted** for endings with a more limited geographical or chronological distribution; **Rare** for endings that have been found in one or very few texts. The endings are then discussed and documented for each person separately under the heading *Distribution of allomorphs*. Whenever there is variation in the ending for the same person, the different endings are grouped together based on morphological correspondence, and treated – where possible – in chronological order of appearance, and/or according to geographical spread.

Phenomena that occur across parts of speech and are often of a phonetic nature will be mentioned briefly in order to draw the reader's attention to their existence, but for details the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Phonology (Part I). Such phenomena include, for instance, deletion of final /n/ and addition of -(ν)ε. Idiosyncratic and clearly graphematic forms found in a collection of documents from Ikaria, in which the vowel of the ending is repeated after the final consonant, e.g. πουλούνου, παραδίδουνου, πᾶνα for πουλοῦν, παραδίδουν, πᾶν (but also υἱόσο for υἱός, Νικόλασσα for Νικόλας, μάρτυρεσε for μάρτυρες, πέραμανα for πέραμαν, τὸ ἀληθέσε for τὸ ἀληθές, ἐδικόσο for ἐδικός) have not been included in the paradigm descriptions, but are discussed in I, 2.6.3.

2 Stem Formation

As mentioned in Chapter 1, by the beginning of the LMedG period most major developments in verb stem formation had already taken place. Moreover, from the classical period onwards, a process of extensive analogical levelling had been at work throughout the verb system, adapting anomalous, or at least less transparent, classes of verbs to more regular paradigms (for overviews of developments in verbal stems see CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 266–306; BABINIOTIS 1972; KATSOUDA 2007 and HORROCKS 2010: 303–16).

The synthetic future had started to disappear from the spoken language in Late Antiquity (JANNARIS 1897: 553); nevertheless certain residual monolectic futures are still used occasionally, especially those which display formal similarity with the aorist subjunctive (see 4.9.2.4). The same holds true for the perfect, which had started to merge semantically with the aorist in the Koine, and contributed to the development of a common set of past-tense endings by supplying the ending -ασι as an alternative for 3 pl. -αν. There is not enough convincing textual evidence to corroborate the commonly held view that many perfects began a new life as aorists by substituting an augment for their reduplication (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 74–5; JANNARIS 1897: 190–1 and 440; HORROCKS 2010: 176–8): the only perfects that survived as aorists are those which originally had an augment, or an initial [e] that could be reinterpreted as an augment, such as εὔρηκα. Other aorists in -κα appeared long after the demise of the perfect and are the result of an analogy with aorists such as ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα (see 2.2.1.10). Apart from the occasional residual form, such as γέγονα or οἶδα, the only form of the perfect that remained in use, as an adjective and in periphrastic constructions, was the (mostly unreduplicated) perfect passive participle in -μένος; because the perfect stem had fallen into disuse, new “perfect” passive participles were formed from the aorist stem, e.g. περασμένος from περνῶ, περασ- (where AG had only an active participle: πεπερακώς); for details, see 2.3.2. Thus, in the LMedG and EMG periods, as in MG, the verbal system relies on two stems to form all its tenses: the imperfective or present stem and the perfective or aorist stem.

Long before the period covered by this Grammar -μι verbs had gradually lost their athematic formation and acquired thematic imperfective verb stems, starting with verbs in -(ν)υμι, which already in AG sometimes had alternatives in -ύω (e.g. ὀμνύω < ὀμνυμι, GIGNAC 1981: 375), and spreading subsequently to other -μι verbs. AG ἵστημι and ἵσταμαι were replaced by (ι)στένω/σταίνω/στήνω (< aor. ἔστησα) and στήκω/στήκομαι/στέκω/στέκομαι (< perf. ἔστηκα) respectively, the deponent verbs δύναμαι and κάθημαι developed thematic variants in -ομαι, while εἶμι was remodelled into a passive paradigm (see 4.8). This process was completed by the EMedG period (HORROCKS 2010: 304). Sporadically, residual forms of -μι verbs are used in the period covered by this Grammar, especially in early texts, often alongside forms of the newer variants.

Verbs in -σσω (Attic -ττω) started to form new imperfective stems modelled on verbs in -ζω (e.g. συντάζω < συντάσσω, τινάζω < τινάσσω), with which they had their perfective stems in [ks] in common, starting already in AG, and becoming more frequent from the Koine onwards (DIETERICH 1898: 233, GIGNAC 1981: 271–2). The reverse development is also attested (σφάττω < σφάζω, ἀρμόττω < ἀρμόζω). In the LMedG and EMG periods forms with -ζ are used alongside forms with -σσ and -ττ, and some verbs develop an alternative stem in -γ (see 2.1.1.1.3).

The spread of the verbal affixes -ιζω, -άζω and -άνω/-αίνω at the expense of oxytone -άω and -έω can already be observed in Ptolemaic papyri (MAYSER 1923: 466). This trend continues before and into the period under review (see 2.1.3.2). The reverse phenomenon also occurs, e.g. βαστῶ for βαστάζω is first attested in the 10th-c. *Life of St Andrew the Fool* (see LBG, s.v. βαστάω).

In the Hellenistic period confusion arose regarding the contracted forms of oxytone A- and E-stems, so that we can observe a tendency to use the ου-forms of the E-stems instead of the ω-forms of the A-stems, and the α-forms of the A-stems instead of the ει-forms of the E-stems (BLASS et al. 1961: 45–6). This trend continues to manifest itself throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see Chapter 4, *passim*).

From about the 7th c. onwards contract verbs in -όω started to acquire new imperfective stems in -ών (DIETERICH 1898: 230–1), following a clear trend of substituting imperfective -ν- for perfective -σ- (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 408, PSALTES 1913: 235–6). This trend had already manifested itself in other verb classes such as barytone vowel stems, e.g. χύν(ν)ω < χέω on the basis of the aorist ἐχύθην, which can already be found in compound verbs in the New Testament (BLASS et al. 1961: 39) (see also 2.1.1.2). In the MedG period this nasal subsequently spread to liquid stems in -ρ: not only to those with identical imperfective and perfective stems, e.g. φέρνω < φέρω, σύρνω < σύρω, but also to those with distinct imperfective and perfective stems, both barytone, e.g. (ἐ)παίρνω < ἐπαίρω and oxytone, e.g. περνῶ < περῶ (HORROCKS 2010: 305–6). The earliest example found so far, quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 229, is the form ἔπαιρνε in Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 224.21 (8th–9th c.; ed. De Boor), which also has περνοῦσι ibid. 234.9. Textual evidence for the same phenomenon with liquid stems in -λ has not been found before the 14th c.; see 2.1.2.2.1. In, or shortly before, the period covered by this Grammar, this nasal started to affect certain velar stems as well, producing forms such as διώχνω < διώκω – resulting in a morpheme -χν- that could be used to form new imperfective stems for various other verbs that did not originally have a velar stem, such as ψάχνω (< ψάύω), σπρώχνω (< εἰσπρώθω), φτιάχνω (< φτιάζω < εὐθειάζω) (see 2.1.1.1.4).

The desire to distinguish imperfective from perfective stems led to verbs with nasal stems in -αν and -υν being subjected to an extensive levelling process already in Hellenistic times, acquiring new imperfective verb stems in -αίν (JANNARIS 1897: 228), modelled on a large class of verbs in -αίνω that had perfective stems in -αν (HORROCKS 2010: 306–7). Before the 12th c. this group came to include new formations for the AG verbs λαγχάνω, λανθάνω, μανθάνω, τυγχάνω, λαμβάνω and πάσχω (the last through an intermediate analogical form πανθάνω attested from the 2nd c. AD (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 407 and 411)), which had already lost the nasal in their stems: λαβαίνω < λαβάνω, λαχαίνω < λαχάνω, μαθαίνω < μαθάνω, παθαίνω < παθάνω and τυχαίνω < τυχάνω; λαθαίνω < λαθάνω was

to follow this development in the LMedG period. The affix -αίνω remains productive well into the period covered by this Grammar, producing alternative forms which in the texts examined are usually used alongside older variants (see 2.1.1.1.6).

Before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, verbs in -εύω and -αύω appear with an intrusive /γ/, a phenomenon that can be traced back to at least the 8th c. (JANNARIS 1897: 220) and that manifests itself frequently after /v/. It is very frequent in southern areas such as Crete, Cyprus, the Cyclades, the Heptanese, the Dodecanese and S. Italy, but it can also be found in texts from Athos and Constantinople (provenance of authors unknown), and in texts of uncertain provenance. For details on chronological and geographical spread, see I, 3.5.2.2. See also 2.1.1.1.1.

2.1 Imperfective Stem

The imperfective stem of verbs is used with active and passive endings to form the present indicative and subjunctive (4.1), the imperfect (4.3), the present imperative (4.5.1), the present infinitive (4.6.1), the gerund (4.7.1) and the present passive participle (see 2.3.1 and II, 3.2.1).

2.1.1 Barytone Verbs

Barytone verbs are verbs in which the stress in the present indicative/subjunctive falls on the stem, not on the ending of the verb. These verbs can be divided into verbs with consonant stems and verbs with vowel stems.

2.1.1.1 Consonant Stems

Consonant-stem verbs can be divided into six groups: labial stems, of which the stem ends in /v/, /p/, /f/ or /pt/; dental stems, ending in /ð/, /θ/ or /t/; sibilant stems, in /s/ or /z/; velar stems, in /γ/, /g/, /k/ or /x/; liquid stems, in /l/ or /r/; and nasal stems, in /m/ or /n/.

2.1.1.1.1 Labial Stems

Labial-stem verbs are verbs with an imperfective stem ending in /v/ (= -β and -ευ/-αυ), /p/, /f/ or /pt/, e.g. κρίβω, τρίβω, παύω, δουλεύω, επιτρέπω, λείπω, ἀλείφω, στρέφω, καλύπτω, κόπτω. Most imperfective labial stems remain stable, but verbs with stems in -πτ can follow two paths: -φτ- and -β-, the first being a regular phonological development, e.g. κόφτω, κλέφτω, σκάφτω, βλάφτω, ἄφτω, ἀστράφτω, ράφτω, θάφτω, σκύφτω, πέφτω (< πίπτω),¹ the second a morphological innovation. In the texts examined forms with -πτ- are generally the most common. Forms with -φτ- appear in documents and manuscripts from the 12th c. onwards, and throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

¹ πέφτω < πίπτω follows the phonological development -πτ- > -φτ-, after adopting the vowel [e] of the perfective stem πεισ-.

κλέφτουσιν (1154, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 23, 142.9)
 υπέσκαφταν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.20)
 σκύφτω *Ptoch. IV* 134 app. crit. (P)
 κόφτει τὸν δρόμον (late 14th–early 15th c., Athos? Limnos?, KRAVARI 1991: App., 195.27)
 κλέφτει *Assizes A* 72.3; ράφτει *ibid.* 73.13
 ἥστραφτεν *Spanos B* 2
 τίς κόφτει το καὶ τίς ράφτει το; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 83.1d)
 ἀποὺ ἄφτει στέκεται εἰς τὸ λαμπρόν *Fior Suppl.* 269.29
 ἐκόφτουσαν τα δύο φουσάτα *Diig. Alex. K* 354.14
 μύγα νὰ χάφτη ὁ νηστικός *Stathis II*.252
 κλέφτω GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. rubbare*; θάφτω *ibid. s.v. sepolire*
 ἀναφταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §36.88; κόφτονται *ibid. III* §29.18; τὸν θάφτουν *ibid. III* §29.66
 ὁποῖος δὲ λαλεῖ τὸ θάφτουν *Paroim.* (Warner) 79.2
 ἐκλεφε (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 45, 256.10)
 ἐκεῖνο τότε βλάφτει KORNAROS, *Erot. III*.6

Sometimes <φτ> becomes <φθ> through hypercorrection (for which see I, 3.8.1.4):

κλέφθοντάς με (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 13, 50.6)
 σκάφθουν *Alex. Rim.* 1732
 καὶ ἔσκυφθαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.34
 ἔσκαφθε τὴν γῆν *Düg. Alex. F* 200.4

Imperfective stems in -β (-φ in the case of βάφω < βάπτω) are formed from the perfective stem in [ps], by analogy with verbs in -βω such as τρίβω, θλίβω, ἀμείβω and κρύβω.² The last, from AG κρύπτω, can be found since the Hellenistic period, in the *Septuagint*, Diodorus Siculus, Flavius Josephus, Babrius and Phrynichus.³ It first appears in present and imperfect passive forms, and is the result of a reanalysis from 2nd aor. pass. ἐκρύβην (GIGNAC 1981: 284); active forms can be found from at least the early 4th c. AD.⁴ Other forms with -β- are absent from 12th-c. texts:

βλάβει *Chron. Toc.* 3446
 ὅχι μόνον τοῦ λόγου σας βλάβετε (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.141)
 καὶ ἐκλέβανε τὰ φλωρία *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.26
 νὰ μοῦ πέβης γραφή (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7)
 κόβου κρίσεις καὶ ἔξοδες (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 4, 32.6)
 σπῖσω τουσε πέβει STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 562 (Pidonia) (spelled πεύει in the edition)
 ὁ κακὸς τινὰν δὲν βλάβει PAPASYNAD., *Chron. III* §32.38
 ἔβαφε τὰ γένια του *Alex. Fyll.* 107.25
 κανεῖς σκοντάβει ἐκεῖ ποὺ φέγγει ὁ Θεὸς *Irodis I*.115
 πέβει KATSAITIS, *Klathmos II*.511

² Verbs in -εύω and -αύω are generally seen as another source for the change from -πτω to -βω (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 403–4; JANNARIS 1897: 223; HORROCKS 2010: 312), but it is debatable whether the development of their perfective stem from -ευσ to -εψ occurred early enough to justify this supposition (see 2.2.1.2).

³ Phrynichus (2nd c. AD) advises his readers not to use forms with -β-: κρύβεται φεύγει διὰ τοῦ β λέγειν καὶ κρύβεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ πτ κρύπτεται καὶ κρύπτεσθαι φαθί *Eclogae* 290.1. For κρύβω see also DIETERICH 1898: 233.

⁴ E.g. ἐκρυβεν in the *Gospel of James* 26.8 (2nd-c. text, transmitted in a 4th-c. papyrus; see the online TLG).

An added <γ> to verb stems in -β, probably by analogy with verbs in -εύω and -αύω, for which forms with an epenthetic <γ> can be found as early as the 8th c. (JANNARIS 1897: 220), is not uncommon (for details see also I, 3.5.2.2):

ἀνάβγασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 3718
 περὶ τοῦ ράφτη ὁποῦ ράβγει *Assizes B* 322.11
 σκαταλείβομεν, τράγε, τὴν μορφὴν σου *Spanos D* 1544–5
 τὸ πέβγω *Theseid Prol.* E 240
 νίβγεται FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 266
 ὦδ' ἔνε, ἀμμέ κρύβγεις τὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 428.12; ἐκόβγαν τὴν κεφαλὴν σου *ibid.* 480.13
 κόβγει καὶ ρίβγει τα χαμαὶ *Fior* 92.22; ὁ Θεὸς ξιλίβγει δλους τοὺς διπροσώπους *ibid.* 121.40
 κόβγε δύο φέρσες (16th c., DELATTE 1946: 495.22)
 νὰ τοὺς κόβγει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 25.9
 κλέβγου (1603, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 1, 27.17)
 ράβγω GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. cuscire*; σκύβγω *ibid. s.v. inchinarsi in terra*; τρίβγω *ibid. s.v. macerare*; κλέβγω *ibid. s.v. rubbare*; σκάβγω *ibid. s.v. scavare*; θάβγω *ibid. s.v. sepolire*
 ἐνίβγαν PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1381
 ἐσκό<ν>ταβγαν *Vios Aisop.* I 266.20
 ἐριβγεν *Thrinis Kypr.* 166; ἐθάβγαν τοὺς *ibid.* 309
 δὲν κρύβγομαι *Irodis V*.368
 ἐκοβγέ μου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos II*.176; ἤξευρε νὰ ἀρπάζη καὶ νὰ κλέβγη *ibid. II*.243

Sporadically a nasal is added to the labial stem, resulting in forms with -φν-, which have been found in Cretan texts and in the 17th-c. grammar of Romanos Nikiforou, who was from Thessaloniki:

πεζέφνει KORNAROS, *Erot. IV*.1768 and 1770; στρέφνου *ibid. V*.506
 σκοντάφνουσι TROILOS, *Rodol. Interm.* III.14
 ξεπέφνω ROMANOS, *Grammar* 126.7

Alternative forms with -φ- instead of -β- have been found in Cypriot and Cretan texts:

ἐσγάφαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 590.34 (σκάπτω)
 ἀποὺ σγάφει τὸν γοῦππον πέφτει μέσα *Fior* 118.33
 τὰ ὁποῖα γνάφονται (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 309, 308.58) (γνάπτω)
 ὁποῦ γνάφουσι τὰ πετσά LANDOS, *Geopon.* 272.25–6
 νὰ μὲν κρύφουσιν ὄνομαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 264 (κρύπτω)

After verbs in -εύω had developed perfective stems in -εψ (for which see 2.2.1.2), confusion could occur between verbs in -εύω and other labial stems with [e], as in the following 15th-c. example, in which μεταστρέφω has become μεταστρεύ(γ)ω: στὸν Ἄδην, θὲς γῆ στανικῶς, ὁποῦ ἄθες μεταστρεύγεις.⁵

The verb παύω has a regional variant imperfective stem παυτ-, for which see 2.4. A similar formation is στρέφτω (< στρέφω), found in *Pistikos voskos*: πάλι ἐσὺ στρέφτεις *Pist. voskos III* 1.6; καὶ στρέφτω καὶ κτυπῶ *ibid. III* 2.82.

⁵ This verse is part of a tetrastich jotted down by the Cretan notary Cirillo Gradenigo in a book of acts dated 1491; quoted in KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: οδ', fn. 143.

The verb ρίπτω develops alternative imperfective stems in -χν and -κτ modelled on velar stems such as διώχνω (< διώκω), for which see 2.1.1.1.4.

2.1.1.1.2 Dental Stems

Dental-stem verbs are a small group of verbs that have an imperfective stem ending in /δ/, /θ/ or /t/, e.g. the rare σπεύδω, which was largely replaced by σπουδάζω, and verbs such as γνῶθω (< γινώσκω), κλώθω, νιώθω, πείθω, θέτω (< τίθημι), πλάττω and φρίττω.

Verbs in -ττω (the Attic variant of Ionic and Koine -σσω) that have a perfective stem in -σ (πλάττω/πλάσσω, ἔπλασα) can have alternative stems in -θ (πλάθω). Verbs in -ττω/-σσω that have a perfective stem in [ks] (e.g. φυλάττω/φυλάσσω, φυλάξω) show more variation, for which see 2.2.1.6.

The verbs γνῶθω and νιώθω, irrespective of the question whether they both derive from γινώσκω or whether the first derives from γινώσκω and the second from νοῶ (see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. for an overview of proposed etymologies) are semantically so close that they are virtually synonymous. They also behave in the same way where innovation in their imperfective stems is concerned. Γνώθω and its prefixed derivatives and νιώθω have alternative imperfective stems γνων- and νιων-:

δὲν καταγνώνων ἄλλον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.23
 ὅς Πέρσας τὴν ἀναγνώνει Alex. Rim. 1409
 πῶς tandem μεταγνώνει το CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.239
 καὶ ἀνέγνωνέν τα ὁ Ξάνθος Vios *Aisop.* I 270.17
 καλὰ ἵκωνεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 161; δὲν ἤκωννα κόπον ibid. 248
 ἐσὺ δλα τὰ γνώνει Rim. Sant. 20
 κινεῖς δὲν τότε νιώνει KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.451

For θέτω and πλάθω see also 2.4.

2.1.1.1.3 Sibilant Stems

Sibilant-stem verbs are verbs with an imperfective stem ending in -ζ or -σσ. Sibilant stems can be divided into two groups: (1) verbs in -ζω that form their perfective stem in -σ (see 2.2.1.6); these show no structural variation in their imperfective stem formation, e.g. διαβάζω, κουράζω, γνωρίζω, νομίζω; (2) verbs in -ζω or -σσω with a perfective (velar) stem in [ks], which do show certain patterns of variation (for which see 2.2.1.3).

As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 2, many verbs in -σσω (Attic -ττω) had started to form alternative imperfective stems modelled on verbs in -ζω (and vice versa) before the LMedG period (e.g. AG σταλάζω < σταλάσσω; EMedG σπαράζω < σπαράσσω); in the period covered by this Grammar this development continued, producing alternative forms such as ἀράζω < ἀράσσω or ταράζω < ταράσσω. For some verbs an alternative stem in -γ can be found (φυλάγω, τυλίγω, and, in texts from Chios, ἀλλάγω) from the 14th–15th c. onwards. In the texts examined both forms with -σσ/-ττ and alternative forms with -ζ and/or -γ are used. The use of Attic -ττ- instead of Koine -σσ- should be viewed as influence from higher registers. Verbs that are semantically associated with

higher registers, such as κηρύσσω/κηρύττω and πλήσσω/πλήττω, do not appear to have formed alternative stems in -ζ or -γ, with the exception of κατανύγω for κατανύσσω. The same holds true for the verbs μαλάσσω and πατάσσω, and πράσσω/πράττω, the last of which, of course, semantically had strong competition from ποιῶ and κάμνω. For the more common verbs, texts from insular areas, and especially Crete, display a clear preference for forms with -σσ- throughout the period under investigation (e.g. ἀλλάσσω in Cretan, Cypriot and Heptanesian texts, πράσσω, (ἀ)ράσσω mainly in Cretan texts, πλήσσω in Cypriot texts; cf. ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926: 171 for the modern dialectal situation).

διεχάραττον ὄπλον Dig. G V.39; ἐξεπλήττετο ibid. IV.977
 πράττουν Ptoch. IV 530; πληττόμενον ibid. 624
 πράττουν Chron. Mor. H 1257; νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει ibid. 8273
 ἐπαραφύλαττα Dig. E 173
 κακοπράττει Liv. V 833
 τί τὴν ψυχὸσπαράττει; Liv. α 2716 app. crit. (P)
 διὰ νὰ πράττη Chron. Toc. 3572
 καθὼς τάττει (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.11)
 τὰ θέλλω κρατεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.5)
 σπαράττουσι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1161; τὸ πῶς ὑποχάραττει ibid. 2114
 κηρύτταν Byz. Il. 378; πλήττει ibid. 1079
 ἐκπλήττομαι Alosis 707
 ἐκηρύττασιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11
 ἐξεπλήττουσαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2
 ἡ θάλασσα ἑτάραττετο Thrinos Kyp. 41
 συνετάρασσέ με GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 51; ἀλλάσσεται ibid. 376; τὰς ψυχὰς σπαράσσοντες ibid. 459
 ἐξεπλήσσοντο Dig. G I.331; τοῦτον ἐγὼ πατάσσω ibid. VI.224
 ἤπλησεν (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.1.5)
 ν' ἀλλάσσει τοὺς ὀφικιαλούς Chron. Mor. H 7935
 ἤρξατο νὰ χαράσσει Liv. E 830; τὸ ἀπετυλίσει ibid. 1663
 τί τὴν ψυχὸσπαράσσει; Liv. α 2716
 ἐμάλασεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 775; δράσσει τὴν ibid. 1113
 πράσσετε καταπάνω του FALIEROS, Thrinos 132
 ἀλλάσσαν τοὺς MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 78.29; ἐπλησεν ibid. 498.26
 τὲς φορεσὲς τ' ἀλλάσσει Alex. Rim. 955; ταράσσει ibid. 1951
 ἔχει λιμένα καὶ ῥάσσομεν (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 61.3)
 πλήσσει Fior 89.20
 φυλασσόμενα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 34, 53.8–9)
 δὲν ἤλασσε γνώμην MOREZINOS, Klini 44.16
 κι' ἄλλα κακὰ ποὺ πράσσει Chortatsis, Katz. V.320; νὰ ταράσσω ibid. III.202
 τάσσουε (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 165.22)
 ὑποτασσόντησαν Chron. Tourk. Soult. 26.16; ἐδιάλασσε ibid. 44.25
 τύλισσε τὰ κλαρία τοὺς LANDOS, Geopon. 151.6; ἄλασσε τὸ νερόν ibid. 212.27; ὅταν τὰ μαλάσσει ibid. 251.26
 σὰν ψάρι νὰ σφαράσσει Thysia Avr. 40; τάσσω σου ibid. 357
 κλεφτάτα ἐπάτασσε KORNAROS, Erot. I.444; τὸ ξετυλίσει ibid. I.1505; ὅλη ἐξαναμαλάσσετο ibid. III.22

τυλίγω το εἰς τὸ χέριν Dig. E 1267

τυλίγομαι τὴν κάπαν *Ptoch.* III 273.74 app. crit. (PK)
 ἄς φυλάγωντ' οἱ Ἕλληνες *Pol. Tr.* 3809 app. crit. (X)
 θέλει φυλάγειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 88.31–2 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 νὰ τὸ φυλάγει (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 92, 84.7)
 τίς δὲν ἐκατενύγετον *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 50
 κατανύγεται MOREZINOS, *Klini* 73.38; κατανύγει *ibid.* 107.10
 ἀλλάγω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *variare*
 ἐφυλάγονταν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.8
 τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀλλάγω PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 21; ν' ἀλλάγουσιν *ibid.* 55
 αλλοῦ νὰ μην σπαράγει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 580 (rhymes with Εσκι Σαράγι)
 φόρεμά τον ἀλλάγουν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1383
 όταν περιχαράζει *Liv.* E 808
 τάζοντα *Chron. Toc.* 494; ἔλλαζεν *ibid.* 1960; καὶ ἐσπάραζε ἡ καρδιά του *ibid.* 2683
 δράζω, κρατῶ, σηκώνω τον *Liv.* S 2669 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τὴν φορεσά τ' ἀλλάζει *Alex. Rim.* 39
 μέσ τὸ πόρτο ῥάζουν *Al. Kypri.* 1289; μέσ τὸ πόρτο ῥάζει *ibid.* 1541
 ἐταράζοτον ἡ γῆς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 411.2
 φυλαζόμενα ἄλλα ὁποῦ σοῦ χρεωστῶ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.8)
 φυλαζόμενα (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 39, 40.8)
 τάζει (1607, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 3, 31.12)
 ἐκείνους ὁποῦ ἔλλαζαν τὰ ἄσπρα KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 2.14; ταράζεται *ibid.* 14.27
 μα ο καιρός ἀλλάζει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 954; σπαράζει *ibid.* 5353; δὲν ταράζουν *ibid.* 6853
 καὶ πρόσταζε τὸ πεθυμᾶς KONDAK., *Paidēs* 100
 νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4–5) (< προικετάζω)
 σύρνοντας καὶ τυλίζοντας VATATIS, *Periig.* II 484

The reverse mechanism, by which verbs in -ζω develop an alternative stem in -σσ, can also be observed: e.g. ἀρπάσσω < ἀρπάζω,⁶ τρομάσσω < τρομάζω,⁷ ρημάσσω < ἐρημάζω, στάσσω < στάζω, μύσσω < μύζω. Whereas τρομάσσω and στάσσω have a broad geographical distribution, ἀρπάσσω has a more limited spread (texts of southern provenance), and μύσσω and ρημάσσω have only been found in south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese):

τρομάσσεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 151
 τρομάσσουν τὴν ψυχὴν του *Pol. Tr.* 13931
 καὶ ἀνατρομάσσεις ὁλος *Liv.* α 3871 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ συντρομάσσει ὁ βασιλεὺς *Byz. Il.* 273
 ὁ λογισμὸς τρομάσσει το *Achil.* N 517
 τὴν γῆν ἀνατρομάσσει ZINOS, *Vatr.* 442
 καὶ δίκια ἀνατρομάσσω CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.306
 κι δλη σιγοτρομάσσω KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.926
 ἐτρόμασσαν το πλήθος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 7.28
 ἐτρομάσσα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 21

ἐνὸς ἀρπάσσει τὸ σπαθὶν *Pol. Tr.* 13957
 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τὸ ἀρπάσσει *Liv.* E 1256

⁶ Cf. ὁ πατὴρ ἤρπασσεν ἑαυτὸν in the *Chaldaean Oracles* (Oracle 3, l. 1) (2nd c. AD) (see the online *TLG*).

⁷ Forms of τρομάσσω can already be found in the 9th c., in Theodore of Stoudios and Photios (*TLG*).

τότε σπαθὶν ἀρπάσσει *Alex. Rim.* 432
 ἀρπάσσαν *Pist. kekoim.* 600
 εἶσαι ἀρπαγὸς καὶ ἀρπάσσεις *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.24–5

ὡς στάσων τρίς ὁ μάγειρος *Ptoch.* IV 373 (mss SAC; στάσσει in PK; στάζει in H)
 διατὶ ρέει, διατὶ στάσσει STAFIDAS, *Iatrosoph.* 14.388
 κι οἱ στάζες τῶν αἱμάτων σου στάσσουν τὸ πρόσωπό μου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 47
 τὸ αἷμα διὰ νὰ στάσση LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 89
 κι ἐμὲ του δόλιου στάσσουνσι δάκρυα φαρμακωμένα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.184
 νὰ στάσση τὸ κερὶν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 228.4

ὁπ' ἀρρωστῶ καὶ μύσσω *Imb. Rim.* 957
 ἐκείνον οποῦ μύσσει KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.904

καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐρημάσσει SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 126 transcr. M (Lendari)
 τὴ χώρα νὰ ρημάσσουσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 249.5; τὰ σπῖτια νὰ ρημάσσου *ibid.* 347.20
 νὰ μὲ ἐρημάσσουν ἔτσι KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.728

On a lexical level, the verb δράσσω can form alternative imperfective stems in -χν or -κτ modelled on velar stems such as διώχνω (< διώκω), for which see 2.1.1.4. The verb φυλάγω can transfer to the class of vowel stems (φυλάω), producing “uncontracted” as well as “contracted” forms, for which see 2.1.1.2. For verbs in -άζω and -ίζω and their interaction with oxytone verbs, see 2.1.3.1.

2.1.1.1.4 Velar Stems

Velar-stem verbs are verbs with an imperfective stem ending in -γ, -γγ, -γχ, -κ or -χ, e.g. ἀνοίγω, βήχω, διδάσκω (which consists of a velar stem with affix -σκω), διώκω, ἐλέγχω and σφίγγω. Though most velar stems show no variation in their imperfective stem formation, a small group, namely διώκω, δεικνύω, διδάσκω and μπήγω (< Koine ἐμπήσσω) can acquire variant imperfective stems in -χν, based on their perfective stems in [ks], through the process of substituting -ν- for perfective -σ- (διώκ-σ- > διώκ-ν- > διώχν- (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 291)). Velar stems in -χν are found throughout the period under review, in texts from all regions:

ἵνα δείχνης τὸ χαρτίον (1181, S. Italy, Trinchera 1865: 206, 271.12)
 ἐπίδειχνε ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 6 272.18–19
 ἵνα ὑποδείχνη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80)
 νὰ διώχνουσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 6989; but also: ἀρχίσαν νὰ τοὺς διώκουσιν *ibid.* 1143
 δείχνει *Dig.* E 53; but also: τὸ τί λαὸς μᾶς διώκει *ibid.* 950
 ὁποῦ δείχνου *Assizes* B 251.29
 κλωτσοκοπᾶ καὶ διώχνει τες FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 86
 διώχνεις μας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 658.22; ἐδῶχναν τοὺς *ibid.* 426.3
 τοὺς διώχνει ἐξόπισθεν *Diig. Alex.* K 364.18
 ἐδίδαχνε μεγαλοφώνως KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.25
 πᾶσα μέρα μᾶς διδάχνουν (16th c., Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.10)
 νὰ τὸν διδάχνουν (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 30.27)
 διδάσκομαι ... et διδάχνομαι ROMANOS, *Grammar* 80.12–13
 καὶ νὰ τῶς τήνε μπήχνης FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.224

διώχνεις με, μάνα, διώχνεις με *Dimotika Ivir*. XI.1
 σὲ τὸ ἀποδείχνηι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §18.10
 δείχνοντας τὸ σπλάγχθος τῆς φιλίας σου (1643, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 4, 99.24)
 ὁ δὲ θάνατος ὁποῦ ἀπὸ δλους διώχνηται *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 6
 καὶ μπήχνηι του δλο τὸ σπαθὶ KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1159
 ἤθελα νὰ με ἐδίδαχνης *Don Kis.* 198.21–2

In texts from southern areas, some verbs with velar stems have variant imperfective stems in -κτ. Some modern editors "correct" -κτ- to -χτ-, assuming that dissimilation must have taken place, but there is no textual evidence to corroborate this assumption:⁸

ἕνας σκύλος διώκει ἕναν λαγόν (app. crit.) (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 81, 64.1)
 νὰ σὲ δακτυλοσφίκτω *Liv.* α 2029 app. crit. (N)
 δακτυλοδείκτου *Pol. Tr.* 4395 and 7505 app. crit. (V) (δακτυλοδεικτοῦν in the other mss)
 δείκει τως καλοσύνη *Katis* 27
 εὐκόλα μοῦ τὸ δείκει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1871 (Stevanoni)
 ἀποῦ ὀλωνῶ τῶν ἀρετῶ παιδὶ πῶς εἶσαι δείκεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.620 (δείχτεις in the edition)
 νὰ δείκτη τὴν ἀντρεϊάν τση BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 327.1 (Xirouchakis); καὶ νὰ μὴ δείκτης *ibid.* 405.5
 δείκτετεν τὰ προστάγματα KONDAR., *Paidēs* 252
 τοῦ δείκει BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 216; ἐδείκτασιν *ibid.* 262
 ὡς καθὼς δείκτουνε τὰ σύνορα (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 39.29)

The verb ρίχνω, first attestations of which can be found in 16th-c. manuscripts, appears to be the result of the exact reverse development: AG ρίπτω, ἔρριπα had developed a new aorist ἔρ(ρ)ιξα (probably influenced by ρήγνυμι, ἔρρηξα, and therefore sometimes spelled ἔρ(ρ)ηξα).⁹ This aorist in its turn gave rise to a new imperfective stem ρικτ-,¹⁰ which can be found in documents from S. Italy as early as the 11th c., and in other texts, mainly of southern provenance, from at least the 14th c. onwards. In modern editions forms with -χτ- instead of -κτ- can often be found, but they are usually the result of editorial intervention.¹¹ Only one example of a form with -χτ- has thus far been found, in an 18th-c. document from Chios: καὶ τὸ ἔρριχτεν ψηλά (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.106).

⁸ The 1713 edition of *Erotokritos* (A) has only forms with -κτ-, which were tacitly corrected to -χτ- by the modern editor, St. Alexiou, who only mentions the readings with -χτ- of the Heptanesian ms (X) in his critical apparatus. The same holds true for Alexiou's and Aposkiti's edition of Bounialis' *Cretan War*, in which all forms of δεικτω were corrected to δειχτ- (cf. Xirouchakis's edition of the same text). The reading δείχτεις in FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.620 is due to the editor's misinterpretation of the cluster "ct" in the manuscript, which is written in the Latin script, as pointed out by BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1996: 80, fn. 5.

⁹ ρήξατέ με is to be found in the *Apocalypse of the Virgin* 124.15 (11th-c. ms?), published in M. R. JAMES, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1893, quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 275. Like Jannaris, Romanos Nikiforou in his grammar (17th c.) also sees a link with ρήγνυμι: "ρῆχνω, jacio ... Hoc verbum in literali significat *rum-po*, et vulgus cum velit dicere ρίπτω, quod est in literali *jacio*, accipit hoc propter affinitatem pronunciationis" (ROMANOS, *Grammar* 97.1–7).

¹⁰ Cf. also the form ρικτάρια for ριπτάρια in *De obsidione toleranda* sections 26, 1.4 and 66, 1.2 (10th c.); see the online TLG.

¹¹ All forms with -χτ- in *Chron. Mor.* H and P (Schmitt) are (mostly tacit) corrections by the editor, e.g. instead of κ' ἔρριχτασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2921, the ms reads καὶ ἐρίκτασιν.

ρίκειν (1098, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 65, 82.13); ρίκει κάτου εἰς τὴν ὁδόν (1118, *ibid.* 85, 112.8)
 ἐρήκτασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 15 app. crit.; ἐρήκταν *ibid.* 9092 app. crit.
 ἐμέν τὰ παραρίκτουσιν *Dig.* E 241
 βλέπω τὴν κόρην, ρίκει μεν μαντλὶν ἐδικόν της *Liv.* E 2291
 ἐρρίκταν *Pol. Tr.* 4632 app. crit. (V); ἐρρικτεν *ibid.* 6351 app. crit. (BC)
 ὁποῦ ἐρρίκταν οἱ πεζοὶ *Chron. Toc.* 267
 ὡσάν ρίκει ὁ κηπουρὸς τὸ κίτρινον ἀγγούριν *Katal.* 527
 σ' ἐμέν τὰ παραρρίκεις FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 575
 νὰ ρίκτης εἰς τὸ δοχεῖον (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 14, 19.12)
 ρίκει του κλωνάρι δένδρου ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 37.4
 σπαθιὲς νὰ ρίκτω *Stathis* I.92
 με ξαναρρήκει χάμαι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.340 (Stevanoni); κ' εἰς ἀφορμὴ τὴν ἤρρηκεν *ibid.* II.657
 ἔρρικτεν *Diig. Sant.* 57.16; ἔρρικταν *ibid.* 59.64
 στὴν θάλασσαν τοὺς ρίκταν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 2424
 καὶ τοὺς ρίκτου *VATATSI*, *Periig.* I 815
 καὶ τὴν καρδιά μου σύριζην ἐξανάσπας καὶ ρίχνεις *Achil.* O 334
 καὶ τὸ φαρμάκι ἔριχναν *Alex. Rim.* 2066
 καὶ ἔριχναν τοῦ ἀλόγου τὴν θροφήν του ἀπέσω *Diig. Alex.* F 118.15–16 (Lolos)
 καὶ ρίχνει τον τὸ πέλαγος *Fyll. gadar.* 313
 ἄλλοι ἐρίχναν τα ρούχα τοὺς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 367.41–2
 ρίχνει (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.12)
 καὶ τοῦ ἐρρίχνανε τὰ κόκκαλα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.1–2
 ρίχνω ... ρίκτω GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. buttare*
 με ξαναρίχνει χάμαι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.340 app. crit. (V); κ' εἰς ἀφορμὴ τὴν ἔριχνε *ibid.* II.657 app. crit. (V)
 ἄλλὰ τὸ ρίχνουσιν ἔξω KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 14.35
 ἔριχναν τὴν ἀφορμὴν *Vios Aisop.* D 225.25
 ἐρίχνασι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀψάλτους (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 509.37.9)

Similarly, the verb δράσσω can form alternative imperfective stems in -χν and more rarely -κτ, based on its perfective (velar) stem in [ks]:

ἐκεῖνος ἀποδράχνηι *Jonas* 214.13
 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νὰ τὸ δράχνη *Liv.* V 1110
 καὶ ἀρχισεν νὰ μάχεται, νὰ δράχνη, νὰ κουρσεύη *Chron. Toc.* 3564
 δράχνηι ἰσχυρόν σκουτάριν *Achil.* N 620
 καὶ ἔδραχναν ὅλογα *Diig. Alex.* F 24.22 (Konstantinopoulos) (same in E)
 δράχνω, δράχνομαι, ἔδραχνα, ἔδραχνόμουν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 120.18–19
 καὶ ἀρχισαν ρυμπαρικὰ νὰ δράκτου, νὰ ἐπαίρνουν *Chron. Toc.* 3814

The verbs διώχνω and δράχνω sometimes lose the nasal, producing imperfective forms with -χ-:

ὅτι διώχει ὀπίσω *Achil.* L 449; καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν ἐδιώχεν *ibid.* 461
 ἐδιώχασιν *Pol. Tr.* 3178 app. crit. (A); διώχει τοὺς *ibid.* 3186 app. crit. (AX)
 ἐδιώχες τὲς κουρούνες *Ptoch.* IV 78 app. crit. (P); νὰ διώχης *ibid.* 496 app. crit. (P)
 νὰ διώχῃ τοὺς ἀέρες *Florios* 526 app. crit. (Hesseling)
 νὰ διώχουν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 168

ἔδωχέν τον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 538.13; but also: διώχνεις μας *ibid.* 658.22
σφικτὰ νὰ δράχουν *Liv.* S 790 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

Certain velar stems in -γ, such as λέγω, τρώγω, ὑπάγω and φυλάγω, can transfer to the class of vowel stems, no doubt due to the fact that many vowel stems can become consonant stems through the addition of /γ/ (e.g. ἀκούω > ἀκούγω); for more information see 2.1.1.2.

2.1.1.1.5 Liquid Stems

Liquid-stem verbs are verbs whose imperfective stem ends in -λ or -ρ, e.g. βάλλω, σφάλλω, ψάλλω, παραγγέλλω, στέλλω, ἐγείρω, σπείρω, σύρω, φέρω. Addition of -ν- to imperfective liquid stems in -ρ is a process that set in before the LMedG period, with verbs that had identical imperfective and perfective stems (e.g. σύρνω < σύρω), as well as with verbs that already had distinct imperfective and perfective stems (e.g. (ἐ)παίρνω < ἐπαίρω) (see also 1.1.1). Since the predominant vowel in these imperfective stems was /e/, certain other verbs adopted the /e/ for their imperfective stem as well (HORROCKS 2010: 306; see also CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 129–32), e.g. σπείρω and ἐγείρω became σπέρνω and (ἐ)γέρνω in most areas, with the notable exception of Cyprus; σέρνω for σύρνω (< σύρω), nowadays the SMG form, was found mainly in texts from the south-west, starting with Cretan texts from the 15th/16th c. onwards, though it is likely to have obtained a wider geographical distribution from at least the 17th c. onwards, given the fact that it is found in Matthaios of Myra's *History of Valachia*, and that Romanos Nikiforou, who was from Thessaloniki, mentions σέρνω in his grammar as "the more commonly used" form:

εἰς τὸ σπέρνειν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12)
ὁποῦ σπέρνει ὁ Κουκούναρας (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.54)
σπόρον διὰ νὰ σπέρνη *Liv.* V 944
σπέρνω τὰ SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 6
σπέρνει *Poulol.* 447
διὰ νὰ σπέρνωσιν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.34)
νὰ τὸ σπέρνωμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 317, 316.6)
παρὰ νὰ τὸ ἔσπερνες LANDOS, *Georon.* 142.23

ἐγέρνεται ὁ ἡγούμενος καὶ τάδε παραγγέλλει *Ptoch.* IV 582 (ms H)
ἐγέρνεται *Velth.* 974
γοργὸν οὐκ ἐγερνέτον *Pol. Tr.* 10053
δταν διαγέρνης SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 157
ἐγέρνεται *Achil.* N 1065
νὰ ἐγέρνεσαι Spanos B 108
ἐγερνόμην Alosis 717

δσον τὸ σέρνει τρίχα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 66
σέρνομεν (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 94.48)
νὰ το σέρνω *Apoll. Rim.* A 1103
νὰ τὴν κωλοσέρνουε CHORTATIS, *Katz.* IV.3
σύρω ... vel communius et usitatus σέρνω ROMANOS, *Grammar* 104.23
σέρνει MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2091 and 2842

κι' ἔσερναν τὲς λουμπάρδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 264.25; νὰ τοὺς σέρνουν *id.*, *Kat. ofel.* 350
ἔσερναν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 55.14

φέρνειν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.4)
φέρνει τὰ δικάια του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 41.48)
δσον διαφέρνει εἰς κρίσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 7525
καὶ ὁ Λιβιστρος συμφέρνει *Liv.* V 3560
νὰ φέρνης *Achil.* N 354
τὸ δεκοχτώχρονον φέρνων τῆς ἡλικίας *Achil.* O 50
φέρνου τζικούριν *Byz. Il.* 142
φέρνει τὸ ξυστὶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1312
δὲν ἀναφέρνω τὸ λοιπὸν τὲς Μοῦσες τῶν Ἑλλήνων FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 3
σώνουν καὶ συνεφέρνουν τὴν *Imb. Rim.* 977
ἐπιφέρνουνται *Diig. Alex.* F 114.16 (Lolos)
διαφέρνω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *differire*
μεγάλα καυκώντας λόγια προφέρνει *Irodis* I.9
ὑποφέρνω (1684, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 64, 272.27)
προσφέρνω (1696, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 2 [B], 253.16)
νὰ μην ἀναφέρνει τινὰς *Don Kis.* 545.28

τὰ ἄρματα τοῦ κάθαιρνε *Theseid* VII.35,2 (1529)¹²
νὰ τοὺς ἐξεκαθαίρουν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 127.16); ξεκαθαίρνοντας καὶ τοῦτο (1598, *ibid.* 43, 191.15) (ἐκκαθαίρω)
νὰ ξεκαθαίρνει (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 31, 45.14)

φθέρνεται τὸ φουσάτο *Alex. Rim.* 1865
καὶ φθέρνουν τὲς καντῆλες ZINOS, *Vatr.* 301

This addition of -ν- to the imperfective stem can also be found with liquid stems in /l/, appearing in texts from various areas, from the 14th c. onwards. In the same period, though with a more restricted geographical distribution, a similar development can be observed in certain oxytone verbs in -λῶ (for which see 2.1.2.2.1):

ἀπόστελνεν *Chron. Mor.* H 1049
ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀποστέλνει *Ptoch.* IV 535 app. crit. (C) (hapax; ἀποστέλλει in all other mss)
καὶ στέλνω σε πιττάκιν *Liv.* E 1818
τοῦτο τὸ φάριν στέλνει ὡς ἐδικόν σου *Pol. Tr.* 6170 (mss ABX)
στέλνει τὰ εἰς τὸ κάστρον *Achil.* N 438
στέλνε *Ptochol.* α 923

πλὴν τοῦτο σὰς παραγγέλνω *Liv.* E 1438
καὶ ὁλο ἐσυχνοπαρήγγελνε *Liv.* α 1364 app. crit. (P)
καὶ πᾶσιν παραγγέλνω *Achil.* N 260
παραγγέλνει (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 51, 131.19)
εἰς τοῦτο σὲ παραγγέλνω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.75

δταν ἀνάτελνε ὁ ἥλιος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.32
ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἀνατέλνει ὁ ἥλιος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §19.4–5

¹² See also 2.1.3.1 for oxytone forms of this verb.

ὅτι τὸν διαβάλλουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 344.16
 ἔβαλνεν *Diig. Alex.* E 209.22–3 (Lolos)

In these verb stems -λν- can become -ρν- through the process of liquid interchange (see I, 3.8.6.2 for details; note that generally the affix -ερν- is especially popular with the Cretans; see also 2.2.4.1.1):

καὶ πάλι παραγγέρνει *Liv.* V 1124 (παραγγέλλω); συχνοεπαρέγγερνεν *ibid.* 1128;
 ἀποστερνάμενοι του *ibid.* 2691 (ἀποστέλλω)
 παραγγέρνοντάς του MOREZINOS, *Klini* 43.11 app. crit. (K)
 μὰ ἐτοῦτο, κορασίδα μου, ξεῦρε, σοῦ παραγγέρνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.491
 παραγγέρνοντάς τως VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.36
 στέλλω στέρνω PORTIUS, *Grammar* 10.19
 ἐστέρνανε ἓνα μέρος παρόξω SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.31–2

Some verbs with imperfective stems in /l/ form an alternative imperfective stem in -ν-, e.g. βάνω < βάλλω, σφάνω < σφάλλω, for which see 2.1.1.1.6; or in -ζ: βάζω (< βάλλω), ἐβγάζω (< ἐκβάλλω), for which see 2.4, s.v. βάλλω.

In varieties of Pontic, the perfective stem of verbs with a liquid stem may serve as the imperfective stem (see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 343 for modern Pontic): καὶ τώρα στείλω σας λόγον (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.10); στείλωμεν γράμμαν με τὴν βούλλα τοῦ βασιλέως (*ibid.* 293.10); παραγγείλω σοι, μὴ καταλαλῆς τινὰν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 190.2d) (this text has some Pontic features).

2.1.1.1.6 Nasal Stems

Nasal-stem verbs have imperfective stems ending in -ν or -μ (those in -ν often spelled <νν> in Cypriot texts, reflecting gemination, for which see I, 3.4.2.5). This group of verbs includes verbs in -ώνω, -ύνω, -ίνω, -αίνω, -άνω, e.g. κομπώνω, σιμώνω, σκοτώνω, σώνω, κλίνω, κρίνω, αὐξάνω, φθάνω, χάνω (< χαώνω), μαραίνω, πικραίνω, ὑγιαίνω, ἀπομακρύνω, λαμπρύνω, μολύνω, κά(μ)νω; and verbs in -μω, e.g. γέμω, νέμω, τρέμω. This group also includes former vowel stems, such as λούνω (< λούω), λύνω (< λύω), κλείνω (< κλείω), but not consonant stems that have an added nasal, such as διώχνω (< διώκω), στέλλω (< στέλλω) or παίρνω (< παίρω). The majority of the verbs belonging to this category show no variation in their imperfective stem formation, with the exception of verbs in -άνω, -ύνω and -αίνω.

Some verbs with imperfective stems in -λ form an alternative stem in -ν-, e.g. βάνω < βάλλω, σφάνω < σφάλλω (forms with -λν- have been found only for βάλλω, not for σφάλλω, and they are too rare to have served as an intermediate form; see 2.4). Forms of βάνω and its compounds, such as (ἐ)βγάνω (< ἐκβάλλω), ἀθιβάνω (ἀθιβάλλω), and even ἀμφιβάνω, can be found in texts from various areas, whereas σφάνω appears to be exclusively Cretan:

καὶ ἐβγάνει τὸ σπαθίτσι του *Arm.* 98
 περὶ τοῦ βάνοντος πῦρ εἰς χώραν *Assizes A* 222.24
 καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐβγάνουν τὰ κρασιά SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 181
 ὅταν τὸ ἔβανεν εἰς τὸ κεφάλι του, τότε ἄφαντος ἐγένετο *Diig. Alex.* V 58.23

καὶ ἐβγάνει το ρύζι *Syndipas* 115.23–4
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβγάνει τὴν ψωλὴν του ἐκ τὸ βρακί του *Vios Aisop.* E 292.18
 ἐβγάνοντα τὰ λεγόμενα λάσα (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 96.112)
 ἦβανε ὁ σὲρ Νικολὸς τοὺς ἑμισοὺς σπόρους (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.8)
 μίαν βρύση ἣ ὁποῖα ἔβγανεν καθάριον λάδι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.9
 δὲν τὰ βάνετε εἰς τὸν νοῦν σας *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 7, η1ν.32–3 (1561)
 βάνοντας (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 150, 238.8)
 διὰ πλέο φέρμο βάνου καὶ μάρτυρες (1611, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 11, 315.13)
 ἐβγάνει τὰ δαιμόνια KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 9.34; ἐκείνα ὅπου ἐβάνασι *ibid.* Ioann. 12.6

καὶ βάνει της (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.9)
 ἀμφιβάνοντας (1696, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 112, 308.34–5)

ἐβγάνοντας ἀπὸ τα δισάκια ὅ,τι εἶχε βάλει *Don Kis.* 47.28–9; βάνοντας το σίδηρον *ibid.* 47.35
 κι ἀπόκει ἃ σφάνει εἰς ἄλλα *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 311

τοῦτον ὁ νοῦς σου σφάνει *Rim. kor.* A 95
 καὶ σφάναν, οἱ καημένοι *Apoll. Rim.* V 135 (forms of σφάνω in A, N and V)
 ἃ δὲ σφάνω *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.289; μὰ σφάνει *id., Erof.* II.245
 μαγάρι καὶ νὰ σφάνω *Thysia Avr.* 596
 σφάνουσι τὰ λογιάζεις *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.171
 σὲ τοῦτο νὰ μὴ σφάνω *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.150

2.1.1.2 Vowel Stems

The class of barytone vowel stems comprises a small group of verbs whose stems end in /a/, /e/, /i/ or /u/. The most common of these are: ἀκούω, δεικνύω, δέομαι, δέω, δύω, ἰσχύω, καίω, κλαίω, κλάω, κλείω, κρούω, κυλίω, κωλύω, λούω, λύω, μεθύω, μειγνύω, μηνύω, ξέω, ὀμνύω, πλέω, πνέω, ππταίω, ππτύω, ρέω, σείω, σκάω (< σχάζω), σπάω, χέω, χρίω. These verbs appear in their “uncontracted” form throughout the period covered by this Grammar, e.g. ὡς ἀκούομεν *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 89; νὰ λούωνται οἱ ξένοι *Liv.* α 3100; ὅσα τὸ φάγουν, μεθύουσιν *LANDOS, Geopon.* 245.22. However, a general tendency to avoid consecutive vowels (see I, 2.9.2) leads many of these verbs to produce ostensibly “contracted” forms with certain endings, for all persons singular and plural. Of course, these are not true cases of contraction, but rather the result of deletion of one of the two adjacent vowels. When the vowels are identical, the unstressed one is deleted, e.g. φταῖτε < φταίετε, κροῦσιν < κρούουσιν, ὀμνεῖ < ὀμνύει (the form is traditionally written ὀμνεῖ rather than ὀμνῦ for the sake of morphological transparency). When the two vowels are not identical, the avoidance of morphological or semantic ambiguity takes priority over vowel hierarchy (a > o > u > e > i, or according to others a > o > u > i > e; see I, 2.9.2 for details), and stress ceases to be a determining factor: we therefore find 1 sg. σπῶ and σκῶ rather than *σπᾶ and *σκᾶ, forms in which the (unstressed) characteristic [o] of the 1 sg. ending takes precedence over the phonetically “stronger”, stressed /a/ of the stem. On the other hand, for instance for the verb κλαίω we find 3 sg. κλαῖ rather than κλεῖ for semantic reasons: the [e] of the stem identifies the verb the form is derived from (κλαίω, not κλείω). When there is no issue regarding the morphological ending or the meaning of a verb form, the vowel hierarchy is usually observed, regardless of stress: ἀκούς < ἀκούεις, καταλοῦν < καταλύνουν, λοῦται < λούεται, σπᾶ < σπάει:

1st Person Singular

κρῶ *Dig.* E 1287
 ἐκυσσπῶ *Diig. tetr.* 258 (ed. ἐξυσπῶ)
 τὸ πῶς καμμῶ τὰ ῥμάτια μου *Katal.* 581 (καμμύω)
 ὡσάν ἀκῶ καὶ λέγουν *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 151 transcr. N (Lendari)
 σπῶ τσί τολέλες, κάτεχε *CHORTATSI, Katz.* II.276
 ῥτι σκῶ τώρα ἀφ' τόν θυμόν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 758

2nd Person Singular

ἀκοῦς *Ptoch. III* 172 app. crit. (GP)
 ποσῶς οὐκ ἀπολεῖς το *Poulol.* 151; νὰ σῆς *ibid.* 302
 τί μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου *Diig. tetr.* 128; νὰ ἀναπνῆς *ibid.* 290
 τῆς χήρας καὶ τῆς ὀρφανῆς ὅσον τῆς κροῦς φουσκῶνει *Paroim.* H 27
 κροῦς *Cypr. Canz.* 30.6
 μὴ ἀποκροῦς *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §5.16

3rd Person Singular

συγκλεῖ (ca. 1050, S. Italy, *GUILLOU* 1972b: 190.394)
 ὁ γύψος πτώσει ἀπολεῖ *Ptoch. II* 54.2 app. crit. (H)
 τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους καταλεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 4906 app. crit.
 κλαῖ τον *LIMEN., Velis.* (A) 474
 νὰ λοῦται *Achil.* N 833
 ὁμνεῖ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 328
 κάτις τὸν κωλεῖ! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 564.14
 ἡ ποιά ποττέ δὲν πτιέ *Fior* 146.5 (read πτιαῖ < πταῖω)
 ποτέ οὐκ καταλεῖται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 233
 νὰ πτει εἰς τὸν κόρφον τοῦ *Theophr. Char.* 129.6 (< πτύω)
 φωνὴν ἀκού', λαλιά<ν> ἀκού', φωνὴν καὶ δράκου στόμα *Dimotika Ivir.* XII.3
 βρύσις νεροῦ ὅπου νὰ ἀναβρεῖ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 4.14 (< ἀναβρύω)
 νὰ σπᾶ τὰ σπῆτια *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 285.16

1st Person Plural

στά λόγια ὅπου ῥκοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1676
 καταλοῦμεν (1538, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 2009: 906, 708.20)
 ἀπολοῦμεν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1181
 νὰ γδέρνομεν καὶ σπούμεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5361
 νὰ κλαῖ τὸ ριζικό τοῦ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2872
 φαρμάκι φτεῖ μὲ τοὺς ἀφρούς *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1162

2nd Person Plural

ἐσεῖς τὸ φταῖτε πλέον *Chron. Mor.* H 2691;
 ὅπου τὰ σπλάγχνα κλεῖτε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2497

3rd Person Plural

νὰ κροῦν *Dig.* E 1405
 κροῦσιν *Velis.* χ 171
 νὰ μὴν τὸ καταλοῦσιν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 2461
 κροῦν μέγαν πόλεμον (1572, Warsaw, *PATRINELIS* 2000: [1], 15.105)
 μᾶς κροῦν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §6.7; ξεγλοῦν *ibid.* III §7.79 (< ἐκλύω)
 νὰ σπούσιν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 177.8; νὰ σκούσι *ibid.* 382.12
 ἔσκα ἀπὸ τῆ χολῆ *DIACKR., Diig. Pol.* 469
 φουσκῶνονται, ἐσκοῦνε *Irodīs* I.17

When the vowel stem ends in /u/ (typically the verb ἀκούω), vowel deletion may occur, resulting in /o/ or /u/. When the vowel of the ending is /e/, the result of the "contraction" of /u/ and /e/ can be either /u/ (vowel deletion), or /o/ (crasis) (for details on chronology and geographical spread see I, 2.9.5):

ἀκου τὸ τί μοῦ λέγει *Dig.* E 1581
 ἀκου τί μ' ἐποκρίθην *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 452
 καὶ ἀκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 28
 ἀκου τὸ τί διηγᾶται *Rim. kor.* A 178
 ἀκου τώρα ἀπού ἐμπῆκεν ὁ νιὸς ἀυθέντης (1574, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 2007: 148.20)
 ἀκου τὸ τί τὸν εἶπαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 129
 ἀκου τον ποῦ ἐμπαίνει *KONDAR., Paidēs* 829
 ν' ἀκούνται οἱ κτύποι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 266.23

ἀκο τα καλὰ *Spaneas* V 46
 ὡς τὸ ἀκῶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 8911
 καὶ ἀκο τί με ἐφάνην *Liv.* V 198
 καὶ ἀκω τί ἐλαλοῦσαν *Liv.* α 291
 ἀκο τὸ τίνα λέγει *Dig.* E 517
 ἀκω τὸ τεῖντα κάμνει *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 347
 ἀκο ἄλλον σύβαμα *Chron. Toc.* 41
 ἀκω τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν *Defi. Par.* 169
 καὶ ἀκο λοιπόν *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 137; ἀκόντα τέτοιο ρῶτημα *ibid.* 468
 καὶ ἀκόντα τὰ γινόμενα *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 403
 ἀκο τοῖνυν, δέσποτά μου *Ptochol.* α 628
 ἀκῶντας *Theseid* I.5,2 (Follieri)

Sometimes a conservative spelling is maintained. This becomes particularly evident in verse texts; in order to make the verses scan, one should clearly read the following forms with synizesis, or as "contracted" forms (for synizesis, see I, 2.9.4; for accent notation indicating synizesis, see II, 1.5):

ἀκούετε τα καὶ οὐ θλίβεσθε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 115
 καὶ κρούω σουβλέαν τὸ χέριν μου *Ptoch. III* 153; καὶ νὰ τὴν ἔκρουα κοπετόν *ibid.* 187; τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα *ibid.* 172 (ἀκοῦς in GP); καὶ κρούουσιν το κλοτσάτα *Ptoch. IV* 368 app. crit. (V) (κροῦσιν in K)
 κι ἂν ἔχης ὀρεξιν νὰ ἀκούης *Chron. Mor.* H 1349; τί ξιν τὸ κλαῖεις, κουντέσσα; *ibid.* 6050
 κλαίοντας τὴν σκάλα ἀνέβαινε *Arm.* 16
 νὰ πλέη ἐλαφρά εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν *Pol. Tr.* 104
 νὰ σπαθοκαταλύονται *Poulol.* 224 app. crit. (V) (-λυοῦνται in A, -λοῦνται in CPL)
 νὰ πλέη καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν θάλασσαν *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 303

From the 13th c. onwards in S. Italy and from at least the 14th c. in texts from other areas, forms of vowel stems in /e/ and /i/ appear, in which the stress has shifted to the ending and the /e/ or /i/ of the stem has become /j/ through synizesis (see also I, 2.9.4):

καὶ συγκλειοῦν (1251, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 197, 419.23)
 οἱ συμφωνίες τὲς κλειοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2387
 καταλυεῖς τὰ ροῦχά μου *Spaneas* Z 626; σιεῖσαι ἀγριωμένος *ibid.* 628

πλιόντα *Assizes B* 299.21 (< πλέω)
 κιόμαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 106 and 334 (καίωμα)
 καταλυοῦμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.6; ἠθέλαν καταλύεσθαι *ibid.* 76.19
 τὰ μέλη μου σωκιοῦντα *Cypr. Canz.* 23.7 (ἔσωκαίω); δέν φτιῶ *ibid.* 87.18 (φταίω); κωλυοῦσιν
ibid. 94.61
 ἀρχεύσασιν ὅλοι οἱ λὰς νὰ κλιοῦσιν *Fior* 92.8–9
 σὰ σειέται τὸ καλάμι *Alex. Rim.* 1384
 πέφτει, κυλιέται, γέρνεται *Fyll. gadar.* 316
 παραλυοῦσιν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 53
 τί σειεῖ ὁ σκύλος; *Vios Aisop.* I 269.13
 λυοῦμαι, λυέσαι *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. andare vagabando*; φτυῶ *ibid. s.v. sputare*; ξυῶ *ibid. s.v. stregliare*
 σειοῦνται καὶ τὰ σίδερα *Paroim. (Warner)* 107.5; ὅπου φτεῖ στὸν οὐρανὸ *ibid.* 120.10
 ὡς καθὼς κλεῖ με τὰ φυτέματα ὡς καθὼς κλειοῦνε (1692, Ραχοῖ, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 162, 162.8)

In many areas, after synizesis deletion of /j/ may occur after /s/, thus causing the vowel stems in /i/ to lose their stem vowel. Examples have been found in a Heptanesian, a Peloponnesian and in Cretan texts (for details see I, 2.4.7.3):

οὐδὲ ἡ θάλασσα λοιπὸν αὐτεῖνη οὐδὲν σέται *Alex. Rim.* 1983 (= σειέται)
 τὰ φύλλα που εσοῦσαν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 64.7 (= ἔσειοῦσαν; for the ending see also 2.1.3.1)
 κ' ἔσεν την κεφαλὴν του *Katis* 95 (= ἔσειεν)
 καὶ 'σοῦντανε (1629, Crete, *LAMBROS* 1910: 254, 187.4–5) (= ἔσειοῦντανε)
 οἱ ψεῖρες, που τ'ς εξοῦσαμε μ' ἓνα κομμάτι ξύλο *Epist. Nax.* 471.32–3 (= ἐξοῦσαμε)

Some verbs in this category undergo a complete or partial transfer to the class of oxytone verbs (e.g. μηνύω > μηνῶ), for which see 2.1.3.1.

The verb ὁμνύω is the only one of the vowel-stem verbs that can change stem vowel, producing barytone variants in -έω and -όω. For details see 2.4.

Vowel stems can transfer to the class of consonant stems, forming new imperfective stems by substituting -ν- or -ζ- for the -σ- of the perfective stem. This use of -ν- is a trend that had already started in AG with variant forms such as δύνω for δύω and δέννω for δέω (see *LSJ s.vv.*), and it spread to other verbs in the period covered by this Grammar. The use of -ζ- had also started long before the LMedG period (e.g. διαχρῖζομεν in Galen, ἀνασπάζουσιν in Hesychius), but is less common than -ν- (-ν: ἀφίω, ἀφισ-/ἀφησ- > ἀφίνω/ἀφήνω; δέω, δεσ- > δένω (AG); δύω, δυσ- > δύνω (AG); ἰσχύω, ἰσχυσ- > ἰσχύνω; κλάω, κλασ- > κλάνω; κλείω, κλεισ- > κλείνω; λούω, λουσ- > λούνω;¹³ λύω, λυσ- > λύνω; σκάω, σκασ- > σκάνω; χέω, χυσ- > χύνω; -ζ: ἀναβρύω, ἀναβρυσ- > ἀναβρύζω; κλείω, κλεισ- > κλείζω; πταίω, πταισ- > φταίζω; σπάω, σπασ- > σπάζω; χρίω, χρισ- > χρίζω):

ἀφήνειν *NIKON, Logos* 1 110.12
 διατὶ γοργὸν οὐκ ἐκλείνε *Pol. Tr.* 425
 καὶ λούνετον ἡ κόρη *Achil.* L 529
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυνεν *Achil.* N 1127
 τὸ καῦμα γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυεν διὰ νὰ περπατοῦσιν *Achil.* O 191
 κλάνω σε καὶ φυσᾶς με *Spanos B* 208

¹³ SMG λούζω has not been found in the texts examined.

οὐδὲ ἡ πρίκα μ' ἄφηνε *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 6
 χύνουν τὰ φύλλα δάκρυα *Peri xen.* 298
 δένει εἰς μίον τα χέρια της *Apoll. Rim.* V 240
 τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ ὅπου ἐλούνουνταν *Vios Aisop.* D 228.8–9
 ἀποκρούνω σε *ROMANOS, Grammar* 53.1
 λέγει καὶ ξεδιαλύνει *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.760
 αὐτὸ δα εἶναι οπτοῦ με κάμνει καὶ σκάνω *Don Kis.* 169.21
 τὰ μαλλία του ἀνέσπαζε *Pol. Tr.* 5110
 διὰ νὰ τοὺς ἀποκλείζουν *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 293
 φταιζοῦμενοι *Pent. Gen.* 42.21
 γλήγορα διαλύζει τὸν λόγον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 549
 διαλύζω *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. dichiarare*
 εἰδεμὴ σπάζουσι τὰ δερμάτια *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 9.17

Vowel stems may also transfer to the class of consonant stems through addition of /γ/ at the end of the imperfective vowel stem: ἀκούω > ἀκούγω; δέομαι > δεγοῦμαι; κρούω > κρούγω; κωλύω > κωλύγω; λούω > λούγω; καίω > καίγω; κλαίω > κλαίγω; ὁμνύω > ὁμνύγω; πλέω > πλέγω; πνέω > πνέγω; πταίω > φταίγω; ρέω > ρέγω; ρύω > ρύγω (for anaptyxis of /γ/ as a general phenomenon, see I, 3.5.2):

ἐκρούγασιν *Dig. E* 1174
 νὰ λούγεται *Liv.* V 45; νὰ τὸν ἀκούγουσιν *ibid.* 635; νὰ λούγουνται *ibid.* 3112
 οὐκ ὀρέγομαι ἀκούγειν αὐτὸ (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 79.1d–2d)
 πλέγοντα *SKLENTZAS, Ain. Zood. Pig.* 38
 αἶμαν ἔρρεγε *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 92
 ἐδεγοῦνταν τοῦ θεοῦ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 82.24 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)¹⁴
 καὶ 'πλέγα 'σάν τα 'ψάρια *Apoll. Rim.* A 307
 φθαίγει *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 72
 ἀκούγουν αὐτῶν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 64.30
 ὥστε νὰ ἀναπνέγω *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 218
 λούγω, λούγομαι *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. lavare la testa*
 πλέγουν *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 190
 διατὶ πλέγουσι τὰ φαγητὰ *LANDOS, Geopon.* 181.34
 πάντα φταίγεις *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §6.30–1; νὰ μᾶς κρούγουν *ibid.* I §22.7
 οὐ κωλύγω (17th c.?, Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 408.456); ρύγει *ibid.* 409.568

The verb δεικνύω can transfer to the class of consonant stems by forming an alternative stem δειχν- (see 2.1.1.1.4).

Certain consonant stems that end in -γ, such as λέγω, τρώγω, ὑπάγω and φυλάγω, can transfer to the class of vowel stems, no doubt influenced by the fact that many vowel stems can become consonant stems through the addition of /γ/ (e.g. ἀκούω > ἀκούγω). After the deletion of the /γ/ of the stem the weaker vowels /e/ or /i/ of the ending are omitted after the stronger vowels /a/ and /o/ of the verb stems, thus giving precedence to semantic over morphological disambiguation: e.g. τρῶ (not *τρῆι), which is used for 3 sg. pres. ind./subj. and

¹⁴ This form not only shows addition of /γ/, but also a transfer to the oxytone paradigm, which is not uncommon in Cypriot Greek; see 2.1.3.1.

for the imperative, but not for 1 sg. Forms in which the second vowel is deleted occur for 2 sg., 3 sg. and all persons of the plural of the present indicative/subjunctive: πάγω, πᾶς, πᾶ. πᾶμεν, πᾶτε, πᾶνε, vel πᾶσι GERMANO, *Grammar* 95.15–16; λέγω, λές, λέ. λέμεν, λέτε, λένε, vel λέσι *ibid.* 95.22–3; τρώγω, τῶς, τῶ. τῶμεν, τῶτε, τῶνε, vel τῶσι *ibid.* 25–6. Such forms are also found for the imperfect, as well as for the imperative.¹⁵

2nd Person Singular

ἔτρωσ γαδάρου ράχην *Poulol.* 558

ἀμμέ νά τῶς *Achil.* L 92

μήνυμαν ὑπᾶς στὸν βασιλέαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1072

δεν λες αλήθεια ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 24.7

3rd Person Singular

λέ τον *Flor.* L 717

καὶ πᾶ, καθίζει καὶ αὐτὸς *Phys.* 234

νά τῶ *Assizes A* 122.7

καὶ πᾶ χώρια κ' ἐστάθην *Velth.* 559

καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἔτρων [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1231

τουρούς τῶ καὶ παστέλλια LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 570

νά τῶ σάρκες Χριστιανῶν *Alosis* 904

καὶ ἔτρων MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 624.5

λέ του ὁ Ξάνθος *Vios Aisop.* I 73.12 (Papathomopoulos) (λέ<γει> in Eideneier)

“νά γράψω”, λέ, “ς τὸν πάλιν” *Thrinis Kypr.* 17; εὐθύς ὑπᾶ' μαντάτον *ibid.* 19

1st Person Plural

λέμε (1623, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 1, 128.10)

τὰ λέμεν παραμύθια VEST., *Pathi* 174

καὶ πάμενε καὶ βλέπομε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 223.5 (for -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3.3)

σοῦ λέμεν χώρις ψῶμα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 387; δίχως αὐτὴν δὲν πάμενε *ibid.* 391

ἀλλὰ τί λέμεν *Irodos* I.85

πιάτζα ποῦ λέν οἱ Ἰταλοί, ἡμεῖς ποῦ λέμεν φόρον VATATSIS, *Periig.* I 733

2nd Person Plural

ὁποῦ μοῦ λέτε ἔτσι *Spaneas Z* 503

φυλάτε *Pol. Tr.* 1550 app. crit. (X) and *ibid.* 9613 app. crit. (B)

τῶτε καὶ πίνετε καλὰ SACHLIKIS, *Vouli pol.* 34

πᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 46.9

καὶ ἀκούτε τί τοὺς λέγει DEFAR., *Sos.* 357 (Holton)

3rd Person Plural

καὶ ὑπᾶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν *Dig.* E 201

ὁπου ὑπᾶν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)

διὰ νά πᾶν καὶ ἔρχονται (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 3, 307.15)

καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λέσι *Achil.* O 20; ὑπᾶν *ibid.* 610; πᾶσι τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς *ibid.* 698

τῶν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1859

τῶν τον *Fyll. gadar.* 160

τῶσιν το *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 462; νά τῶν *ibid.* 669

ἀφ' τὴν τράπεζαν ἄς τῶν' τὴν ἐδική μου KONAR., *Paidis* 176

¹⁵ The availability of both λέγουν and λέσι(ν) may be responsible for the following example, for which no parallel has been found: καὶ λέσουν το ἓνα Ὅχεντρες (1530–40, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: Z, 168.24).

λέσι καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι (1664, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 322, 202.12)

αὐτεῖνοι πᾶνε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.52)

καὶ τῶν τον τ' ἄγρια πρόβατα *Dimotika Ivir.* VIII.2

φυλᾶν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1074

Imperative

καὶ τ' ἄλλα δλα τῶ' τα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 536

καὶ τῶτε, ξεφαντώνετε *Imb. Rim.* 496

By analogy with the original vowel stems, “uncontracted” forms without the /y/ of the stem can also be found, often, though not exclusively, in verse texts:

καὶ ὑπάει τὸ μονοπάτιον κατὰ ἀνατολάς (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 57, 74.10)

καὶ λέγει ὁποῦ μ' ἐφύλαε *Liv.* E 437; δοῦλε μου, ποῦ ὑπάεις; *ibid.* 2178

ἐκβάνουν καὶ ὑπάουν σε *Diig. tetr.* 791 app. crit. (C); καὶ τῶεις καὶ κοιμάσαι *ibid.* 949

εἰς γεῦμαν τοὺς με τῶουν *Poulol.* 206

κι ὁλόγυρα ὑπάει *Alex. Rim.* 211

καὶ φυλάουν τας, διὰ γέλια *Epain. gyn.* 66

τῶει καὶ τὰ παπούτσα μου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.52

νά τότε φυλάη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 51.25; νά τότε φυλάουσι *ibid.* 51.25–6

ποῦ τὰ ἄρες; ποῦ τὰ πάεις *Stathis* II.89

ψόματα λέεις, γάιδαρε! FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.224

καὶ νά τὸν ἐφυλάουσιν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A2r.11

που πρέπει νά διαλέεις IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5900

τότες καίκι πάει ἐκεῖ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 443.25

λέουνε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.34)

πάο, pais, paí, paomé, pâte, paouné SPON, *Voyage* 319¹⁶

As with the true vowel stems (see introduction to this subsection), forms of these verbs often appear to be “uncontracted”, while in reality they are not. Verse texts are the best witnesses to this practice. The following examples should clearly be read with synizesis, as “contracted” forms (for synizesis, see I, 2.9.4):

κ' ὑπάει γυρεῦοντά τον *Chron. Mor.* H 3264; ἄρχισε νά λήη πρὸς αὐτοὺς *ibid.* 3560

καὶ τῶει τὸ καρφοπέταλον *Arm.* 26

νά λήη τὰ πατερμά του *Fyll. gadar.* 309a

πιστόλες, λέει, θά δώση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.91

Occasionally (ὑ)πάω and τρώω may transfer back to the class of consonant stems by the addition of -ν-, especially in texts of northern provenance:

κατέτρωναν *Eisit.* f.8r.2

ὑπάνει *Pol. Tr.* 996 app. crit. (B)

καὶ πάνεις εἰς τὸ ὄρος *Poulol.* 117 app. crit. (Z)

νά πάνω στὴν Πόλη (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 16.138) (provenance of author unknown)

¹⁶ The Frenchman Jacob Spon made a glossary of Greek during his travels to Greece and the Levant in 1675–6. The Greek is generally correct (not counting the odd mistake and “French” stress notation), but it is impossible to establish in which part of the area he came across these forms (anywhere from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese to Leivadia, Athens, various islands in the Aegean, Constantinople and parts of Asia Minor, though we can be fairly certain they are not from the northern mainland, Crete or Cyprus).

καβαλλικεύω μάβρον μου, πάνω νά τόν ποτίσω *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 6
νά πάνει νά πάρει (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 53.1)

2.1.1.3 Affixation and Modification of the Imperfective Stem

2.1.1.3.1 Affix -αιν-

Long before the period covered by this Grammar, the verbal affix /en/, usually spelled <αιν>, sometimes <εν>, began to provide alternative imperfective stems for verbs in -άνω and -ύνω (see also 1.1.1). In the texts examined, older forms with -αν- and/or -υν- are generally used alongside newer ones with -αιν-, and there is also a certain degree of interaction between forms with -αν- and -υν- (e.g. αὐξύνω for αὐξάνω):

μή συντυχαίνης, πρόσεχε *Ptoch.* IV 51; but also λαγχάνει *ibid.* 81 (λαχάνει in ms P, 15th c.)
αὐξάιναισι *Chron. Mor.* H 3729; κ' ἐσέν οὐδέν λανθαίνει *ibid.* 6933
οἱ Ἕλληνες βαραίνονται *Pol. Tr.* 6434 app. crit. (A); but also χοντρύνει *ibid.* 660 app. crit. (A)
(χοντραίνει in BEVX)
πάντα αὐξύνει ἡ δύναμις *Chron. Toc.* 700
αὐξανε τότες ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἔπιανεν ἡλικίαν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 488
τά ποιά δέ σέ λαθαίνου *Alex. Rim.* 1057
εἰς ὅσον απομάκρυνει *Apoll. Rim.* E 947 (ἀπομάκρυνε in N and V)
«Θεός δε λαθαίνει» *Diig. Alex.* K 376.17
βαραίνει τὸ σῶμα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 174.19, but also: βαρύνουσι τὸν στόμαχον *ibid.* 210.36
αὐξένουσιν οἱ χρόνοι *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1527

In certain Cretan texts of the later period, σφάνω (a Cretan variant of σφάλω, see above) also has an alternative imperfective stem in -αιν, e.g. ὅλοι οἱ ἀθρῶποι σφαίνουσι *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.37; σφαίνω καὶ φταίγω σου πολλά *Thysia Avr.* 85; μὰ τοῦτο σφαίνει ὁπού τὸ πῆ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2105.

Geographically, -αιν- is found regularly everywhere, though not in texts with a consistent Cypriot colouring, most notably the Chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios, *Pist. kekoim.* and *Fior.*¹⁷ These texts either retain the imperfective stem in -αν (often spelled -ανν, reflecting gemination, for which see I, 3.4.2.5) or form alternative imperfective stems by adding -ισκ- to the perfective stem (for which see 2.1.1.3.2):

δὲν ἡξεύρου ἴντα συντυχάννομεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 142.12–13; μανθάννοντα ὁ ρήγας *ibid.* 186.23; μανθάνοντα τὰ μαντάτα *ibid.* 178.1; τοῦτα παθάννου οἱ ἀκριβοί 436.3–4
μανθάνοντά το ο αποστολές *VOUSTR.* *Chron.* A 30.3; καὶ συντυχάννω μετὰ τους *ibid.* 202.8
νά τὰ βαστάννω *Cypr. Canz.* 29.1; ὅσα παθάννω *ibid.* 29.3; but also: ποθαίνεις *ibid.* 46.7
πάντα συντυχάννει *Fior* 81.11; δὲν χορτάννει ποττέ *ibid.* 104.21; βαστάννει δυνατὰ τὸν πόλεμον *ibid.* 127.6–7; μανθάννουσιν *ibid.* 149.2
συντυχάννοντα *Pist. kekoim.* 653
ὁ Βαλέριος συντυχάννει *Fior Suppl.* 277.15–16; ὁ ἄνθρωπος βαστάννει *ibid.* 270.16
πῶς ἐβάσαννες *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 284

¹⁷ However, these same texts do retain -αίνω (usually spelled -αίνω) with verbs that originally ended in -αίνω, like κερδαίνω and compounds with -βαίνω; they also have πηγαινῶ.

Other verbs in /ino/ can develop an alternative imperfective stem in /en/ by analogy with the above-mentioned verbs, e.g. κρένω for κρίνω, and ψένω for ψήνω. According to the grammarian Romanos Nikiforou, this is typical of the spoken language:¹⁸

ἡ ἀνακρένειν (1101, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 7, 395.14)
καὶ κρένει εἰς τὸ δίκαιον *Chron. Mor.* H 3268; τὸ τί σὲ ἀποκρένεται *ibid.* 3408
πρόσωπον οὐ διακρένει *Liv.* E 846
δειλὸν τὸν κρένω *Liv.* α 1035
νά κρένης *Pol. Tr.* 2679 app. crit. (V); ἀτός του κρένει *ibid.* 13205 app. crit. (A)
καὶ νά τὸν κατακρένου *Poulol.* 323
νά κρένηται (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 85, 190.3)
γιά ψεύτρα ... φαίνεται 'τι με κρένεις *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 310
πλούσιους πτωχοὺς νά κρένου *Alex. Rim.* 1478
νά προκρένει τὸ καλὸν ἀπὸ τὸ κακὸν *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 2, α7r.32 (1561)
στα λόγια που κρέναμεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9206
να κρένονται εἰς τὸν κατὴ μας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.6)
ἐκρεναν καὶ ἐκυβερνοῦσαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας *Alex. Fyll.* 27.12

καὶ τὰ ὁψάρια ... τὰ ἐψένα *Alex. Rim.* 1632
ἐψένοτον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 437.28
ψήνω ... communius ψένω, ψένομαι *ROMANOS, Grammar* 115.12

The affix -αιν- remained very productive well into the period covered by this Grammar, occasionally popping up with verbs whose stems do not end in a nasal, such as, notably, ἀπαντέχω, μετέχω and ὑπάγω, as well as with oxytone verbs, e.g. φορῶ > φοραίνω, for which see 2.1.3.2:

καὶ πάλι ἐπροσεγγιζαίνομεν *Chron. Mor.* H 6105
κι ἐσέν ἀπαντεχάινει *Diig. Alex. Sem* B 1030
ἀπαντέχαιναν νά ἰδοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 2, β4r.20 (1561)
νά μετεχάινουσιν (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.15)
δὲν το ἀπαντέχαινα *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voen.* 212 (Pidonia)
να ἀπαντυχαίνομεν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 115.36
ἀπαντεχάινω σε *ROMANOS, Grammar* 14.4
δὲν ἀπαντεχάινει *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 12.46
ἡ μάννα μου με θέλει ἀπαντεχάινει *MONTSEL., Evgena* 603
ὁπού μ' ἀπαντεχάινει *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 819
ἀπαντεχάινουσι *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 455
νά μετεχάινου τὸ ἕνα τετάρτιν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 82, 237.5–6);
ἐμετέχαινε μέσα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν πρᾶμα (*ibid.* 118, 279.5–6)
ἀπαντήχαινε *Don Kis.* 14.1–2

2.1.1.3.2 Affix -ισκ-

In certain areas a verbal affix -ισκ- is used to form new imperfective stems of nasal-stem verbs based on their non-sigmatic perfective stem (BEAUDOIN 1884: 94–5 and SYMEONIDIS 2006: 235 on Cypriot). Evidence to support MENARDOS's (1969: 6) and SYMEONIDIS's

¹⁸ Cf. δέρματα τὰ ἐν ταῖς κοπρίαις κείμενα συλλέγοντες ἔψεναν αὐτὰ καὶ ἔτρωγαν, παραμυθῆσθαι βουλόμενοι τὸν λιμὸν *Kekaumenos, Strategikon* 252.6–7 (ed. Litavrin).

(2006: 235–6) hypothesis that this affix derives directly from the identical AG verbal affix -(ι)σκω is not very strong. The AG affix can be found in verbs such as γινώσκω, εὐρίσκω and ἀλίσκομαι, and is also used to form barytone imperfective stems from oxytone verbs (e.g. τελῶ > τελίσκω, γελῶ > γελίσκω) (for an overview of the semantics and morphology of the AG affix see ZERDIN 1999). The MedG affix, on the other hand, is used to form a distinctive imperfective stem for barytone, not oxytone,¹⁹ verbs that have imperfective and perfective stems ending in a nasal. The affix -ισκ- is initially used with verbs that have identical imperfective and perfective stems (κρίνω, μεγαλύνω), but by analogy it spread to other nasal stems as well (μένω, σημαίνω, πεθαίνω, γίνομαι). These verbs are well-documented for Cyprus, but much less so for other areas. However, a few instances have been found in texts from Macedonia and Epirus, and it is likely to have had a wider distribution in the spoken language, given Romanos Nikiforou's testimony below, that γιανίσκει is "more what peasants say" (*villanius*), and given the fact that it was recorded in the early 20th c. among other regions in Cyprus, Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 300; PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 89; TSOPANAKIS 1953: 287–8); for this affix in modern Cappadocian see PANDELIDIS 2016a.

το δίκαιον κρίνισκει *Assizes* B 420.25; εμείνισκεν *ibid.* 431.3
μακρυνίσκονται *Assizes* A 46.17; ανακρινίσκει *ibid.* 189.29; κατακρινίσκει *ibid.* 206.16
ἐγινίσκετον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 46.30; νά τόν βαρυνίσκου *ibid.* 72.36; ἐσημάνισκε *ibid.* 86.22; νά μεγαλυνίσκουν *ibid.* 294.21; ὀλλιγανίσκουν *ibid.* 422.23; ὅτις ἐνεφάνισκε νά ψαρέψει *ibid.* 586.29 (< ἀναφαίνω); ἀρχοντυνίσκασιν *ibid.* 622.5
μεινίσκοντα μοναχοί *VOUSTR. Chron.* A 8.17; πεθανίσκοντα *ibid.* 34.10; σημανίσκει *ibid.* 188.9
ἀλαφρυνίσκω *Cypr. Canz.* 75.28; θέλει νά πεθανίσκω *ibid.* 100.38; γιανίσκει *ibid.* 115.6; μεινίσκει *ibid.* 154.16
ἀντά πληθυνίσκουσιν οἱ δξόδοι *Fior* 102.25; ὅσον περίτου ἀρχοντυνίσκει *ibid.* 105.17; κρίνισκετε ἄλλους *ibid.* 115.7; ὁ γέρος πελλανίσκει *ibid.* 149.29–30
λιγανίσκει τήν θωριά *Fior Suppl.* 270.21–2; ἀντάν πεθανίσκει *ibid.* 271.8; ὁ γλυκύς λόγος πληθυνίσκει τοὺς φίλους *ibid.* 277.27
ἐλαφρυνίσκει *Pist. kekoim.* 122; κλινίσκεις *ibid.* 380; ἐπεθανίσκαν *ibid.* 618; γινίσκεται *ibid.* 693
γιανίσκει *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §3.4
ἀπομνίσκουν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 308., f.2r.31) (= ἀπομεινίσκουν, with deletion of unstressed [i])
μνίσκουν νέτα φλορία 580 (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 24.63) (= μεινίσκουν)
ὕγιαίνω σε, *sano te* ..., vel *communius et usitatus* γιανίω σε ... vel *tertium villanius* γιανίσκω σε, *sano te*, ἐγιάνισκα σε, *sanabam te* *ROMANOS, Grammar* 104.8–10

A few unusual ones are the following:

χάρου τὸν καιρόν σου, γιατί αὐριον γερανίσκεις *Cypr. Canz.* 92.61
ἐθέλαν γερανίσκει οἱ ἄνθρωποι *Fior* 84.11
καὶ καθαρνίσκει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς *Fior Suppl.* 277.27–8
ἐμαθήνισκεν τὰ πάντα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §16.11

¹⁹ The form παρακαλίσκει *MACHAIRAS Chron.* V 516.19 is a misreading by the editor; the diplomatic edition of Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari reads παρακαλήσαι: παρακαλεῖ σε, or perhaps παρακαλεῖσαι.

The verb γερανίσκω (also recorded by MEURSIUS, *Gloss.* s.v. γερανίσκειν) presupposed the existence of a verb γεραίνω (Cypriot γεράν(ν)ω?), evidence for which is very scarce: σκόπησε τι για σέν ὁ καιρός τὰ κάλλη σου γεραίνει *Rim. kor.* V 98 (rhymes with ἔρωτοπλουμισμένη). The verb καθαρνίσκω is probably the result of an analogy with verbs in -νίσκω. The form ἐμαθήνισκεν can perhaps be explained along the same lines, because it cannot have been derived from the aorist ἐμαθα.

By the 12th c.²⁰ the AG verb ἀποθνήσκω had developed an alternative imperfective stem ἀποθαίν-/πεθαίν-, though imperfective forms of the first remain in use in MedG texts, not only as residual forms, but also with relatively "new" endings (ἀποθνήσκουν, ἀποθνήσκοντας):

αὐτίκα μὲ ἀποθνήσκουν *Ptoch.* IV 305 app. crit (H)
λοιπόν, ὡς ἐνι φυσικόν οἱ πάντες ν' ἀποθνήσκουν *Chron. Mor.* H 2441
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀποθνήσκω *Diig.* E 1793
ἀποθνήσκασιν *Pol. Tr.* 4288 app. crit (B)
μέλλω ἀποθνήσκειν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 185
ἀπέθνησκεν *Pol. Tr.* 679
νά ἀποθνήσκη *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 337
νά συναποθνήσκονται *Achil.* N 1785
τί θάνατον ἀποθνήσκω *Diig. Alex.* F 298.6 and E 299.6; ὁ Βουκέφαλος εἶδε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπου ἀπεθνήσκει *ibid.* 200.1 (ἀπόθνησκεν in E 201.1)
εἰς ἀτιμίαν καὶ ἐντροπήν ἀπεθνήσκω *Diig. Alex.* K 264.20
ιδού τώρα οπου ἀποθνήσκω *Alex. Fyll.* 114.33–4
ἀποθνήσκοντας ἔλεγεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 59.3–4
ἀπὸ ἐσένα ἀποθνήσκω *Vios. Ais.* D 119.32
ἂν δὲν ἔτρωγα, ἀπόθνησκα *Bertoldin.* 155.28

This led to the formation of a new imperfective stem (ἀ)πεθνήσκ-, with anaptyxis of /i/ in the consonant cluster /θn/ for easier pronunciation (see I, 2.6.2). Forms of (ἀ)πεθνήσκω occur in texts from southern areas, and especially the Heptanese, from about the 15th c. onwards:

ὅτι ἀπεθνήσκαν (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.6)
καὶ δὲν ἀποθενήσκω *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 622 (reading of ms A; ἀπεθνήσκω in V, ἀπεθνήσκω in N)²¹
ἀπεθνήσκαν *Pol. Tr.* 4288 app. crit. (V)
κι ἂν πεθνήσκω *Cypr. Canz.* 104.37
πεθνήσκει *Fior* 89.15
καὶ εἶδε ὅτι ἀπεθνήσκει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 337.5; ἐτύχαινε καὶ ἀπεθνήσκε *ibid.* 349.43; ἀπεθνήσκαν ἀπὸ τὴν πείναν *ibid.* 437.17
πεθνήσκοντάς μου (1587, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970b: 1, 227.4) (πεθνήσκοντάς μου in the edition)
ὅπου ἀπεθνήσκεν *Bertoldos* 33.2
ἀνίσως καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπεθνήσκεν *Bertoldin.* 146.22–3

²⁰ LBG's first example s.v. ἀπεθαίνω, is ἀπεθαμένους (12th c.), but this participle is derived directly from the aorist stem ἀποθαν-, and does not prove that there is a present in -αίνω.

²¹ The reading ἀποθενήσκω appears to be a conflation of ἀπεθνήσκω and ἀποθαίνω, or of ἀποθνήσκω and ἀποθαίνω. Ms V, which has ἀπεθνήσκω, was copied by the Corfiot Andronikos Noukios and has many Heptanesian features (VAN GEMERT 1980: 36–8 and 550–2 and 56).

In south-western areas such as the Peloponnese and the Heptanese, though not in Crete, the verb μένω has an alternative imperfective stem μινεσκ-. This stem is formed from the perfective stem μιν-, and is sometimes shortened to μνεσκ- through the deletion of the unstressed /i/ (see I, 2.7.2):

- ἀπομείνεσκειν *Pol. Tr.* 3009 app. crit. (A)
 ἔμινεσκε *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 281; μνέσκουν *ibid.* 582
 μινέσκει (1572, Peloponnese, *VEIS* 1956: 449.5)
 νὰ μνέσκουν (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, *MAVROS* 1980: 465.4); μινέσκει (1598 [copy of 1695], *ibid.* 500.2)
 νὰ μνέσκει (1636, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 13, 39.9 and 68, 78.16); νὰ μνέσκου (*ibid.* 17, 42.26)
 μνέσκει (1646, Kefalonia, *MOSCHOPOULOS* 1970: 1, 251.19)
 μνέσχοντας ὑποσχόμενος (1649, Kefalonia, *PENDOGALOS* 2008: 1, 51.14–15)
 νὰ μνέσκου (1669, Kefalonia, *BALLAS* 1999a: 2, 280.19)
 νὰ ἔμινεσχουν (1678, Kefalonia, *ALEXOPOULOU et al.* 2009: 243, 218.34)
 νὰ μινέσκη (1713, Nauplion, *LIATA* 1998a: [1], 263.23); νὰ μινέσκουν (*ibid.* 263.42)
 μινέσκω (1715, Corfu, *LIATA* 1975: 19, 134.17–18); μινέσκοντας (1716, *ibid.* 30, 142.13)

A 14th-c. manuscript containing a Judaeo-Greek glossary of unconfirmed provenance (probably from Asia Minor)²² preserves the following forms derived from verbs other than μένω. These forms, however, appear to have been derived from the imperfective stem rather than the perfective stem: ἐβραδύνεσκον *Samuel II gloss.* f.1v, l. 14 supralinear; εἰς ψηνέσκουσας *ibid.* f.2r, l. 14 (pres. part. fem. acc. pl. of ψηνέσκω < ψήνω).

Finally, a rare form in -ασκ- occurs in a document from Thessaloniki: δὲν ξέρου τι ἀγοράσκει (1698, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS* 2012: 7, 66.1) (ξέρου = ξέρω, see I, 2.5.4).

2.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

Oxytone verbs are verbs in which the stress in the present indicative/subjunctive falls on the ending, not on the stem of the verb.

2.1.2.1 A-stems and E-stems

The confusion between oxytone A-stems and E-stems that had set in in Hellenistic times (see the introduction to this Chapter) continues to manifest itself throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, in which adoption of A-stem endings by E-stem verbs is more common than the reverse (see also Chapter 4). Some representative examples are:

- πολλάκις εἶδον ἄνθρωπον φορῶντα ἱμάτια καλὰ *Vios Philaret.* 630–1 app. crit. (G); κρατῶντες λαμπάδας *ibid.* 857 app. crit. (G) (9th-c. original, 11th-c. ms)
 ἐξηγᾶται *NIKON, Logos* 4, 212.1 and *id., Logos* 9 316.4
 διεκδικᾶν (1140, S. Italy, *TRINCERA* 1865: 122, 163.27)
 προσδοκᾷς *Ptoch. I* 101
 νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται *Chron. Mor.* H 1160; νὰ σκοπᾷς *ibid.* 1654
 ἀπυλοῦνται *Dig. E* 135; κονομᾶται *ibid.* 466 ἐπεθύμα *ibid.* 1576

²² Ms Evr. IIA 1980, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg; to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming).

- οὐδὲν μολογᾷ *Assizes B* 254.30; ἀρνᾶται *ibid.* 285.26; συχωρᾶται *ibid.* 455.15
 ἀμχανῶμεν (1453, Gallipoli, *DARROUZÈS* 1963: 2, 83.19)
 προσκυνᾷ σε (1453, Kitros, *DARROUZÈS* 1963: 1, 79.20)
 τί σε φελᾷ, κυράτσα μου *Katal.* 17 (ὠφελῶ)
 βεργέτα *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 214 (εὐεργετῶ)
 ὁμολογῶμεν (1493, Rhodes, *TSOPANAKIS* 1970: 57.81)
 ἐπαπειλᾶται μοι [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 671; βοθαῖτε τὸν Καλλιμαχόν *ibid.* 1346
 πῶς μᾶς παραπονᾷ *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.11; δῆγα το *ibid.* 502.13–14 (ὀδηγῶ)
 ξηγᾶται ὁ Αἰσωπος *Fior* 108.39

The borrowing of E-stem endings by A-stem verbs is much rarer:

- μαδεῖν τὴν σὴν μουστάκαν *Spanos D* 303
 ἐμάσειες *BAROZZI, Letter* 358.9
 δὲν θέλω σιωπεῖ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 349.6
 καὶ νὰ μασεῖ τὰ σίδερα *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1006
 καὶ μασεῖ καὶ βάνει *LANDOS, Geopon.* 130.28

2.1.2.2 Affixation and Modification of the Imperfective Stem

2.1.2.2.1 Addition of /n/

Addition of a nasal after the imperfective stem of certain oxytone verbs with a liquid is a development that set in before the LMedG period with certain oxytone verbs in -ρῶ, producing forms like περνῶ (< περῶ) (see also 1.1.1), and later spreading to other verbs, e.g. ἐξέρνουν καὶ τὰ ἔφαγα καὶ τ' ἄντερά μου ἀκόμη *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 196 transcr. P (Lendari) (< ἐξερῶ), especially in northern areas: ἀφορνᾷ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §21.4 (< ἀφορῶ); λίγο κέρδα καὶ μὴν φύρνα *Paroim.* (Warner) 69.19 (< φυρῶ); ἐγὼ τὴν συγχωρῶ *Don Kis.* 139.26 (< συγχωρῶ).²³ However, the addition of /n/ does not appear to have spread to include liquid stems in /l/ before the 14th c. Forms with -λν- appear primarily in texts from northern regions, though examples of the verb χαλνῶ have also been found in texts from the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Cyprus:²⁴

- χαλνῶνται *Pol. Tr.* 8307 app. crit. (C); ἐχάλναν *ibid.* 13728 app. crit. (C)
 εὐχολὰ νὰ τὸν χάλνα *Chron. Toc.* 674
 καὶ μας χαλνά *Diig. Alex.* K 346.30; ἐχάλναν *ibid.* 363.9
 χαλνούσι *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 22.10 and 86.15; χαλνούνται *ibid.* 89.9 and 132.10

²³ Germano (copied by Portius) has καθαιρνῶ (< καθαιρω); see also 2.1.3.1. Cf. ξεκαθαίρνωντας (1633, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1958/59: 9, 144.13).

²⁴ The 15th-c. manuscript C of *Pol. Tr.* is possibly of Constantinopolitan provenance (see *PAPATHOMOPOULOS/ JEFFREYS* 1996: xcix); place of composition of the original of *Poulol.* is probably Constantinople (*TSAVARI* 1987: 99–101); northern features can be found in both *Velis.* χ (e.g. accusative for genitive, see *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1988: 48, 98) and *Diig. Alex.* K (e.g. in vocabulary and phonology, see *MITSAKIS* 1983: 320–1); *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* was written in Bucharest, though the provenance of its author is unknown; Aitolos was born in Corinth but lived in Constantinople most of his life. The only surely non-northern examples are the instances of χαλνῶ in one of the *Miracles of Nikon Metanoieite*, *Spanos's* grammar, all of Peloponnesian provenance, *Bertoldos* (Heptanese) and *Rodinos* (Cyprus).

σὲ χαλνᾷ ROMANOS, *Grammar* 133.11

χαλνᾷει BERTOLDOS 18.17

χαλνᾷτε τὴν παραγγελίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 7.9

ἀσθένεια ὅπου χαλνᾷ τὰ φαγητὰ ThAVM. *Nikon Metan.* V 25

τὸν ἐκαταχαλνοῦσαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 85.21; ἐκαταχάλνα *ibid.* 93.2

γλήγορα χαλνοῦν (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 14.78–9)

χαλνοῦσι MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1412

τὸ περίσσο χαλνᾷ τὸ ἴσιο Paroim. (Warner) 99.20

δὲν χαλνᾷται NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 310

νὰ μὴν χαλνέτι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.52r.4) (= χαλνέται, see I, 2.5.4)

καὶ τὸ εχαλνοῦσε Don Kis. 1.16; χαλνώ *ibid.* 21.13–14

κολνᾷ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2091

ἐκάλναν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.28; κολνᾷ *ibid.* III §7.89; σκολνᾷ *ibid.* III §10.10

ὥς καὶ τὰ ποντίκια κολνοῦν ἀπάνου τους (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14)

καὶ τὸ κολνᾷ Diig. *Vefa* 1307

In the same period, though with a broader geographical distribution, a similar development can be observed in certain barytone verbs (for which see 2.1.1.1.5).

In the verb κουβαλῶ, the liquid /l/ of the stem is sometimes replaced with a nasal /n/ (cf. the same phenomenon in certain barytone verbs such as βάνω < βάλλω, see 2.1.1.1.6): καὶ τὸν πηλὸν κουβάνει Ptoch. III 211 app. crit. (P); εἰς τὸν Μορέα πήγαιναν, ἐκεῖ ἐκουβανιώντον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1726; ὅλα σ' αὐτοὺς τα κουβανούν *ibid.* 9290.

2.1.2.2.2 Anaptyxis of /y/

Anaptyxis of /y/ in 3 sg., 2 sg. (and possibly 2 pl.) present of A-stem endings can be found especially, though certainly not exclusively, in Heptanesian texts (see also I, 3.5.2.1). For the same development in the imperfect, see below (2.1.2.2.3).

ν' ἀπαντάγη (13th?/15th c., Cyprus, Assizes B 455.3)

ἡ πείνα τὸν κεντάγει Theseid 1.43,1 (Follieri)

χώρια του πολεμάγει Alex. Rim. 2336; οὐδὲν τὸν ἐρωτάγει *ibid.* 2452 (both rhyme with πάγει)

νὰ κυνηγάγει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 177.35; τὴν ἐρωτάγει τὴν Παναγίαν *ibid.* 344.223

γηροκομάγει (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.10); προστυχάγει (1581, *ibid.* 8, 25.19)

πάλιν μετανόαγει Diig. *Alex. Sem.* S 960 (< μετανόω)

ὁμολογάγει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 33, 52.12–13)

καὶ ἀγαπάγει καὶ ἐμέ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 187 app. crit.

αυτὸνους κυνηγάγει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5739; ὡς θέλει καὶ ἀγαπάγει *ibid.* 5740

ὁμπρὸς τὰ προβοδάγει DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 124

νὰ ἀπερνάγει (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 184, 110.3)

πρέπει κανεῖς νὰ εὐχαριστάγει τὸν θεόν (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 67.18)

ὁμολογάγει (1700, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 6, 58.37)

τραβάγει ὅλην τὴν ὑγρότητα (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.107–8) (author from Smyrna)

πάλιν κεῖ καταντάγει VATAZIS, *Periig.* I 276 (author from the Constantinople area)

Only rarely does this /y/ spread to endings with /u/: ἐμολογάγουν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 205, 124.13) (< ὁμολογῶ); καὶ νὰ τηράγουνε τὴ δουλειά τους EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 44.17.

2.1.2.2.3 Developments in the Imperfect: Affixes -ουσ-, -αγ-, -ειγ-/ηγ- and -ουν-

In the Koine an alternative ending -σαν had emerged for the 3 pl. strong aorist (e.g. ἤλθοσαν for ἤλθον) to distinguish it from 1 sg.; regionally (mainly in Boeotia and Egypt, and especially in the *Septuagint*), this ending spread to 3 pl. imperfect of both barytone and oxytone verbs (e.g. ἐλαμβάνοσαν for ἐλάμβανον, ἐποιοῦσαν for ἐποίουν, ἐνικῶσαν for ἐνίκων) (BURESCH 1891: 195–200; DIETERICH 1898: 242–3), possibly by analogy with 3 pl. imperfect forms in -σαν of μι-verbs (e.g. ἐτίθεσαν) (HORROCKS 2010: 143–4). Apparently, with the imperfect this ending disappeared fairly soon.²⁵ Some centuries later, the ending -οῦσαν reappears with E-stem verbs (see e.g. MITSAKIS 1967: 62 for examples in the works of Romanos the Melode, 6th c.), probably modelled on present 3 pl. ending -οῦσι + past-tense -αν (KOURMOULIS 1956: 4). Subsequently the morpheme /us/ began to be viewed as a marker for the imperfect, first allowing for alternation of -αν and -ασι in 3 pl., and then gradually spreading to the rest of the paradigm and to A-stem verbs. The first grammar to give a full alternative paradigm with /us/ is that of Romanos Nikiforou (ca. 1627) (for more examples see also 4.3.2.1):

ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν τὸ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.6

κ' ἐκρατούσασι *Chron. Mor.* H 2668

ἀδικοῦσαμεν Ptoch. III 273 app. crit. (P)

ἐκρατοῦσεν *Chron. Toc.* 3664

ἐθαρούσαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.17)

ποῦ 'νε τὸ πρᾶμαν τὸ ἐβαστούσετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 442.8

ἐμισοῦσετε *Cypr. Canz.* 133.13

τινάς δὲν ἀποκοτοῦσεν νὰ περάσει ANDONIOS, *Vios Sym. Styl.* 243.12

ποῦ τοὺς ἀκαρτεροῦσαμε Theseid 2.81,3 (1529)

ἐγελοῦσαμεν ... ἐγελοῦσαν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.16; ἐκρατοῦσαν *ibid.* 60.20–1

ἐτιμοῦσαμεν ... ἐτιμοῦσαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.18; ἐπουλοῦσαμεν ... ἐπουλοῦσαν *ibid.* 92.22

ἀγαποῦσα ... ἀγαποῦσε, ἀγαποῦσε, ἀγαπούσαμε, ἀγαπούσετε, ἀγαπούσασι vel

ἀγαποῦσαν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8–9; ἐκρατοῦσα, ἐκρατοῦσε, ἐκρατοῦσε ...

ἐκρατούσαμε, ἐκρατούσετε, ἐκρατούσασι vel ἐκρατοῦσαν *ibid.* 47.21–2

ἐλειτοργοῦσε με τὸν καρδινάλην (1701, Transylvania, Legrand 1903: 14, 38.17)

εγὼ ἀγαποῦσα νὰ παραπονιέσαι Don Kis. 47.16

[ἐφι]λοῦσα ... [ἐφι]λοῦσε ... [ἐφι]λοῦσε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21; [ἐγε]λοῦσα ... [ἐγε]λοῦσε *ibid.* 41.14

Imperfects in -αγα, -αγε, -αγε etc., common for A-stems in the southern varieties of MG including Athenian, are rare in the period under investigation, and start to appear quite late. In the texts examined, examples have not been found before the 17th c.: πῶς καὶ νὰ ἐξύπναγεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2381; χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia,

²⁵ There is no compelling evidence that this ending spread from Egypt to the rest of the Hellenistic world, as BURESCH (1891: 203) supposes, at least not as regards the imperfect. Unless we are to suppose that the ending did spread to mainstream Hellenistic Greek (without, however, turning up in written texts), and remained in use in the spoken language only, not once showing up in even the most low-brow of Byzantine texts, the re-emergence of 3 pl. -οῦσαν should be viewed as the result of an independent development, as history repeating itself. GIGNAC (1981: 331) gives no examples beyond the 4th c. AD.

GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.7); ἐκράταγέ το (1670, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 2, 164.10); ἐγέλαγα SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.14 (18th c.).²⁶ It is reasonable to assume that this epenthetic /y/ first appeared in 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. forms (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 48), after which the morpheme /ay/ came to be regarded as a marker for the imperfect, allowing it to spread to the other persons as well.

Kanellos Spanos's grammar (1749; author from the Peloponnese) is the only witness to E-stem forms that consist of the verb root + stem extension /iy/ + active or passive imperfect ending:²⁷ εὐρίσκεται καί: ἐφίλειγα, [ἐφίλει]γες, [ἐφίλει]γε· ἐφίλειγαμεν, [ἐφίλει]γετε, [ἐφί]λειγαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23; εὐρίσκεται καί: ἐφιλήγομουν, [ἐφιλή]γεσουν, [ἐφιλή]γετο· [ἐφιλή]γόμασθε, [ἐφιλή]γεσθε, [ἐφιλή]γόσασθε, ἐφιλήγουνταν καί ἐφιληγόντησαν *ibid.* 40.17–18.

The morpheme -ουν-, originally the 1 sg. imperfect ending for E-stems, and later for A-stems as well, also displays a tendency to become a marker for the imperfect, but this one is restricted to the forms of the singular, starting with an added past-tense marker /a/ to 1 sg., and spreading to 2 sg. and 3 sg. in the 17th c. Forms with -ουν- have been found in texts of south-western provenance (Heptanese, Crete, Peloponnese) and in texts from Chios:

- ἐκράτουνα *Liv.* E 1670
 ποῦ κράτουνα FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 122
 ἐπεθύμουνα *Theseid* I.103,7 (Follieri); ἡμπόρουνα *ibid.* III.54,5 (1529)
 ἐγὼ τραγούδουνα AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 129.13
 νὰ τὸν ἐτίμουνα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.19
 ἐπούλουνα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.20)
 νὰ σοῦ ζήτουνα *Thysia Avr.* 897
 ἐγάπουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.4
 ἐπούλουνα (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.10); ἀπεθύμουνα (*ibid.*, 361.24)
 ὁπότεν ἐμίλουνε *Bertoldos* 6.11; δὲν ἀποκότουνε *ibid.* 70.1
 δὲν ἐπερβάτουνε *Bertoldin.* 105.23; ἐκατοίκουνε *ibid.* 109.30; ὁπότεν ἐζουνε *ibid.* 116.27
 τὴν γνώμην ὅπου κράτουνε πολλὰ τὴν ἐτιμοῦσαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1822
 δὲν ἡμπόρουνα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 165; νὰ μέτρουνα *ibid.* 406; τὴν ἀγάπουνα *ibid.* 934
 ἐφιλουνα ... ἐφιλουνε ... ἐφιλουνε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21

2.1.2.2.4 Analogical Levelling in the E-stem Paradigm and the Appearance of /j/ after Stem Consonants

After the demise of verbs in -μι and the O-stem paradigm (see 1.1), the next class of verbs to come under threat was that of oxytone E-stem verbs. Though its extinction was never fully completed, partly thanks to the reintroduction of many a form during the process of

²⁶ In his grammar (*ibid.*), Spanos states: τὸ δὲ ἐγέλαγα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ γελῶ περισπωμένου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γελάγω βαρυτόνου; however, there is no textual evidence to suggest that in the present of A-stem verbs this /y/ ever spread to all persons.

²⁷ This morpheme can for instance also be found in Kolokotronis's *Memoirs*, recorded in 1836 (PANTELIDIS 2003: 6–7) and is still found in modern Peloponnesian dialects (NEWTON 1972a: 54–5; PANDELIDIS 2001: 556).

standardization that took place in the MG period, there are clear tendencies throughout the period covered by this Grammar and across the board to adapt E-stem forms to the A-stem paradigm (see Chapter 4). But not only to the A-stem paradigm: from the 14th/15th c. onwards the E-stem paradigm also started to be influenced by the most dominant paradigm of all, that of barytone verbs. The trend that can be observed is that in the active voice distinctive barytone endings (past-tense endings, endings of the imperative) are tagged onto the less transparent endings of the oxytone E-stem paradigm, so for instance 3 sg. imperfect ἐκάλει becomes ἐκάλειε and 2 sg. imperative κάλει becomes κάλειε (see also 4.3.2 and 4.5.1.2). In the passive voice, too, a similar, though altogether more intricate, mechanism can be observed (see below). This adding of endings belonging to the barytone paradigm onto forms belonging to the oxytone E-stem paradigm was directly responsible for the appearance of the semivowel /j/ in the E-stem paradigm.

Active Voice

The 3 sg. imperfect and sg. present imperative ending -ειε consist of the E-stem ending -ει with an added ending -ε by analogy with barytone verbs (JANNARIS 1897: 219; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 45): ἐβάρει > ἐβάρειε, cf. ἔγραφε; βάρει > βάρειε, cf. γράφε. 2 sg. imperfect -ειες for -εις was soon after formed by analogy with this new 3 sg. ending. When pronounced with synizesis the unstressed /i/ before /e/ of the new ending becomes a semivowel /j/, which may lead to palatalization of the preceding stem consonant (see I, 3.8.2 for details). This is evident from the position of these forms in the political verse (e.g. at the verse end, or by simply counting the number of syllables in the half-verse), and from the fact that they are often found without a second stress when followed by a clitic pronoun, in verse as well as prose texts:

- καί φόρειε τὸ προσώμιν σου καὶ τὸν πηλὸν κουβάλειε *Ptoch.* III 211 (mss SA)
 ἐβάρειε τῆς ἡμέρας *Pol. Tr.* 224 (mss AEX)
 ἐκράτειεν τὸ εἰς τὸ χέριν τῆς *Liv.* E 1272; δνταν μ' ἐψυχοπόνειες *ibid.* E 3975
 πέμπω το· κράτειε, φόρειε το *Liv.* V 1715
 Σιγὰ περπάτειε ταπεινά *Flor.* L 1125
 καὶ ἐπούλειε τοὺς *Chron. Toc.* 3589
 ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλειεν τοὺς *Achil.* N 1341
 κατεφίλειεν τὸν *Achil.* L 1109
 καὶ τότε ἐμπροσκάλειεν τοὺς SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 177 transcr. P (Lendari)
 καὶ ἐκουβάλειεν τοὺς ψουμὶν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 428.3
 ἐγνώριζε κ' ἐθώρειε τὰ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1190; ἐφίλειε τὸνε σπλαχνικά *ibid.* V.23
 καὶ φόρειε το *Bertoldin.* 116.32
 κράτειε τὴν τῶριν δυνατὰ KONDAR., *Paides* 552

On the other hand, absence of synizesis in these forms becomes evident from the notation of a second stress when the form is followed by a clitic pronoun, or from their position in the political verse (e.g. before the caesura, or again by counting the number of syllables). Although in prose texts one can never be certain whether the second accent was there in the original or whether it has been (tacitly) added by the modern editor (unless facsimiles are provided, as is the case with the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*), the fact that these forms are also attested with intervocalic /y/ is proof of their validity outside verse texts:

μήλον χρυσόν ἐκράτειεν *Liv.* V 426
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφίλειεν τὴν ἐδικήν του κόρην *Achil.* L 1120
 στὴν βάρκα δὲν ἐχώρειε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1730
 καὶ ἐκράτειεν τὴν *Dig. Alex.* F 36.10 (Konstantinopolos); ἐφίλειέ τον γλυκέα *ibid.* 140.17
 ἐπαρακάλειεν τον *Vios Aisop.* I 248.31
 ἀκαρτερίε με ἐδῶ *Bertoldin.* 125.18
 ἐπάτειέ τον εἰς τὴν ράχι του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.20
 ἐπαρακάλειέ τους *Diig. Ag. Sof.* ω 518.5–6
 καὶ πῶς τους εκατοῦρειε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 169; αὐτάνα παρακάλειεν *ibid.* 573; ἡμπόρειες
 ν' ἀκούσεις *ibid.* 1305 (no forms with synizesis in this text)
 καὶ ἐπαρακάλειέ τον *RODINOS, Martyr. Neof.* 322.36
 ἐφίλειγε *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23

Eventually the morpheme /iy/ would come to be viewed as a marker for the imperfect, as part of the verb ending, and spread to the other persons as well, but this does not appear to have happened before the 18th c.; see 2.1.2.2.3.²⁸

Regionally, mainly in texts from insular areas, an intrusive /j/ may appear after the stem consonant of the active present indicative and subjunctive when the ending contains /u/ or /o/. This development is due to an analogy with barytone vowel stems, which may become oxytone (e.g. λύω > λυῶ, σείω > σειῶ; see 2.1.3.1 for details) and which also have homophonous perfective stems in /is/, as discussed by CHATZIDAKIS (1905/07: A 274–5) for the phenomenon in modern Peloponnesian:

ὁ ἀντλιῶν (10th c., Cappadocia, *DE JERPHANION* 1925/42, vol. 1: 277)
 τοὺς καλιῶν εἰς πόλεμον *Assizes B* 464.23
 τὰ φύλλα ὄντε μαδιῶσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.46
 ὥστε νὰ ζιῶ *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* I.152
 ν' ἀθιῶσι *Stathis* III.511; νὰ ἀθιῶ *ibid.* III.513
 νὰ ζιῶμε (1614, Tinos, *HOFMANN* 1936: 1, 58.14)
 ζιῶ (1659, Paxoi, *PETROPOULOS* 1958: 8, 7.5)
 ἐπατιῶσα *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.365; ἀμπωθιῶσα *ibid.* II.366

Passive Voice

The appearance of /j/ in the passive present and imperfect of the oxytone E-stem paradigm is traditionally explained as a case of analogical levelling, by which oxytone verb forms with /i/ in their ending (e.g. 3 sg. act. impf. ἐβάρει, 3 sg. pass. pres. βαρεῖται) started to adopt endings from the barytone paradigm (e.g. 3 sg. act. impf. -ε: ἐβάρει > ἐβάρειε, 3 sg. pass. pres. -εται: βαρεῖται > βαρειέται) (*JANNARIS* 1897: 219; *CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: A 45–7), after which the /i/ of the ending, having developed into a palatal semivowel /j/, spread to the whole paradigm, leading to forms such as κρατειῶμαι and ἀγαπειῶμαι. *BABINIOTIS* (1972: 185) adds to this that, though the starting point is a matter of analogical levelling with barytone verbs, the evolution is phonological in principle, starting with verbs ending in a velar consonant (e.g. νικῶ), which present a palatal allophone in

verb forms with affixes with front vowels /e/, /i/ (see I, 3.8.2.1). Though *Jannaris* and *Chatzidakis* are clearly correct in assuming that the new endings involve the borrowing of endings from barytone verbs both in the case of active 2 sg. -εσ/3 sg. -ε and in the case of passive 2 sg. -έσαι/3 sg. -έται, the weak point in their theory is that it leaves unexplained why the general spread of this semivowel to forms with /o/ and /u/ endings limited itself to the passive voice, as active forms such as μαδιοῦσι or ζιῶ are attested only regionally (see above, Active Voice).

A flaw in the second theory is that the textual evidence does not support the supposition that the development started from velar stems; it is clearly first attested and most frequent with liquid stems (/l/ and /r/, only the first of which has a palatal allophone [ʎ]), followed by nasal, labial and dental stems. The development is therefore unlikely to be phonological in principle. Moreover, neither theory takes into account the fact that there are clear differences in development between oxytone A- and E-stem verbs.

For reasons that are not yet well understood, by the LMedG period the E-stem paradigm was already experiencing serious competition from the A-stem paradigm, with increasing numbers of original E-stem verbs adopting A-stem endings (see Chapter 4). Later on it also started to receive serious pressure from the dominant barytone paradigm (dominant because there are far more barytone than oxytone verbs), which included several vowel-stem verbs that in many ways behaved similarly to oxytone verbs, as forms with both stress patterns occur: κυλίεται and κυλιέται, ἀποκλείεται and ἀποκλειέται, while some verbs in this category even undergo a complete or partial transfer to the class of oxytone verbs (e.g. μηνύω > μηνῶ) (see 2.1.3.1). The appearance of /j/ in the passive imperfective stem of oxytone E-stem verbs coincides with the adoption of barytone endings in the oxytone E-stem paradigm, not only for endings with /i/, but from early on also for those with /u/ (see below). The levelling process will logically have started from forms that had /i/ in their endings, such as 2 sg. pres. βαρεῖσαι, 3 sg. pres. βαρεῖται, 2 pl. pres. βαρεῖσθε/βαρεῖστε, 3 sg. impf. ἐβαρεῖτον and 2 pl. impf. ἐβαρεῖσθε/ἐβαρεῖστε. Evidence for this development can be traced from the 14th c. onwards and it is likely to have set in not too long before the 14th c.²⁹ Adopting the endings -εσαι /ese/ (2 sg. pres.), -εται /ete/ (3 sg. pres.), -ετον /eton/ (3 sg. impf.) and -εσθε/-εστε /esθe/estē/ (2 pl. pres. and impf.) of the barytone paradigm, the /i/ of the oxytone endings was for some reason retained and a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate occurred to keep the forms in line with the rest of the oxytone paradigm. Due to the shift of the stress and subsequent synizesis, /i/ evolved into a semivowel /j/ and came to be viewed as a marker for the passive imperfective stem (/va'ri-te/ > /vari-'ete/ > /var'jete/),³⁰ occasionally popping up even in the infinitive: θέλει πουλιέσθαι (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 200, 200.14); ἤθελε κρατιέσθαι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 5.4 (for more examples see Chapter 4).

²⁹ 12th- and 13th-c. mss such as those of Nikon of the Black Mountain, Michail Glykas and *The Book of Jonas* do not have such forms.

³⁰ Proparoxytone 3 sg. forms in -ίεται are too few and far between (see 4.1.2.2) to seriously consider them to represent an intermediate form. For 2 sg. -ιέσαι, which developed simultaneously to the 3 sg. form, no proparoxytone variants have been found, nor for 2 pl. -ιέσθε/ιέστε.

²⁸ A 1 sg. form ἡμπόρεια appears for instance in a late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy: D. Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.59 (ed. Z. Synadinos, Athens 1997) and a full paradigm with -ει- can be found in certain MG dialects (*NEWTON* 1973: 210).

πωλιέται τὸ τυρὶν *Ptoch.* IV 122 (reading of oldest ms S)
 νὰ βαρεῖσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 203, 482, 584, 1092 and 2524; καὶ τί τὰ ἀγωνιέσαι *ibid.* 2505 (<
 ἀγωνοῦμαι, see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v.); ὅπου ἀγωνιέτον *ibid.* 3478; πρέπει νὰ τὸ βαρεῖται
ibid. 5801; πουλιέται τὸ κρασί *ibid.* 8290; ἐκρατεῖτον *ibid.* 7491
 νὰ κρατιέται *Pol. Tr.* 8992
 ἐκρατιέτον *Assizes* B 366.5; διαλαλιέται *ibid.* 481.15
 καὶ ἔμορφα νὰ ὀρχιέται *Achil.* L 274
 τὸ ψωμί ὅπου πουλιέται (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.34)
 ἐπικαλιέτον RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 81.24; νὰ καταχαλιέται *ibid.* 82.3

Very soon /j/ also started to appear in verb forms with /u/ in their endings, such as 1 sg. pres. pass. βαροῦμαι, 1 sg. imperf. pass. ἀρνόουν or 3 pl. imperf. pass. ἐκρατούντησαν, but it is not just a matter of the semivowel spreading from endings with /e/ to endings with /u/. The forms with /u/ actually adopted the corresponding barytone endings with /o/ (e.g. -ομε, -όντησαν), at the same time adopting the semivowel /j/ of the new 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. forms with /je/. Evidence for this can already be found in the 14th c.: the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* have several instances. The etymologizing spelling with <ω> for <ο> of manuscripts and modern editions, as if this were in fact an A-stem ending, is, of course, entirely graphematic:

βαρεῖομαι *Chron. Mor.* H 845, 1093, 5807, 7034 and 7803; οἱ πάντες τὸ βαρεῖωνται *ibid.* 7559
 ἐκρατιόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 747 and 9259; κρατιώνται *ibid.* 4374
 ἀρνιόουν *Love poems* V 225; τυραγνιῶμαι *ibid.* 481
 νὰ προσκαλιώνται (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 390.13)
 ἄμποτε νὰ κρατειόουν, νὰ κρατειόουν, νὰ κρατιότον· νὰ κρατειόμεσθα, νὰ κρατειόνταν
 SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.16–17
 ἀγκαλιόνταν (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.6–7) (<ἐγκαλῶ>); εἴτι χρέη
 χρωστιόνταν (1555, *ibid.* 172, 222.17)
 ἐβαρειόουν *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (A)
 ἐκρατιώνταν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 79.15; ἐχαλιώνταν *ibid.* 91.15
 ἐκεῖ ἐκουβανιόντων ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1726
 εὐχαριστιώνται (1687, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 91, 52.2)

It must be stressed that until the 16th c. the endings with /j/ are only very rarely used with A-stem verbs (for more examples see 4.1.2.2):

ἐγγυέστε *Assizes* B 309.24 and *Assizes* A 59.27
 ἀγαπιώνται *Chron. Toc.* 1612
 γιὰ ν' ἀπαντιέται *Alex. Rim.* 1070; ἀρχίζει καὶ βρουχιέται *ibid.* 1984 and *Diig. Alex.* K 376.31
 μαδιέται *Epain. gyn.* 697; πολλὰ πηδιέται *ibid.* 698
 ἐγγυέσαι GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *pieggiare*
 ἐμιλιέτονε TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.328
 γελιῶνται RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.15; ἀγωνιέτον *ibid.* 66.18; καυχιῶνται *ibid.* 102.5; νὰ
 ἀγαπιέται *ibid.* 128.4
 γελιώμαι *Don Kis.* 49.16
 γελιώμαι ... γελιέσαι SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.20

From about the 15th c. /u/ was as it were “reintroduced” into these forms, first in 3 pl. /onde/ > /unde/, and from the late 16th c. in other persons as well. A parallel development can be observed in barytone verbs, also starting from 3 pl., where it is particularly

common (see 4.1.1.2). The appearance of /u/ for /o/ in the barytone paradigm is usually explained as the result of back vowel raising, of unstressed /o/ to /u/, in the environment of a nasal, but since in the oxytone paradigm /o/ is stressed, there is no valid phonetic explanation for its change to /u/. Therefore the change is likely to be analogical to the barytone paradigm, in which the variant /unde/ for /onde/ was very common, and must be seen in the light of a general /u/-dynamic that is at play in parts of the morphology of the verb (BABINIOTIS 1972: 189–92); for more examples see 4.1.2.2.

τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πουλιοῦνται (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 43, 36.1)
 ἐνοχλιοῦνται (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.17–18)
 κρατιοῦνται *Apoll. Rim.* V 257
 θέλω νὰ πουλιοῦνται (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 77, 145.19); νὰ
 ἀποκρατειοῦνται (1525, *ibid.* 100, 187.28)
 ἀν ἐξαναγεννιούμου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.88; ἐκρατιούμου *id.*, *Erof.* III.41 transcr. X
 (Legrand)
 ἐπουλειούμου, ἐπουλειούσου GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.26; παρατιοῦμαι *id.*, *Vocab.* s.v.
abbandonare
 τὸν ἐπικαλιούταν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 120.14
 ἐκαυχιοῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.34
 νὰ κρατειούμεσθα RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 251.5
 γροικιούμασθε (1697, Mani, PETRIDIS 1870: 431.5)
 ἐβαριούσουν τὸ ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erof.* I.996; κι ὥρες σοῦ τὰ βαριούμου *ibid.* I.1000; ἐκεῖνοι ὅπ'
 ἀγαπιούνταν *ibid.* I.1112
 ο δὸν Κισότης ... ἐβαστιούνταν *Don Kis.* 48.15–16

In certain regions there appears to have been a tendency to introduce the /e/ of 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. into 3 pl. in the same way as it was eventually extended to 1 sg. in the MG period. Evidence for this is very scarce, as only two examples have been found, in documents from Arcadia and Achaia, dating after the period under review. Its spelling ἀγροικένται for ἀγροικιένται is graphematic, as /k/ before /e/ will have had a palatalized pronunciation (see I, 3.8.2.1): νὰ ἀγροικένται (1724, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 43, 143.12); νὰ ἐγροικένται (1754, Sopoto, PAPADOPOULOS 1977: 5, 68.7).

2.1.3 Transfers between Verb Classes

Conflation of oxytone verbs with verbs in -άζω and -ίζω continues to occur in the period covered by this Grammar. This is due to the fact that their perfective stems are either identical, as in the case of -ασ- and -αξ-, or homophonous, as in the case of -ησ- and -ισ-, -ηξ- and -ιξ- (see also 2.2.1). Quite a few verbs had forms of both types before the LMedG period (e.g. ἀρπάζω/ἀρπῶ). The availability of both oxytone and barytone forms of verbs is of course very convenient for poets, who may use both forms depending on the verb's place in the political verse, e.g. oxytone or proparoxytone forms before the caesura, paroxytone forms at the end of the verse, or to accommodate the rhyme. Compare for instance the following examples from the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Sacrifice of Abraham*: τιμητικὰ τοὺς χαιρετᾷ ὁ πρίγκιπας ἀτὸς τοῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 5258; τὸν καστελλᾶνον ἠῦρηκεν, γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετίζει *ibid.* 8219; κι ὄντα μ' ἀποχαιρέτιζε κι ὄντα μ' ἐγλυκοφίλει *Thysia*

Αντ. 830; μόνο πώς αποχαιρετῶ πάσα ἐδικὸ καὶ φίλο *ibid.* 932. Other representative examples are given in the next two subsections.

2.1.3.1 Barytone to Oxytone

πῶς οὐ πλαντῆς, παράδοξον; GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 256 (< πλαντάζω)
 πρόθυμα νὰ ὑποσχίεται *Chron. Mor.* H 478; ὑποσχιδόμεθεν *ibid.* 8966 (< ὑπόσχομαι)
 τρέμει καὶ ἀπελπίεται *Spaneas* Z 562 (< ἀπελπίζομαι)
 τὸν ἀρπᾶ *Byz. Il.* 944 (< ἀρπάζω)
 σκορπᾶς καὶ καταχύνεις *Diig. tetr.* 137 (hapaχ) (< σκορπιζω)
 ἐτράβα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον *Alex. Rim.* 1142 (< τραβίζω < ταυρίζω)
 δταν μᾶς ἐτράβαν ὁ Τζαούσης (1550, Athos, ΠΑΥΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΝ 2006: XVI, 123.6–7)
 ποσῶς δὲν ἐλυγοῦσαν *Chron. Toc.* 3353 (< λυγίζω)
 γογγᾶ *Peri xen.* 74 (< γογγύζω)
 συχνὰ τὸν δνειδοῦσαν *STAVRINOS, Mich. Voen.* 58 (< δνειδίζω)
 σβιδῶ *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. smorzare* (< σβήνω)
 φωτῖα ὅπου δὲν σβεῖ ποτέ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 3.12; οἱ λαμπάδες μας σβοῦσιν *ibid.* 25.8
 συνηθᾶ *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 124.10 (< συνηθίζω)
 ὡς καθὼς συνηθοῦνε οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ ἀρχιερεῖς (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.7) (< συνηθίζω)
 ταιριῶντας (1714, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 28, 333.9) (< ταιριάζω)

Some barytone vowel-stem verbs may undergo a complete (most notably μηνύω > μηνῶ and μεθύω > μεθῶ) or partial transfer to the class of oxytone verbs, based on their homophonous perfective stems in [is] (μηνύω, μηνυσ-, cf. ἀγαπάω, ἀγαπησ-),³¹ adopting regular oxytone A- and E-endings for their imperfective forms as well.³²

μηνᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 1317 (< μηνύω)
 ἐσβειοῦν τοὺς ἀστέρας *Liv.* V 2565 (< σβείω, 1 sg.)
 οὐκ ἰσχοῦσαν *ERMON., Ilias* 12.203 (< ἰσχύω); ἀποσπούσαν *ibid.* 22.260 (< ἀποσπάζω)
 κ' ἐγὼ ἐθεώρουν κ' ἔσχουν *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 293 transcr. (Lendari) (< σκάω)
 τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπολούσαν *Synax. gyn.* 104 app. crit. (< ἀπολύω)
 τὸ κρασὶν μεθυᾶ τὰ κορμιά *Fior Suppl.* 274.15 (< μεθύω)
 τα φύλλα που εσοῦσαν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 64.7 (< σείω); καὶ ὅλοι τον εφτούσαν *ibid.* 96.5 (< φτύω) (for post-consonantal deletion of /j/ see I, 2.4.7.3)
 νὰ πίνει καὶ νὰ μεθᾶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 12.45
 ἐφτυοῦσαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 187.35 and 419.20 (< πτύω)
 ἤσπου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.174 (< σπάω); μεθεῖ *ibid.* III.528; κυλούσι *id., Panor.* I.254 (< κυλίω)
 πάλιν μανιέται περισσῶς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 419 (< aor. ind. ἐμάνησα of μανίωμαι)
 περεχῶ, -ᾶς, ἐπερέχουν *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. buttare*; ξυοῦμαι, -ἔσαι *ibid.* s.v. *rasparsi* (< ξύω)
 ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολνᾶ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1644 (< ἀπολύω)

³¹ Given the fact that this development affected vowel stems in -ύω, it cannot have taken place before around the year 1000, by which time <υ> had undergone the sound change [y] > [i]; see I, 2.4.6.1.

³² The reverse phenomenon can sporadically be found, e.g. οὐκ ὀκνύομεν γράψαι *Ekth. Chron.* 1.4 app. crit. (DL) (< ὀκνῶ; this is the reading of both extant manuscripts, corrected to ὀκνοῦμεν in modern editions).

σὰν βρύσες ἀναβροῦσαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron. Proem.* §3.69 (< ἀναβρύω); μεῖ εφτοῦσεν *ibid.* I §31.28
 τὸν ἀποκλειοῦσαν *SOU MAKIS, Rebelio* 52.1–2 (< ἀποκλείω)

Some new verbs show this variation from the beginning:

ὁ ἵππος δὲ χιλμιντᾶ *Diig. tetr.* 1070 app. crit. (P)
 ἐσκορπιζεν αὐτὸς ἐκείνους *Dig. A* 2074; διατὶ σκορπᾶ τὸν λογισμὸν *ibid.* 2540
 τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄλογα χλιμιντρίζουσι *Vios Aisop.* E 290.14
 τὸ ἄλογον ἀγαλῆνᾶ ἐχλιμῖτρα *Diig. Alex.* F 118.19 (Lolos)
 τα φύτρ' ἀναγαλλιάζασι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.318; ν' ἀναγαλλιά η καρδιά σου *ibid.* III.160
 μὰ δὲ χιλμιντρίζει *KORNAOS, Erot.* II.343; φαριά χιλμιντροῦσι *ibid.* II.496

A few barytone verbs obtain oxytone variants through a simple shift of the stress to the ending of the verb, after which oxytone endings are adopted. The verb καθαίρ(ν)ω has an oxytone variant καθαιρνῶ. In texts from Cyprus and Crete, oxytone variants of the verb θλίβω are found; Cypriot texts also have oxytone forms of δίδω (see also 2.4):

ὅτι δίδῶ του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.37 and 15.47); διδεῖ του (*ibid.* 29.46)
 ὅτι ἐγὼ θλιβοῦμαι *Florios* 283 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ διδοῦσαν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 86.22–3; τίντα μοῦ διδεῖτε *ibid.* 432.24
 διδεῖς *Cypr. Canz.* 54.7 (but δίδεις *ibid.* 26.14); θλιβᾶται *ibid.* 24.1 (but θλίβεται *ibid.* 102.8)
 πολλὰ θλιβεῖς, Μαρία *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 322
 νὰ μὴν θλιβεῖ καμπόσον! *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 64
 τὸ στόμα διδεῖ του χνώτον *Fior Suppl.* 270.20–1
 δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν *Pist. kekoim.* 499–500; διδοῦνται *ibid.* 392
 διδῶσιν ἡμέρας μετρητάς *Diig. Apoll.* 67
 εὐχοῦμαι, -ᾶσαι *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. dare la sua benedittione*; καθαιρνῶ *ibid.* 251 s.v. *purgare*
 ξεκαθερνῶντας (1633, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 9, 144.13)
 ἄμ' ἄς θλιβεῖ γὰρ λόγου μου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 556.4
 μόνον νὰ μᾶς διεῖ ἐξᾱκόσια ἄσπρα τὸ χρόνον (1674, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 10, 25.11–12) (= διδεῖ with fricative deletion; see I, 3.6.1.1)
 πράγματα ξένα δὲν διδῶ *Thrinos Kypr.* 14; χαράτзин νὰ διδοῦσιν *ibid.* 394

Some barytone verbs have oxytone alternatives only for the passive voice:

πῶς ἡ κτίσις ἐγκρυβᾶται *Vulgärorakel* I.47
 ἀναπέται *Pol. Tr.* 8684 app. crit. (A) (< ἀναπεύω < ἀναπαύω)
 μυστήριον οὐ κρυβᾶται *Paroim.* F 46
 ἐσὺ ἀναπέσαι στὰ ζεστὰ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 104; ν' ἀναπιέσαι *ibid.* 316; ἀναπέται *id., Thrinos* 40
 θωρῶ ὅτι βασανῶμαι *Love poems* V 482 (< βασανίζω) (rhymes with τυραγνῶμαι)
 ἴτις νὰ βασανιέσαι *Apoll. Rim.* V 401 (rhymes with νὰ διακονιέσαι)

For alternative forms of the verbs βλέπω and ὑπάγω, see 2.4.

2.1.3.2 Oxytone to Barytone

καὶ ὀκάτι δειλιάζω σε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 195 (< δειλιῶ)
 ἐπαρηγόριζε τον *Chron. Mor.* H 4902

ἐχάλαττε τα ἐκεῖνος *Pol. Tr.* 13728 (< χαλῶ)
 καὶ ἀπὲ τοῦ θρήνου ἐσώπαζεν *Liv. E* 3464 (< σιωπῶ)
 πολεμίζουν τὸ κάστρο μας (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.4) (< πολεμῶ)
 γροικίζω οὐκ εἶσαι ἀναίσθητος *Liv. S* 734 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (< γροικῶ)
 νὰ ἐθρήνιζεν μεγάλως *Achil. N* 1682 (< θρηνῶ)
 καὶ ἀποκρατεῖ καὶ ἐξαρρωστίζει με (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 74.8–9)
 (< ἀρρωστῶ)
 συμπαθίζοντα τοὺς δχθροὺς *Fior* 97.35–6 (< συμπαθῶ); ὁ λιόντας δὲν πολεμίζει ποττὲ με τὰ
 μουρμούκια *ibid.* 130.7–8 (< πολεμῶ)
 ποσῶς οὐ σταματίζει *Theseid* XI.11,5 (1529) (< σταματῶ)
 νὰ ᾽ποκτίζομεν *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 110.25–6 (< ἀποκτῶ)
 τῆς νίκης ἀκολουθίζεν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 2523 (< ἀκολουθῶ)
 ἦγουν σταματίζοντας *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.33 app.cr. (< σταματῶ)
 καὶ ἐδῶ σιμά βρυχίζονται *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6316 (< βρυχῶμαι)
 ἐρωτιζόμενον *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* a3v.8
 τηράζοντας ολόγυρα *Kaloandros* 405.20; τηράσσοντας *ibid.* 408.32 (< τηρῶ)³³
 πολεμίζοντας *Irodīs* I.6

Sporadically, new active present stems can be found for deponent verbs: ὡς λέοντες ἐβρύ-
 χιζαν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* II 319.30 (< βρυχῶμαι); ὡσάν λέοντας βρύχει *VATATSI, Periig.*
 I 878.

New barytone verbs can be derived from oxytone verbs through the addition of the ver-
 bal affix -αιν- (sometimes spelled -εν-) to the imperfective verb stems from at least the 12th
 c. onwards in texts from various areas:³⁴

βασιλικά φοραίνουσιν *Pol. Tr.* 10621 (< φορῶ)
 ἐπαίρνει το, φοραίνει το, φοραίνει κλόνον μέγαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1761
 ἄλλων φορένεις πρόσωπον *Plani kosmou* 121
 σίδηρα με φοραίνει *Liv. α* 2791
 τὸ φοραίνει *Poulol.* 122
 ἐφόραινεν καὶ στέφανον *Achil. L* 545
 τότες τοῦ τὸ φοραίνει *Alex. Rim.* 2220
 ἄλλα ροῦχα φορένει *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 2465
 ἀπάνταναν *Pol. Tr.* 1097 app. crit. (AX) (ἀπανταίνου in B) (< ἀπαντῶ)
 συναπανταίνου *Alex. Rim.* 2288
 ἀπανταίνει τὴν Μαρίαν τὴν Μαγδαληνὴ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 379.14
 (ἡ στράτα ...) ἀπανταίνει τὸ μονοπάτι (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.26); ἀπανταίνομεν
 τὸ μονοπάτι (*ibid.* 450.1)
 εὐκαιραίναν *Pol. Tr.* 3087 (mss BX) (< εὐκαιρῶ)

³³ These variants of τηρῶ have a perfective stem in -αξ. Examples have been found in texts from the Hepta-
 nese and the Peloponnese: ἐτήραξε το χαϊμένον πρόσωπον *Kaloandros* 408.19; τήραξε *MONTSEL., Evgena*
 1412; καὶ τὴν ἐτηράσανε *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 117.23; καὶ τηράξετε, διὰ τὸν Θεόν, νὰ μὴ χάσετε (1712,
 Nauplion, *LIATA* 1975: 2, 121.9).

³⁴ Eustathios of Thessaloniki mentions φοραίνω several times in his commentaries on Homer, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ γοῶ
 γοαίνω γίνεται, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ φορῶ τὸ φοραίνω (see the online *TLG*). Influenced by φοραίνω, we may even
 find ἀφορένω for ἀφορίζω: ἀφορένοντας καὶ διὰ δλίγης τιμῆς πράγματα (1679, Corfu, *KAPADOCHOS* 1990:
 46, 258.6)

νὰ σοῦ τὸ εὐκαιρένω (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 19, 19.6)
 τὸ ευκαιραίνουσιν *LANDOS, Amart. sot.* 335.5

στέκου αὐτοῦ καὶ σῶπαινε *Fyll. gadar.* 49B (< σιωπῶ)
 σῶπαινε νὰ γρικῆσω *Thysia Avr.* 1089
 ὁλα τὰ ἐσιώπαινε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 376.4
 σιώπαινε μόνε ἐσὺ ζῶον *Bertoldin.* 130.25
 καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπαινε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 26.63

κ' ἐπληροφόρενά σε *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 282 (< πληροφορῶ)
 ἄρχισε τὸ νερόν καὶ ἐφύραινε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 191.6–7 (< φυρῶ)
 ἀποχταίνει *PAPASYNAD., Chron. II* §9.20 (< ἀποκτῶ)

In texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese), italianized alternatives in -άρω can
 sometimes be found:

νὰ ἐλετζέρουν ἕναν ἐφημέριο διὰ νὰ ἱεουργάρε (1561, Zakynthos, *KONOMOS* 1969a: 1,
 34.18–19)
 πῶς τότε βαστάρισεν (1636, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 11, 83.10)
 πῶς σὲ βαστάρει ἡ ψή σου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.250
 δὲ με βαστάρει ὁ νοῦς μου *Zinon* I.269

For oxytone verbs that use a barytone alternative stem in -ζ to form the present passive
 participle, see 2.3.1.2.

2.2 Perfective Stem

The perfective stem of verbs shows much less variation and development than the im-
 perfective stem. With some exceptions, perfective stems remain morphologically stable
 before, throughout and beyond our period. The perfective stem is used with active and pas-
 sive endings to form the aorist indicative, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive and participle/
 gerund as well as new “perfect” passive participles (see also 2.3.2).

2.2.1 Sigmatic

For the majority of barytone verbs, the perfective active stem is formed by adding -σ- to
 the imperfective active stem. The perfective passive stem is formed by adding -θ- to the
 perfective active stem in -σ, or by substituting -θ- for -σ-. From about the 3rd c. onward,³⁵
 the verbs δίδω (< δίδωμι) and θέτω (< τίθημι), which originally had /k/ forms in the sin-
 gular (see also 2.2.1.10), had begun to develop a full sigmatic alternative aorist (singular
 and plural), due to the fact that their rather opaque aorist subjunctive (δῶ, δῶς, etc. and
 θῶ, θῆς, etc.) has been replaced by the (sigmatic) future indicative (δῶσω, δώσεις, θήσω,
 θήσεις, etc.). First attestations of sigmatic singular forms date to as early as the 3rd c.
 AD (*MANDILARAS* 1973: 145–6), e.g. ἔδωσεν (1128, S. Italy, *MERCATI et al.* 1980: 13,

³⁵ A form ἔδωσεν in Aelius Herodian (2nd c. AD; ed. Nauck; see the online *TLG*) appears in two of the four mss
 (Par. gr. 2551 and Par. gr. 2929), which date to the 15th/16th and 16th c. respectively.

98.13); ἔθεσα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.14); and ἀφήνω (< ἀφήμι) followed suit a little later.³⁶

For details on δίδω and θέτω, see also 2.4.

2.2.1.1 Vowel Stems

2.2.1.1.1 Active Voice

The perfective active stem of barytone vowel-stem verbs is formed by adding -σ- to the imperfective stem:

νὰ τὰ συγκρούσω βούλομαι *Liv.* V 1360
καὶ τὰ παιγνίδια ἔκρουσαν *Achil.* N 358
ἄκουσε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 845
μ' ἔλοῦσαν *Krasop.* AO 99

ἄς χρίσουσι τὰς παραστάς τῶν θυρῶν *Hist. Imp.* I 1381
τὴν ἠήνυσεν *Pol. Tr.* 279 app. crit. (A)
εμηνύσετε ἸΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 7869
δὲν ἠμπορεῖ τὰ κλείσει *Peri xen.* 26
ἀποκλείσανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.20

εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἡφταισα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.24)

The verbs πλέω, πνέω, ρέω retain their inherited perfective stems in πλευσ-, πνευσ- and ρευσ- respectively:

ἡμέρας δύο ἔπλευσα *Pol. Tr.* 13622
ἔαν γοῦν ρεύσουν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀγωγοὶ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 27, 28.2–3)
ὅπως νὰ περιπλεύσουσιν *Chron. Toc.* 389
εἰς τὸ νησί ἐπλεύσαμε *Alex. Rim.* 2620
ἐκ το κεφάλιν ἐρευσσε χρυσάφι ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 109.5.

Of the verb πλέω, perfective forms with -εψ- can sporadically be found (for manner dissimilation see I, 3.8.1): τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπλέψαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1305; κ' ἐδιόρθωσε νὰ πλέψουσιν *ibid.* 8787; ἐπλέψασιν *Florios* 1050 app. crit. (Hesseling).

The verbs καίω and κλαίω retain their inherited perfective stems in -αυσ before and throughout the period under review:

τοὺς καύση ἡ φλόγα τοῦ λουτροῦ *Liv.* V 924
ἐθρήνησαν, ἐκλαῦσαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 266
καὶ μέγαν θρήνον ἔκλαυσαν *Achil.* L 1294
κλαύσατε *Dig.* E 1698
καὶ κλαύσατε μέγας *Achil.* N 1658

³⁶ As root aorists with κ-forms in the singular, such as δίδω, ἀφήνω and θέτω, developed alternative sigmatic forms, and as other verbs, too, could form both sigmatic and κ-forms (see 2.2.1.10), it is not surprising that there was some experimenting with alternative sigmatic forms of verbs such as βαίνω and γίνομαι, although these forms never made it into the mainstream: τί ἐστιν ἡ χρεία, ἡ ἐσυνέβησέ σοι; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 179.1d); μέρη τε καὶ βασίλεια γενήσαμε αὐτόπτης ΒΑΤΑΤΣΙΣ, *Periig.* II 34.

καὶ ἐκαῦσαν τὰ ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 192.15
καὶ δυνατὰ τὸν ἔκλαυσε *Alex. Rim.* 280
ἠκαυσεν τὸ Ρέθεμνος (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 505.22.2)
νὰ μὲ κάμει νὰ κλαύσω *Bertoldin.* 129.33
θέλει τοὺς κατακαύσει ἸΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 5867
ἡ φόνευσέ τοὺς ἡ καῦσε τοὺς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 159.32–3
να καύσεις τοὺς ἰουδαίους VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 465.22–3
καὶ θέλει νὰ τὴν κατακαύσῃ *Vios Aisop.* I 265.40

From about the 14th c. onwards, forms in -αψ- (see I, 3.8.1) can be found, usually alongside forms in -αυσ-:

ἐκάψασιν τὸ ἐμπόριον *Chron. Mor.* H 4666; καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκλάψανέ τον *ibid.* 7222
νὰ κλάψουν εἰς τὸ μνημαν του *Dig.* E 247
τὰ ἔκαψεν ὁ πόθος *Liv.* E 4097
καὶ νὰ τὸ κάψω *Liv.* V 1788
κατάκαψον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 635
ἔκλαψεν καὶ ἐστέναξεν *Achil.* L 716; ἐκατέκαψεν *ibid.* 1322
νὰ κλάψῃ, νὰ θρηνήσῃ; *Achil.* N 1822
καὶ τὴν καρδιά της ἔκαψεν *Achil.* O 376
κάψε τα *Spanos* A 100
κλάψετε τὸν διδάσκαλον DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 343
συγκλάψετε FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 17
νὰ κλάψουσι (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.111)

Verbs that transfer to the class of consonant stems for the imperfective stem through anaptyxis of /y/ (see 2.1.1.2) can form a new perfective stem in [ks] (see 2.2.1.3).

2.2.1.1.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of vowel stems in -υ substitute -θ- for -σ-, while those in -α, -ει and -ου are formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ-. The combination -σθ- may become -στ- through the process of manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see 3.8.1):

νὰ ἐπαρελύθην *Ptoch.* III 162
τὸ πῶς ἐκαταλύθησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1113
ὀνομαστὰ ἐμηνύθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 12830
ἀξάπολύθησαν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 190.24
ἐπελυθήκασιν *Achil.* N 583 (ἐπιλύω)
ἡ κυρά ἐκωλύθην το ἔλα της εἰς τὴν χώραν VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 154.12–13

ἐκλάσθησαν τῶν δύο *Dig.* G I.176
ἐπαρεκλάσθη ἡ θύρα μας *Ptoch.* II 56.2 app. crit. (G); ἐκλάσθη τὸ ποτήριν *ibid.* 57.1 app. crit. (H)

νὰ ἐξανασπάσθην ἀπεκεῖ *Liv.* V 1512 (3 sg.); ἐξανασπάσθην in *Liv.* E 1643
καὶ πῶς ἐξανησπάσθηκες *Chron. Toc.* 3395
ν' ἀνασπαστούσι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.74
καὶ ξεσπασθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀσχημίαν του *Vios Aisop.* I 256.3

εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποκλεισθῆς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 248
 ἐσείστη *Arm.* 18
 τόπους ἀποκλεισθέντας *Dig.* E 1637
 κλαδὶν ἢ χόρτον νὰ σεισθῇ *Diig. tetr.* 332
 ἄλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἐσείστηκεν *Achil.* O 283
 ἀποκλεισθησαν εἰς τὰ σπιτῖα τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 420.35–6

διὰ νὰ λουστῇ *Arm.* 187
 ἠκούσθηκεν (14th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [33], 37.1)
 καλὰ ἀκούσθη ὁ λόγος του *Pol. Tr.* 2933 app. crit. (V)
 εἶχεν ἠκουσθεῖ *Diig. Alex.* E 135.12 (Konstantinopulos)

The passive perfective stem of πλέω (and conceivably πνέω and ρέω), which for semantic reasons is not very common, ends in -ευσθ-/-ευστ-: νὰ πλευστοῦν *Velis.* χ 249 app. crit. (N). For καίω, which has an irregular perfective passive stem formation, see 2.4.

2.2.1.2 Labial Stems

2.2.1.2.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in a labial (-β-, -π-, -πτ-, -φ-, -φτ-), the perfectivity marker {s} interacts with the labial and manner dissimilation takes place (for which see I, 3.8.1); thus the perfective active stem ends in /ps/:

καθὼς μας ἔγραψες NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.6
 ἐκόψαν καὶ τὰ μάρμαρα *Pol. Tr.* 1227 app. crit. (A)
 νὰ τοὺς ἔχωμε ξαλείψει *Chron. Mor.* P 613
 ἐμετέστρεψέν το *Ptochol.* α 687
 ἐγὼ ἔμαι ὅπου σὲ ἐνέθρεψα *Achil.* N 1070
 ὀγιά νὰ μὴ σκοντάψῃ FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 141
 ἔπεψεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.14–15
 νὰ λείψω *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 15
 ἀναψεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27
 ἄψα CHORTATISIS, *Katz.* III.116 (aor. 3 pl.)
 πλιά ξάψε στὴν ἀγάπη του KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.15
 ἤσκαψέν το (1624, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2000: 2, 515.11)
 καὶ ράψαμεν φύλλα συκῆς VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 61
 ἤλθετε καὶ κλέψετε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6106
 ἦψασιν (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.13)
 καὶ ἀνάψασι φωτιά EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.10

In the case of verbs in -εύω and -αύω, the perfective stem ends in -ευσ and -αυσ before and throughout our period in texts from all regions:

καθεὶς ὡς ἔμαγειρευσεν εὐρίσκει το ἔμπροσθέν του GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366
 νὰ κινδυνεύσῃς *Ptoch.* IV 608; κ' ἔμαγειρεύσασίν τες *ibid.* 248.5 app. crit. (P)
 ἐχόρευσαν *Pol. Tr.* 14140
 γυρεύσετε *Dig.* E 63; αἰχμαλώτευσαν *ibid.* 99
 ἐδούλευσαν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 32.18; ἐθριάμβευσαν *ibid.* 140.4
 ὅπου σὲ ἐκούρευσε *Poulol.* 255
 ἐρρουκανοετούρνευσεν *Velth.* 290; ἐγύρευσα *ibid.* 514

ἐφέντευσεν *Defst. Par.* 250 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ἐπρόφῃτευσεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.17–18
 ἐκαβαλλικεύσεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 8.7; ἐδουλεύσετε *ibid.* 298.15
 ὡσάν τὸν ἐκήδευσαν (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.7)
 ἀνὲ μισεύση (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.26)
 δὲν θέλω φοματεύσει VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.24–5
 ἀρμένισεν καὶ γύρευσεν *Thrinis Kypr.* 69 (ms); καὶ παρευθὺς ἀπέξευσαν *ibid.* 80
 νὰ σε δουλεύσει *Don Kis.* 48.30; νὰ ξεκαβαλικεύσει *ibid.* 52.3

νὰ παύσουν αἱ ὁδύναι μου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 163
 ἐπαύσασι τὰ σκάνδαλα *Chron. Mor.* H 1017 (ms and Buchon)³⁷
 οὐ παῦσεν (1387, Athens, BUCHON 1843: XL, 220.7–8)
 ἔπαυσεν ὁ θυμὸς του *Achil.* O 586
 τὸ τρέχειν ἔπαυσα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 15
 ὥστε νὰ παύσῃ ἡ γνώση μας FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 44 app. crit. (T)
 νὰ καταπαύσῃς τὸν θυμὸν τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 254.22
 καὶ ὅλα θέλει παύσειν *Diig. Apoll.* 29
 νὰ σὲ ἀπολαύσωμεν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.5)
 νὰ σὲ θαρραλεύσω MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.34
 νὰ τὸ ἀπολαύσουν *Bertoldos* 35.19
 δὲν θέλω παύσει ποτέ *Bertoldin.* 169.8
 δὲν θέλει ἀπολαύσει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 213; νὰ παύσουσιν τὰ σκάνδαλα *ibid.* 8598
 θέλω σᾶς ἀναπαύσει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.28
 καὶ ἀπόλαυσε ἐκεῖνο οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦσε *Don Kis.* 96.22–3

Probably not long before the 12th c. /fs/ started to change to /ps/ through the process of manner dissimilation (for details see I, 3.8.1). In literature forms with -εψ- start to appear sporadically from the 14th c. onwards. The earliest example found appears in a 13th-c. inscription in the Crimea. Forms with -αψ- (of the verb παύω and its prefixed derivatives; the verb ἀπολαύω only has forms with -αυσ-) have not been found before the 15th c.:

ἐφόνεψαν (1282–3, Crimea, LATYSHEV 1896: 47, 57.3)
 ἐμίσσειψεν *Chron. Mor.* H 322; ἀππλίκεψεν *ibid.* 2062
 νὰ τοῦ τὴν ἀντιμέψουν *Pol. Tr.* 752
 ὅταν ἐκούρσειψαν οἱ Σέρβοι τὰ Βελάγραδα (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.6)
 μηδὲν μᾶς τὸ στερέψῃς *Dig.* E 130
 ἠρκέψασιν τὸ πρᾶγμα *Liv.* V 632
 νὰ συνβουλέψῃ *Assizes B* 279.6; διὰ νὰ ταξειδέψῃ *ibid.* 297.15
 φύτρεψα *Katal.* 3
 εἶχε διὰ σὲ ἰατρέψῃ SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 69
 ἐμίσσειψαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2034; ὀλίγεψεν ἡ ταραχή *ibid.* 2417
 κι εἰρήνεψε δαμάκι FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 33
 ἐκουρσέψετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 354.14–15
 ἐχήρεψαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 143
 νὰ γερέψου (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 10, 133.9)

³⁷ The later editor of *Chron. Mor.*, Schmitt, corrects all spellings with <αυσ> and <ευσ> to <αψ> and <εψ>, only occasionally giving the actual reading of the ms in his critical apparatus.

ἀν ἔναι καὶ μισέψη (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.28)
 ὅσα ἡμάρτεψεν *Pist. kekoim.* 110

ἀνάπαψε κι ἐσέ κι ἐμάς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 59
 ἐσυμπάψαμεν μὲ τὸ θέλημάν μας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.26
 ἔθελεν πάψει *Cypr. Canz.* 23.4
 ἔπαψέν τους τὸν πόνον *Imb. Rim.* 44
 ὅλοι τους γιὰ νὰ πάψου *Alex. Rim.* 34
 διὰ νὰ καταπάψη τοὺς αἰρετικούς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 96.20
 καὶ ἔπαψε νὰ κλαίγῃ *Fyll. gadar.* 295A
 καὶ νὰ μὴδὲν το πάψω *Kakop.* 136
 τοῦτα τα λόγι' ας πάψομε CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.327
 ἤπαψε τὴν ξεφάντωση KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.870
 κι ἐπάψασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.108
 θάν τὴν ἀναπάψη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 119
 καὶ θε νὰ πάψουν οἱ χαρές BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 8745

In texts from south-eastern areas (Cyprus, Rhodes), forms with -εσ(σ)- are found alongside forms with -ευσ- and -εψ-:

νὰ τὸ στερέση ἀπ' ἐκείνον *Assizes B* 288.6
 μὴ τὸ περηφανέσης *Achil.* L 595³⁸
 νὰ τὸν λιτανέσσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 72.8; νὰ διαφεντέσουν *ibid.* 150.28; καὶ ἐγύρεσέν
 τὴν *ibid.* 248.2
 μοναῦτα ἐκαβαλλίκεσεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 49.1 and 125.18 and *Chron.* B 113.13; διὰ νὰ
 προξενέσει τὴν παστάρδαν τοῦ με τὸν παστάρδον τοῦ ρε Φάραντου *id.*, *Chron.* A 180.14
 (same in B)
 οἱ Τοῦρκοι ν' αὐθεντέσουν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 812 app. crit.

It appears that these forms, though rare, had a wider geographical spread, given several isolated instances that are far apart, both chronologically and geographically: ἐπίστεσαν in a Protobulgarian inscription (BEŠEVLIEN 1963: 97, 8th c.); ἐπερηφάνεσάν το *Pol. Tr.* 1656 app. crit. (V); ἐδούλεσέ τους *Alex. Rim.* 502; τὸν ὅποιον πολλάκις ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπαίδεσε (1692, Bucharest, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 4, 50.34) (author: Chrysanthos Notaras); and a passive ἐφαρμακέσθη in SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 44.38 (17th-c. text, 19th-c. ms).

2.2.1.2.2 Passive Voice

As in previous stages of the language, in the period covered by this Grammar the perfective passive stem of labial-stem verbs is formed in principle by substituting -θ- for the -σ- of the perfective active stem. Before -θ-, the labial becomes -φ-: καλύπτω, καλυ-π-σ- > καλυπ-θ- > καλυφθ-. The combination -φθ-, and in the case of verbs in -εύω and -αύω, -ευσθ-/-αυσθ-, may become -φτ-/-ευστ-/-αυστ- through manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

³⁸ The appearance of this form in conjunction with other elements in the text (e.g. τοὺς ξυλαλάδες *ibid.* 523) points to a south-eastern provenance for the London version of the *Achilleid*.

ἐγκατελείφτην (1193, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 15, 124.16)
 πόνος ἀνήφθη εἰς αὐτὴν *Dig. G IV.275*; κατελείφθη *ibid.* IV.611
 ἀφότου γὰρ ἐστέφθη *Chron. Toc.* 2179; οἱ πάντες ἐξαλείφθησαν *ibid.* 3215
 ροδόσταμμαν ἐνίφθη *Achil.* L 713; νὰ συνθαφτῶ μετὰ σου *ibid.* 1337
 νὰ μὲν ξηλειφθῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 6.28; ἐστέφθη ὁ Φουκάς *ibid.* 18.12
 καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐστέφθηκα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 53
 κι ἀνέ θαφτούμε *Katis* 54
 ν' αλειφτῶ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.278
 μέλλει νὰ θαφτῶ (1713, Nauplion, LIATA 1998a: [1], 263.42)
 νὰ ἐξαλειφθῇ *Don Kis.* 45.1

περισωρεύθησαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 189³⁹
 ἐμπιστεύτησαν (13th/15th c., Cyprus, *Assizes B* 411.9)
 ἐξενιτεύτηκα (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.7)
 ἐπεγεύτηκαν *Achil.* N 1475 (= ἀπογεύομαι)
 ὄλα ξωλοθρευθῆκαν *Alosis* 57
 ἀρχεύτην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.28
 ἀμουρεύτηκεν μῖς καλογριάς *Fior* 147.9
 ἐκρουσεύτησαν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 177, 177.4)
 ἐμπιστεύθη του (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.5)
 ἐμεταπαντρεύτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.7
 ἐφαρμακεύτηκε νὰ τοῦ πάρω πιτό (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.12)
 νὰ γυρευτοῦσιν (1632, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 8, 142.75–6)
 ὑπανδρεύθηκε ΕΦΤΗΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 25.7
 δὲν ἠθέλησε νὰ γευθῇ τίποτε *Don Kis.* 48.16

ἀναπαύθησαν *Dig.* E 1719
 ἀναπαύθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 151 app. crit. (A)
 ἀναπαυτήκετε SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 87
 ἐνεπαύθη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1998
 ν' ἀναπαυτῇ SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 162
 ἐνεπαύτησαν τὰ φαρία σου *Achil.* L 1271
 καλῶς ἀναπαυθῆτε *Achil.* N 280
 ἀναπαύθη (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.14)
 ἀναπαύθηκαν (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.11)

A small group of labial-stem verbs had variant aorist formations with and without -θ- since Antiquity or the Hellenistic period, e.g. AG ἐγράφην with a rare variant ἐγράφην, Att. ἐκρύφην with a non-Att. and Koine variant ἐκρύβην, Koine ἐθλίβην with a rare variant ἐθλίφην, AG ἐτρίφην and Koine ἐτρίβην, AG ἐτάφην with a rare variant ἐθάφην. In post-classical times these verbs began to show a very strong preference for the forms without -θ-, and they continued to do so throughout the EMedG period, in which forms in -φθ- are rare, even among archaizing writers. In the LMedG period, history begins to repeat itself, and these verbs start to develop new alternative perfective passive forms with -φθ- (or -φτ- after manner dissimilation, see I, 3.8.1), which are usually used alongside inherited forms without -θ-. These new forms are absent from texts of the early period, and

³⁹ For this imperative form, see 4.5.2.2.

appear to be avoided by authors who aim at a higher register. The verb κόπτω/κόβω retains its inherited perfective stem κοπ- without developing an alternative κοφθ-.⁴⁰

- τά ὀσῶ μου συνετρίβησαν *Ptoch.* IV 623
 ἐκόπη εἰς τρία κομμάτια *Chron. Mor.* H 4025
 τὸ κοντάρι ἐτρίβηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 670
 ἐτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναόν (1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3–4)
 ἐθλίβηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 110
 ἐγράφη εἰς τὸν φόρον Χίου (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.17)
 ἐκρύβηκεν *Velis.* χ 352
 ἀπεκρύβηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1260; ἐσυνετρίβης *ibid.* 1608
 διὰ νὰ θαφοῦν CHEILAS, *Chron.* 349.15
 δὲν ἐγράφησαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 170.26
 ἐκρύβη *Diig. Alex.* E 173.4 (Lolos)
 εἶχα γραφῇ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 49.14
 τὰ μέλη μου ἐκοπήκασιν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.526
 ἐγράφηκαν (1724, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 8, f.1v.5)
 κρύφθησε *Liv.* V 1927⁴¹
 ἐκρύφθη *Chron. Toc.* 3382
 ὁ Ἰωσήφ, διὰ νὰ θαφθῇ DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 476
 ἐθάφτην εἰς τοὺς Φρεῖ Μενούριδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 276.7
 καὶ τὰ κονδάρια τριφθῆσαν *Alex. Rim.* 853; κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐκρυφθήκανε *ibid.* 954
 ἐγράφη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 133.33; ἐκρύφη *ibid.* 143.18–19
 διὰ νὰ ὑπογραφοῦν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 340.6
 ἐκρύφθημεν *Alex. Fyll.* 79.36; ἐθλίφθηκεν *ibid.* 106.27
 θέλει συντριφθῇ KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 21.44
 κ' ἐμεῖς οἱ δυὸ κρυφθήκαμεν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 63
 ἐγράφηκα (1649, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1957/58: I A. 2, 121.7)
 ἐγράφηκαν (1684, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 93, 321.2)

Mainly in texts from Cyprus and other southern areas, though more rarely from Crete or the Heptanese, /ft/ may “reassimilate” to /pt/. This phenomenon is usually regarded as a form of hypercorrection (see I, 3.8.1.4), but it is too common to be regarded as such (cf. velar stems, 2.2.1.3, for which it is even more common). Forms with -πτ- are usually used alongside forms with -φθ-/φτ-:

- ἐσκέπηκε *Pol. Tr.* 975 app. crit. (A); κανεὶς οὐδὲν ἐβλάπη *ibid.* 6146 app. crit. (A)
 ἐγράπηκα (1417, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 52, f.258.10)
 νὰ γραπτοῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.11 and 362.32–3; ἐγράπη τῇ 18' μαρτίου *ibid.* 510.13; καὶ ἐξηλείπτην τὸ νησί *ibid.* 60.29–30; but also: νὰ ξηλειφθοῦν *ibid.* §14
 νὰ κρυπτοῦσι *Epain. gyn.* 188
 νὰ κρυπτῶ *Syndipas* 110.24
 πρῶτον νὰ νιπτοῦμεν *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.4
 νὰ μηδὲν ἀφήσωμεν νὰ λειπτοῦμεν τίποτε *Pist. kekoim.* 474–5
 ἐγράπη SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.48
 ἐγράπηκεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 276.1

⁴⁰ This is probably due to the fact that κόπτω had developed an alternative imperfective stem κοφτ- for the active voice, for which see 2.1.1.1.1.

⁴¹ For this imperative form, see 4.5.2.2.

- καὶ θέλεις βλαπτῇ *Vios Aisop.* K 195.14
 δὲν βάλλεις νὰ νιπτοῦμεν; *Vios Aisop.* I 259.23 (scribe probably of south-eastern provenance)
 οὐδένας δὲν ἐβλάπηκεν *Dig.* A 2166
 καὶ νὰ κρυπτοῦν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1324
 νὰ πᾶτε νὰ κρυπτεῖτε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5370; τότες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκρύπηκεν *ibid.* 5413
 ἐγράπηκε (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 59, 317.1 and 140, 326.1); ἐγράπηκεν (*ibid.* 125, 326.1; 126, 326.1; 127, 326.1); ἐγράπη (18th c., *ibid.* 419, 353.1; 421, 353.1)

Of the verb θάπτω/θάβω, perfective passive forms with -πτ- are likely to be a simplification of θαφθ-/θαφτ- with its consecutive fricatives, rather than “real” instances of reassimilation. They are quite common in texts from Crete (notably in Grigoropoulos) and the Heptanese, areas that do not often show reassimilation of /ft/ to /pt/:

- ἀλλὰ ἀλλοῦ θέλει θαπτῇ *Pol. Tr.* app. crit. (V)
 νὰ συνθαπτῶ με σένα *Achil.* N 1781
 ὅς συνθαπτῶ μετὰ σου *Velth.* 1177
 δπου θαπτῶ ἀφίνω ἓνα σαρακονταήμερον (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 5.18); καὶ θέλω θαπτεῖν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τ' Ἀρφάνου (1523, *ibid.* 72, 137.9)
 σ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖα θές θαπτῇ *Alex. Rim.* 2449
 ὁποῦ μέλλει νὰ θαπτῶ (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 113.22)
 νὰ μὴ θαπτῶ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 928

The verb παύω and its prefixed derivatives had developed an alternative strong passive aorist ἐπάην and future παήσομαι in the lower registers of Hellenistic Greek, which continued to be in use in the lower registers of EMedG.⁴² In the LMedG and EMG periods, these forms can be found with the verb ἀναπαύω in texts of south-western provenance and with θαρραπαύω (< θεραπεύω) in Cretan texts,⁴³ usually alongside forms with -αυθ-/αυτ-. From at least the 15th c. onwards these forms also appear with an added /y/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.2):

- νὰ ἀναπαοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 5590; ποτέ μου νὰ μὴ ἀναπαῶ *ibid.* 6072
 ὅτι ἀναπάησαν ὅλοι *Pol. Tr.* 7573
 μὴ ἀναπαγοῦμεν *Dig.* E 884
 πᾶ ν' ἀναπαγοῦσι *Imb. Rim.* 565
 ἀναπάηκε *Rim. kor.* A 35 (ἀναπάηκεν in V)
 πολλοὶ ἀναπάησαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 433.8
 ογιά ν' ἀναπαγῇς CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.367; δὲν ἤμπορεῖ ν' ἀναπαῇ *ibid.* III.495
 ν' ἀναπαγῶ KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1222; ἤθεκε, γιὰ ν' ἀναπαγῇ *ibid.* II.1238
 ν' ἀναπαγοῦμε *Thysia Avr.* 486; νὰ ῥθα ν' ἀνεπάγηκα *ibid.* 860
 εἶχε ἀναπαγῇ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 41.33)
 ν' ἀναπαγοῦσι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.651
 δὲν ἀναπαῇκα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 189.19 (3 pl.); καμπόσο ἀναπαῇκασιν *ibid.* 219.5;
 εἶπε ν' ἀναπαοῦσι *ibid.* 315.26; ν' ἀναπαγοῦσι *ibid.* 359.3

⁴² The earliest texts in which these forms appear are the Gospel of Thomas, the Protoevangelion of James and Hermas (2nd c. AD); Aelius Herodianus mentions it as a “common” form: παύω ἔπαον ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἐπάην καὶ ἀνεπάην ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ (ed. Lentz, see the online TLG). In EMedG these forms are used by less archaizing authors and texts, such as Ps.-Macarius, Theodore of Stoudios, Moschos, Theophanes, *De Administrando Imperio* and Saints' Lives.

⁴³ For the corresponding “perfect” passive participles ἀναπατημένος and θαρραπατημένος, see 2.3.2.

καὶ ἄς θαρραποῦμεν *Dig. E* 1382
 ἑθαραπαῖκαν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1571; ἑθεραπαγῆκαν *ibid.* 1571 app. crit. (V)
 ἑθεραπάτη *Alex. Rim.* 136 and 181
 ἄσ' τηνε νὰ θαρραπαγεῖ *Thysia Avr.* 216
 ἑθαραπάτη *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 293.8; ἑθαραπάησαν *ibid.* 454.11

For the verb *καίω*, which showed a similar development already in Antiquity, with both *ἐκαύθην* and *ἐκάην*, see 2.4.

2.2.1.3 Velar Stems

2.2.1.3.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in a velar (-γ, -γγ, -γχ, -κ, -κν, -χ, -χν) or in a sibilant or dental with underlying velar (-σσ/-ττ, -ζ) the perfective active stem ends in /ks/:

καὶ ἔστερξα αὐτῶν (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.4–5) (στέργω)
 ὁποῦ διδάξη γράμματα *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 209 (διδάσκω)
 καταλέξιν *Eisit. f.7v.4* (-λέγω); πῶς νὰ τὴν ξεπλέξω *ibid. f.8r.16* (-πλέκω)
 ἐψέξατε *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 440 (ψέγω)
 ἔφεξε τὸ καράβιν *Velth.* 1301 (φέγω)
 νὰ προσέξετε *Chron. Mor. H* 8302 (-έχω)
 τὸ τοιχαρμάριν ἀνοίξε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 573 (ἀνοίγω)
 τὸ ἐκάτσα κι ἐστιχόπλεξα *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 26 (-πλέκω); ἀμὴ δλους ἄς μᾶς πνίξουσιν *ibid.* 343 (πνίγω)
 νὰ μὲν τοὺς σφίξουν *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 136.30 (σφίγγω)
 οὐδὲ εὐλογηθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἐσμίξαμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 3, 4.7)
 (σμίγω)
 νὰ λέγξω τὴ λωλιά του *Alex. Rim.* 1014 (ἐλέγχω)
 ἀς βήξει *Kakop.* 17 (βήχω)
 ἐτρεξάσιν *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 4.11 (τρέχω)
 ἐδιάλεξεν *KORNAPOS, Erot. I* 1254 (-λέγω); τὰ μάτια τῇ ξεφεξάσι, τὴ συννεφιδὴν ἐδιῶξα *ibid.* I.1549 (-φέγω, διώχνω)
 δὲν ἐπάντεξεν *Vios Aisop. I* 265.22 (-έχω)
 ἐπληξα *Dig. G VI* 259; ἐπλήξαμεν *VOUSTR. Chron. A* 180.6 (πλήττω)
 διὰ νὰ πατάξη τὰ εἶδωλα *Chron. Mor. H* 783 (πατάσσω)
 ἀμυράδας ἐπόταξεν *Dig. E* 1613 (-τάσσω)
 οἱ Ἑρωτες μὲ τὸ ἔταξαν *Liv. V* 780
 ἐτύλιξεν *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 472 (τυλίσσω/τυλίγω)
 τοὺς δρόμους ἔφραξαν *SFRANTZIS, Chron. 18.* app. crit. (N) (φράσσω)
 δλοι ἐφρίξαν καὶ τρομάσα *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 174 (φρίττω)
 τήραξε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1412⁴⁴
 στὸν τόπο του ν' ἀράξει *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 143.18 (ἀράσσω)
 ἤρπαξεν (post 1306, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING 1993: 31, 163.[23]2)
 ἐβάσταξε τὸν λόγον *Chron. Mor. H* 8166
 ἔσφαξαν *Dig. E* 100; τὸ ἔρπαξεν *ibid.* 130

⁴⁴ This form with -αξ is derived from the Heptanesian verb *τηράζω* (< *τηρῶ*) (see 2.1.3.2). Other examples are: *ετήραξε* τὸ χαίμενον πρόσωπον *Kaloandros* 408.19; καὶ τὴν ἐτηράξαν *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 117.23.

στρίγλιξεν τὸ φαρὶν του *Chron. Toc.* 248; καὶ οὐριαξαν ὀλόγυρα *ibid.* 2349
 ἐγκάριξε ἐκ τὴν χαρὰν *Diig. tet.* 710; ἐβάβιξεν ἀπὸ μακρὰ *ibid.* 1059 app. crit. (CL)
 ἐκροβάσταξεν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1854
 ἀναστέναξεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 469
 τὸ αἷμαν τῆς γαρ ἐπηξεν *Diig. Apoll.* 390
 ἄν τὸν πειράξη κανεῖς (1540, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 8, 21.7–8)
 καὶ βούλιαξε τὴν *Alex. Rim.* 2018; τὴν κοπανιά δὲν ἔχρηξε *ibid.* 960⁴⁵
 ἐκατάσφαξε πολλοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.13
 ἔκραξαν τὸν παρόντα παπα-Ἰωάννην Μακρὴ (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.7)
 ἀποσφώνιαξε τὴν καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι *LANDOS, Geopon.* 187.25; καὶ στράγγιξε τὴν *ibid.* 273.18
 πῶς νὰ σκιάξουσιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2361
 κοίταξε καλὰ *Don Kis.* 48.21

Overlap between stems with and without underlying velar occurs with various verbs. The appearance of [ks] for [s] (see 2.2.1.4) does not appear to have geographical limits, and can be found in texts from north to south throughout the period under investigation:

νὰ ἔετᾶξη (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.15)
 ἔξεταξαν ἀκριβῶς *Porikol. I* 122
 ἔξεταξα *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua I* 31
 νὰ τὰ ἐξετάξωμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.5)
 καὶ νὰ τὴν ἐξετάξη *Alex. Rim.* 184
 νὰ ξετάξη *FOSKOLOS, Fort. I* 58
 σὰν τοὺς ἔξεταξαν *Vios Aisop. I* 283.10
 ἔξετάξετε τίς εἶναι εἰς αὐτὴν ἄξιος *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 10.11
 καὶ νὰ ξετάξουν (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 30, 119.32)
 δίχως νὰ ξετάξουν *Don Kis.* 59.14
 κ' ἐκατεστόχαξε τὸ *Chron. Mor. H* 8223
 λοξοειδῶς τὸν στόχαξε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua VIII* 83
 δλοι οἱ ἄλλοι ἐθαυμάξασιν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 56.7
 ἐθαμάξανε τὴν ἀγνωσία τους *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.2
 ἐθαύμαξεν *Thavm. Nikon Metan. V* 32
 ἐθαύμαξε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 41.37
 ἐθαύμαξεν εἰς αὐτό *Alex. Fyll.* 103.2.3
 ἐθαύμαζάμεν *VATATZIS, Periig. I* 170
 δράμε, σπουδάξε *Pol. Tr.* 569 app. crit. (V)
 σπουδάξωμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1357
 σπουδάξε, ἰδέ τη, τὴν Γραφὴν *Synax. gyn.* 86
 νὰ σπουδάξετε νὰ ἔλθετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45)
 νὰ σπουδάξει *Thysia Avr.* 1013
 ἐσπούδαξα *PAPASYNAD., Chron. IV* §7.3
 νὰ τὸν φοβερίξη *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §29.42
 νὰ μουγκρίξει *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2586 (but also: *μουγκρίσασιν ibid.* 898)
 τεταρτιάξετε, θανατώσετε *Irodis I* 47

⁴⁵ Aorist forms of this verb are extremely rare; no forms with -σ- have been found.

Vowel-stem verbs that transfer to the class of consonant stems for the imperfective stem through the addition of /γ/ (see 2.1.1.2) can form a new perfective stem in [ks]:

διὰ νὰ μὴ σοῦ κρούξω *Pol. Tr.* 4824 app. crit. (X)
 πόλεμον γιὰ νὰ κρούξουν *Alex. Rim.* 1857
 ἐφταίξαι (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.12)
 ἄλλος τινὰς δε μου ἔφταιξε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.205
 ἃ σοῦ ἔφταιξα κιὰμιά φορά *Thysia Anr.* 815
 ὁποῖος ἔλθῃ καὶ κρούξῃ τὴν θύραν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §29.16

2.2.1.3.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of velar-stem verbs and dental-stem verbs with underlying velar is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. Before -θ-, the velar becomes -χ-. The combination -χθ- then may become -χτ- through manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

ἡ διδασχὴ ὅπου μᾶς ἐδιδάχθη *Chron. Mor.* H 810 app. crit.
 ἐνεπαίχθηκα *Pol. Tr.* 7892; νὰ ἐστέρχθησαν *ibid.* 8049
 πολλὰ τὸ ἐταράχθη *Dig.* E 1359; ἐδιδάχθη *ibid.* 1565
 ἐτάχθηκα *Assizes B* 408.1
 ὠρέχθη καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς *Achil.* O 235; ἡ κόρη γοῦν τὸ δέχθη *ibid.* 354; ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἐδέχθη *ibid.* 538
 ὁ ρε Οὐγκε ἐταράχθη *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.14; δὲν ἐκαταδέχθη *ibid.* 338.15
 ἐδιδάχθη *Diig. Apoll.* 303; ἐτάχθη *ibid.* 767
 νὰ σμιχθῇ μὲ τὴν βασιλίσσαν *Diig. Alex.* E 103.7 (Lolos); νὰ σμιχτῇ *ibid.* 133.10
 ἐρημάχθης, ταπεινέ *Spanos D* 1215
 νὰ ξεταχθοῦμεν *Alfan.* 15 26 (<ἐξετάζω)
 ἀνοίχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 3.21; ὅλα ἐκεῖνα ὅπου σὰς ἐδιατάχθη *ibid.* 17.10
 τοὺς ἐδέχτηκε *Bertoldos* 46.13
 ἐσφίχθησαν νὰ ξεράσουν *Bertoldin.* 114.2; ἐδέχθη τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα *ibid.* 167.24
 ἐφυλάχθηκα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 131.38
 δὲν τὸ ἐδέχτην ὁ Θεός PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §7.18–19
 ἐδέχτη τον μετὰ χαράς IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1788; αὐτὸ οὐ ποὺ ἐδέχθης *ibid.* 6022

In texts of southern provenance, such as Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese and certain Cycladic islands, from the 14th c. onwards -χτ- can subsequently “reassimilate” to become -κτ-. This is usually interpreted as a form of hypercorrection (see I, 3.8.1.4 for examples across parts of speech), but these spellings are far too common to be dismissed as such. Though in principle -κτ- can replace -χτ- in any perfective passive verb stem, it is particularly frequent with certain verbs such as δέχομαι; see also passive verb stems of oxytone verbs in -ηχτ- and -αχτ-, 2.2.1.9.2 and 2.2.1.9.4 and verbs in -ώνω that have an alternative velar stem (see 2.2.1.5.2). Some of numerous examples are:

οὐδὲν τὸ ἐπαραδέκτη *Chron. Mor.* H 107 app. crit.; ἐκαταδέκτησαν *ibid.* 242 app. crit.;
 ἀποδέκτη *ibid.* 8764 app. crit.; ὀρέκτη *ibid.* 8784 app. crit.
 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ καταδέκτηκεν αὐτὸ νὰ τὸ φορέσῃ *Achil.* L 259

δριμέα τὸ ἐπεδέκτη *Velis.* χ 77 app. crit. (N)
 ἐγὼ ὑποδέκτηκά το *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 251
 νὰ τὰ δεκτῇ (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.17)
 ἐδέκτηκά τα (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.4)
 ἄς τὸν δεκτοῦμεν *Diig. Alex.* V 50.12; but also: νὰ τὸν δεχθῇ *ibid.* 50.22
 καὶ ἐπεριπλέκτην εἰς τὰ κλαδία τὸ ραβδὶν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 64.5–6; καὶ ἐπροσεδεκτῆσαν
 τον *ibid.* 108.38
 ἐδεκτῆκαμεν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.2)
 δὲν τὸν ἐδέκτη ποσῶς (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 452.8)
 ἐκαταδεκτῆκετε κ’ ἤρθετε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 81
 νὰ στερκτοῦσι (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.17)
 ἐκεῖνός τιν ἐδέκτηκεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1855
 νὰ σὲ δεκτοῦν (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 99.87)
 νὰ τοὺς τακτεῖς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.124); ἐτάκτησαν (*ibid.* 21.146)
 ἐδιατάκτη *Chron. Mor.* H 355 app. crit.
 καὶ πῶς ποθοεφαντάκτηκεν *Liv.* V 3336
 νὰ συνακτοῦν *Velis.* χ 96 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ θέλω νὰ διατακτῶ *Achil.* L 233; δούλη σου ἐτάκτηκα πάντα *ibid.* 877
 φυλάκτηκα *Pol. Tr.* 5866 app. crit. (V)
 νὰ ταρακτῇ ἡ καρδιά μου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 306
 ἐκράκτην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 70.19; γιὰ ν’ ἀλλακτοῦν *ibid.* 116.5
 νὰ ἐμπορῇ αὐτὴ νὰ τὸ διατακτῇ (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 82, 154.16)
 ἐστοιβάκτησαν *Alex. Rim.* 339
 ἐσκιάκτη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.26; ἐπειδὴ ὑποτάκτη ὁ Ἀρανίτης *ibid.* 65.6; νὰ φυλακτοῦσι
ibid. 66.37
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑποτακτῇτε *Vios Aisop.* K 190.16; ἐρημάκτηκα ἀπὸ τὰ αὐγά μου *ibid.* 205.3
 εἶχε ἀλλακτεῖ (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 67.13)
 στεῖρά ’τον καὶ δὲν ἔτικτεν οὐδὲ ἐκράκτην μάνα *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 164
 ἐφυλακτῆκανε *SOU MAKIS, Rebelio* 50.24
 καὶ ἐπεσφίκτησεν πολλὰ *Dig.* E 1453
 ἐσφίκτημαν ὁμάδια *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 449a app. crit. (N)
 ἐτυλίκτηκεν *Katal.* 64
 ἐσμίκτην τὴν Χρυσάντζα *Velth.* 1120
 κάτεχε κι ἐξανόκτης *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 576; κι ἐδείκτηκεν κι ἐσφίκτη *ibid.* 746
 αναμίκτησαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 226.9; ἐπροσδέκτην *id., Chron.* M 173.3
 καὶ σὰν ἐσμίκτησαν λοιπὸν *Alex. Rim.* 1211
 ὅλος μηδὲν ἀπορικτεῖ *Apoll. Rim.* V 1870
 ἡ Θεοτόκος καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐσμίκτησαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 348.16
 λοιπὸν ἐσμίκτησαν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 127.11–12
 ἐνόικτηκε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 41.18
 ὅταν δεικτοῦν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ ἀποφασιστοῦσι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 19
 μες στον λιμιώνα μπηκτησαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1833
 ἡ μπηκτη *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1159 app. crit. (A)⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Spelled μπηκτηί in *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1159 app. crit. (V). It is a passive aorist (ἐ)μπηκτη rather than an active present: καὶ δίδει του μιὰ κοντὰρ καὶ τὸ κοντὰρι μπηκτηί | εἰς τὸ λαιμὸ ἀποκατωθὶ καὶ χάμαι τὸνε ρίκτηι. Τὸ κοντὰρι is topic, and therefore has to be the subject of μπηκτη (a topicalized object would require a clitic pronoun: see IV, 8.1.1).

τὰ μέλλοντ' ἀποδείκνουν VATATSI, *Periig.* 1816

Hypercorrection of -κτ- to -κθ- can sporadically be found: ὁ ρὲ Οὐνγκες ἐταράκθην πολλὰ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 77.46–7.

The verb πνίγω retains its inherited strong aorist ἐπνίγην, and sporadically similar forms can be found of other verbs with an imperfective passive stem in /iy/, such as σμύγω:

πολλοὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦς ἤθελαν πνιγῇ *Pol. Tr.* 3099 app. crit. (BV)

πρὶν πνιγοῦμεν δὲ τὸν ναῦλον *Paroim.* H 36

να μην πνιγούμεν ὅλοι μας *Apoll. Rim.* A 920

πνίγησαν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 255

νὰ ἐπνίγηκεν (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6)

δταν δὲ σμιγῇ τὸ ἔλας τῷ ὕδατι NIKON, *Logos* 1 120.17

δὲν τῆς ἐσμύγηκεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 128.21

2.2.1.4 Dental Stems (without underlying velar)

2.2.1.4.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in a dental (/ð/, /θ/, /t/), this dental is deleted before the /s/ of the perfective active stem:

ἔσπευσαν ὅπως εἰς ταφὴν φθάσωσι τοῦ Ἀκρίτου *Dig.* G VIII.208 (σπεύδω)

ἔπεισαν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 296 (πείθω)

ἔσπευσεν, ἡῤῥηκέ τους *Pol. Tr.* 14209

τὸ θέλει νιώσει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 431 transcr. (Lendari) (νιώθω)

δὲν με θέλεις καταπείσει ERMON., *Ilias* 8.53

καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ν' αλέσει εἰς τὴν Λάπηθον VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 102.1 (ἀλέθω)

ἔσυνθεσα Alosis 987 (συνθέτω)

ἐθέσε τα *Pol. Tr.* 6640 app. crit. (B)

νὰ μὲν γνώσετε ποττὲ χορταγιὰν *Pist. kekoim.* 18 (γνώθω)

καὶ πῶς ἡ Τύχη ἐνάντιον σας νὰ κλώση ἐσυγκατέβη; BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 390 (κλώθω)

ἐγνώσες CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.65

οὐδὲ τὰ κουρφά τῃ ἐνῶσα KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.35

καὶ αὐτεῖνοι τα ἐκλώσασιν εἰς ἄλλα παραμύθια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7360

2.2.1.4.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of dental stems is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ. The combination -σθ- may become -στ- through the process of manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

κλώσμα τῆς τύχης δυστυχὲς ἐκλώσθη μου καὶ μοίρας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 703

τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ ἀστακτον κατ' ἐδικόν μου ἐκλώσθη *Liv.* E 2519

ἐνεγνώστη (1681, Chios, KAVVADAS 1950: 38.14) (ἀναγνώθω)

ἐκεῖνος τόσον ἐκαταπείσθη *Don Kis.* 45.20

2.2.1.5 Nasal Stems

2.2.1.5.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in -ν, in the majority of verbs that nasal is deleted before the -σ of the perfective active stem. This category comprises all verbs in -ώνω, as well as certain other verbs with an imperfective stem in -ν, such as δαγκάνω, πιάνω, σβήνω, στήνω/στένω (< AG ἵστημι, aor. ἔστησα), φθάνω, φτιάνω,⁴⁷ χάνω (< χιώνω), ψήνω (< AG ἔψω, aor. ἤψησα). (See 2.2.2.1 for verbs in -άνω, -ύνω and -αίνω, which have non-sigmatic perfective stems in -ν.)

νὰ ἱστήσουν δὲ καὶ σταυρόν ἐπάνω μου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.54)

ἢ φορισμένον ποῦπετε κύνα νὰ σὲ δαγκάση *Ptoch.* IV 609

καὶ ὡσάν σιμῶση πρὸς αὐτόν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 341

καὶ νὰ τοὺς πλακώσουσιν *Achil.* L 320

φθάσε σύντομαν *Achil.* N 1169

νὰ τὲς κομπώσουν πάσχουν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 207

καὶ νὰ τοῦ το πλερώσει *Apoll. Rim.* A 262

ἔπιασεν αὐτόν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 46.11

ἔσελλοχαλίνωσε τὸ ἄλογον *Diig. Alex.* F 120.5 (Lolos)

ἐτέντωσεν ἀπὸ κάτω εἰς τὸ κάστρον τῆς Ἀθήνας *Diig. Alex.* E 167.6 (Lolos)

θὲ νὰ στέσου CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.515

ἤσβησα *Fallidos* 230

εἶχεν φτιάσει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §30.50

νὰ σοῦ γεμώσουν τὸ ποτήρι *Vios Aisop.* D 229.33

καὶ πῶς θὰ τοὺς δαγκάσουσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 190.28

The verb κερδένω (also spelled like AG κερδαίνω) also belongs in this category, as does the verb μπερδένω, which appears in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards:

νὰ μηδὲν κερδαίσω ἀπὸ τὸ γονικόν αὐτῆς τίποτε (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.431)

νὰ μὴ ... κερδαίσῃς *Liv.* α 4116

καὶ θέλεις τὸ κερδαίσῃς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 987

οὐδὲν ἔχω νὰ κερδαίσω SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 383 transcr. N (Lendari)

μέτρησε τί ἐκέρδεσεν *Chron. Toc.* 699

τὸν κόσμον νὰ κερδέσεις *Alfan.* 14 27

τίποτε δὲν ἐκέρδεσεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 662.12–13

νὰ κερδέσῃς *Cypr. Canz.* 37.2

πῶς νὰ κερδέσουν *Fior* 73.8–9

μὲ τ' ἄρματα τὴν κόρη αὐτὴν ὀλότῃς νὰ κερδέσω *Theseid* V.14,8 (1529)

πὲς μου, τί θὲς κερδαίσει; *Alex. Rim.* 2392

ἂν κερδέσει ὅλον τὸν κόσμον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 8.36

σὲ ἔκαμα καὶ ἐκέρδαισες *Vios Aisop.* I 268.26

νὰ μπερδέσει *Apoll. Rim.* A 528

τα λόγια τῃ στοῦ ἔρωτα τα δίκτυα μ' ἐμπερδέσα CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.114

νὰ ῥθῃ νὰ μὲ μπερδέσει *Thysia Avr.* 300

μὲ δίκιο σὰς ἐμπερδέσε *Stathis* II.221

⁴⁷ SMG perfective forms with -ξ- (φτιάξω, ἐφτιάξα) have not been found in the texts examined.

καὶ πῶς σ' ἀγάπη ἐμπέρδεσε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.396; γλήγορα ξεμπερδέσου *ibid.* I.729
 νὰ μπερδέσου FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 88

Certain verbs in -άνω/-αίνω (which normally have non-sigmatic perfective stems, for which see 2.2.2.1), can form an alternative perfective stem in -ασ, e.g. βυζάνω, βυζάσω. Compounded and prefixed forms of λαμπάνω (< λαμβάνω) only have a sigmatic perfective stem λαμπασ-:⁴⁸

ἐβύζασα (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 9, 16.13)
 εἰς το γάλα της μάνας σου οπού ἐβύζασες *Diig. Alex.* K 365.33–4
 ἐβύζασε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 437.16

περιλαμπάσειν *Katal.* 363
 καὶ γλυκοπεριλάμπασε κοράσια τὰ βλέπεις *Florios* 835 app. crit. (V)
 ἔχω παραλαμπασμένα ἀπὸ σένα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006:148, 122.12–13)
 ἔχει παραλαμπασμένα ... δουκάτα (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 309, 287.59)
 ἔχει παραλαμψασμένα (1542, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 3 [Γ'], 292.5)

A small group of verbs in -ώνω have an alternative perfective stem in -ῶξ, with an intrusive velar /k/ before the aoristic formant /s/, especially ζυγώνω and μαζώνω. The provenance of the perfective forms with intrusive /k/ is unclear; BABINIOTIS (1972: 217–19) postulates a generalization of /ks/ as an aoristic formant, and proposes that it is due to a general spread of /k/ as an aorist marker starting from verbs like ἔποικα, ἔδωκα (for which see 2.2.1.10). Imperfective stems in -ῶχν (e.g. μαζῶχνουσιν in ΠIGAS, *Chrysop.* 276.31; SMG στριμῶχνω) appeared well after the perfective stems in -ῶξ. For μαζώνω, forms with -ῶξ- are common and forms with -ῶσ- are rare,⁴⁹ whereas ζυγώνω has perfective forms with -ῶξ- only in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c. (see also 2.2.1.10 for verbs in -ώνω with alternative perfective stems in -ῶκ):

τὸ κοῦρσο ἐπεριμάζωξαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1058
 καὶ μάζωξε ἀντζαλα *Spanos* A 225
 ἐσύναξεν, ἐμάζωξε *Velth.* 648
 καὶ τὴ βουλή σου μάζωξε *Alosis* 631
 ἐμάζωξεν *Syndipas* 117.32
 οὐδὲ νὰ τὰ μαζῶξουσιν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 506
 νὰ μαζῶξωμεν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.46)
 νὰ περισυμμαζῶξουν *Theseid* XI.14,4 (1529)
 νὰ τὰ μαζῶξουνε οὐλα (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.36)
 ἐμάζωξε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.11
 ἐπεριμάζωξεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 133; δὲν ἐσυμμαζῶξε πολλούς *ibid.* 291
 αὐτήνη ἐμάζωξε *Bertoldos* 20.27
 νὰ ὑπάμε νὰ τὲς μαζῶξομε; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 13.28
 πολλὴν ἀρμάδα μάζωξεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7024
 ξένα δάκτυλα τα ἐμάζωξαν CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 449.19
 ὁπού σὲ ἐσυμμαζῶξα (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 99.86)

⁴⁸ Cf. also the noun παραλάμπασμα and the adjective περιλαμπαστός, e.g. εἰς τὸ παραλάμπασμα (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 282, 281.9); ἡῦρε μας περιλαμπαστούς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 361.

⁴⁹ Only a handful of examples have been found, e.g. καὶ περιμάζωσέ το *Ptoch.* III 164 app. crit. (P) and ἐμάζωσεν *Chron. Toc.* 962.

καὶ ζύγωξ ἀπὸ ἴπῶν σου τὴν τόσην ἀμελάγρα *Apoll. Rim.* V 1526 (same in all versions)
 ἀπού ἐζύγωξες ἀδίκως MOREZINOS, *Klini* 60.21
 ἐζύγωξες τὸν κύρη μου KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1340
 ζύγωξε τὸ ἀναστεναγμούς, ζύγωξε καὶ τὴν πρίκα *Thysia Avr.* 395
 ζύγωξες CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.358
 καὶ ἀποζυγώξη μας FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.192; but also: νὰ θὲ νὰ μὲ ζυγώσουσι *ibid.* Prol. 150
 νὰ ζυγῶξω VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.5

Other verbs in -ώνω, which usually have perfective stems in -ῶσ, can occasionally have alternative forms with -ῶξ- as well, possibly the result of a conflation of sigmatic and κ-aorist formation:

ἐξατίμωξεν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1408
 ἐστεγνώξα CHORTATIS, *Erof.* III.13 transcr. X (Legrand) (3 pl.)
 νὰ μεγαλώξουν (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.15)
 ἂν στιγνώξη πάραυτα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 199.16; ἄφες το νὰ στιγνώξη *ibid.* 248.6; καὶ τὰ
 κρεμνοῦσι νὰ στιγνώξουν *ibid.* 252.7
 κ' ἐμουλώξεν εἰς τὴν κάπαν ἀποκάτω *Vulgärorakel* X 5
 ἀμὴ ἐμούλωξεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §9.13

The verb στριμῶνω (SMG στριμῶχνω, στριμῶξω) is quite rare and does not seem to exist before the 17th c.⁵⁰ The perfective stem is στριμῶσ- in *Bertoldos*, and στριμῶσ- or στριμῶξ- in IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali*: μὲ ἐστριμῶσαν μέσα σὲ τοῦτο τὸ σακκίον *Bertoldos* 60.23–4; καὶ στριμῶξαν κει μέσα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1833; but also: ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἐστριμῶσαν *ibid.* 6424 (rhymes with ἐσιμῶσαν).

2.2.1.5.2 Passive Voice

In the case of verbs in -ώνω and -ένω the perfective passive stem is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. Of other verbs in this category, some form the perfective passive stem in -θ-, and others in -σθ-. The presence/absence of the aoristic formant /s/ can usually be explained historically: e.g. πιάνω, πιασθῶ/πιαστῶ is derived from πιάζω⁵¹ (< πιέζω) which had a passive aorist ἐπιάσθην; χύνω, χυθῶ is derived from χέω, which had a passive aorist ἐχύθην; ψήνω is derived from ἔψω, which had a passive aorist ἐψήθην; φτύνω is derived from πτύω, which had a rather rare passive aorist ἐπτύσθην. The cluster -σθ- may become -στ- through the process of manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

ἐσκοτώθη SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 4.8
 ἐλαβώθηκεν *Anon. Naupl.* 8
 ἐνεκατώθησαν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)
 νὰ μαζωθῇ *Velis.* χ 391 app. crit. (N); ἐμαζώθηκεν *ibid.* 396 app. crit. (N)⁵²
 ἐθυμώθηκεν *Achil.* O 661

⁵⁰ Only a few examples have been found: τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ τὸν ἐστριμῶναν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 8.43; καὶ ὁ Τοῦρκος τοὺς στριμῶνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 272.1

⁵¹ E.g. καὶ πιάζει τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκιον (11th c., Thebes, SVORONOS 1959: 12.23). For πιάζω in AG see also LSJ s.v. πιέζω.

⁵² For the verb μαζώνω, perfective stems in -ῶξ, passive -ῶξθ/-ῶχτ are much more common (see 2.2.1.5).

και εμαζώθηκαν όλον το ψυχόλαον *Diig. Alex. K* 347.29

να κερδεθῇ ὁ Μορέας *Chron. Mor. H* 2457

γοργὸν καθυποδέθηκεν *Dig. E* 830

ὥσαν τὸ πρῶτο μπερδεθῇ *KORNAPOS, Erot. I*.1577

τότες αὐτεῖνο ψήθη *Alex. Rim.* 1626

ἀν ἐψήθην ἡ φακῇ *Vios Aisop. I* 259.30–1

να ψηθῇ γληγορύτερα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 256.12

χυθῆτε στὸ φουσσάτον *Achil. L* 425

ολόγδυμνος ἐντύθη *Apoll. Rim. E* 1810

και ἐντύθην καλογηρικὰ *VOUSTR. Chron. A* 314.2

ντύθου λεμοσύνην *Cypr. Canz.* 37.5

σὰν πάγη ἐκεῖνος να γδυθῇ *CHORTATZIS, Katz. III*.235

πιῖος οὐκ ἐδαγκάθηκεν *LIMEN., Velis. (A)* 25

λύκος ἀπὸ σκύλους ἐδαγκάθη *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 87.1

να κλεισθῶ μέσα σὲ τοῦτο τὸ σακκίον *Bertoldos* 63.29

καὶ ἐκλείστη σὲ μίαν κάμεραν *Bertoldin.* 136.31–2

ἐκλείσθηκαςι στὰ γύρω νησόπουλα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 22.4

ἀν οὐ πιασθῇ *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 128

ἡ Πόλις ἐπιάστη *Chron. Mor. H* 550

πιαστῶσιν (1479, Constantinople, *BOMBACI* 1954: 1, 302.51)

ἐμεινα κ' ἐπιάσθην *BERGADIS, Apok. V* 54

ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐσβήσθην *Thrinios Kypr.* 76

Compounds of -λαμπάνω, which have a sigmatic perfective active stem, form their perfective passive stem in -ασθ/-αστ, as does the verb λα(ν)θάνω/λα(ν)θαίνω:

ἐλαθάσθην *Pol. Tr.* 9356

ἐναν γοῦν ἐλαθάσθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 1886

ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος λαθαστεῖ *Apoll. Rim. V* 99; ὡς ἐλαθάστησαν *ibid.* 102 (same in all versions)

τώρα καὶ ἐλαθάστης *Alex. Rim.* 2351

αμμή ἐλαθάστη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.12

βλέπε δτι λαθάστης *Fyll. gadar.* 30d

ἐλαθάστηκα *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 145.28

κ' ἡσφαλεις κ' ἐλαθάστης *KORNAPOS, Erot. I*.1158

ἐὰν λαθασθῇς ποτὲ *Vios Aisop. K* 170.23

ποτὲ δὲν ἐλαθάστη *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9358

γιέ μου, ἄς σὲ περιλαμπαστῶ *Thysia Avr.* 1125

Verbs in -ώνω that have an alternative perfective stem in -ωξ can form their perfective passive stem in -ωχθ/-ωχτ (for the change /xθ/ > /xt/, see I, 3.8.1):

να μαζωχθῇ ἡ Βαβυλωνία *Arm.* 119

ἀπομαζώχθησαν *Dig. E* 1317

ἐσυμμαζώχθηκαν ὁλος ὁ λαός (1585, Mani, *LAMBROS* 1905: 397.5)

γὰ κείνο μαζωχτήκα *CHORTATZIS, Katz. V*.156

καὶ ἐμαζώχθησαν ἀντάμα *Bertoldos* 39.23

ἐσυμαζώχθηκαν οἱ ἄρχοντες *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 5

τριγύρου μαζωχθῆτεν οἱ διάβολοι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 104

ὥστε ποὺ συμμαζωχοῦμε (1685, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1980/81: 8, 331.12)

να μαζωχθοῦν οἱ Ῥώσσοι *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 293

ἐμαζωχτήκετε *KORNAPOS, Erot. II*.957; κὶ ὁ νοῦς σου να περμαζωχτῇ *ibid. III*.1180

ἐμαζωχτήκανε *Chron. Theod.* 20.17

In texts of southern provenance, such as Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese and certain Cycladic islands (cf. velar stems, 2.2.1.3), from the 14th c. onwards -χτ- can subsequently "reassimilate" to become -κτ-. These spellings are usually considered to be a form of hypercorrection (see I, 3.8.1.4 for examples across parts of speech), but they are far too common to be dismissed as such. Some of numerous examples are:

να μαζωκτοῦν *Imb. Rim.* 330 καὶ περμαζωκτήκασιν *ibid.* 362

καὶ τότες ἐμαζώκτηκε *Alex. Rim.* 2789

κ' εἰς μίον ἐμαζωκτήκαν *Apoll. Rim. V* 681 (only forms with -κτ- in this text; same in all versions)

ἐμαζώκτησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 52.17 (only forms with -κτ-)

καὶ μαζωκτῆκαν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς *Fyll. gadar.* 94d

να ζυγκτωῦ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 99.31; ἐμαζώκτησαν *ibid.* 229.15

ας μαζωκτοῦσι *CHORTATZIS, Panor. IV*.139

ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ θὲ να μαζωκτοῦν *KORNAPOS, Erot. II*.98 (*Stevanoni*); ἐμαζωκτήκετε *ibid. II*.957

τυχαίνει να περμαζωκτοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 1099

τότες ἐμαζωκτήκασιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1067

να συμμαζωκτοῦν *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 47.32

Hypercorrection of -κτ- to -κθ- occurs sporadically: ἐκεῖ ἐπερμαζώκθησαν *Byz. II.* 880; ἐμαζώκθην *Diig. Alex. F* 88.22 (*Lolos*); να μαζωκθοῦν *ibid.* 90.15; ἐμαζώκθησαν *ibid.* 156.16.

2.2.1.6 Voiced Sibilant Stems (without underlying velar)

2.2.1.6.1 Active Voice

When the imperfective stem ends in -ζ, this voiced sibilant is deleted before the -σ of the perfective active stem. This category comprises all verbs in -άζω and -ίζω that do not have an underlying velar in their stem, such as ἀγοράζω, ἀρχίζω and χέζω:⁵³

ἀγόρασε (1179, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA* 1865: 194, 255.7)

ἐγωγίασεν *Assizes B* 327.2–3

ἐμπασέ τους *SKLENTZAS, Ain. Zood. Pig.* 28

ἐθαυμάσασιν *LIMEN., Velis. (A)* 67

να τὸ ἐξετάσωμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 66.33

θὲ να μὲ ντροπιάσεις *Rim. kor. (A)* 125

θέλετε τὸ διαβάσειν *Fior* 74.3

⁵³ Of verbs in -έζω only forms of χέζω have been found. AG, MedG and SMG μέζω, though quite common in texts of a higher register, is extremely rare in vernacular texts; only a few examples occur in texts such as *Dig. G*. No perfective forms of this verb or its compounds have been found.

τὰ θέλω ξοδιάσει (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.18)
καὶ ἐκομματιάσαν τον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.33
τόπον ἀδειασέ μου *CHORTATSI, Erof.* IV.440
ποῦ θέν τήν ἀγκαλιάσουσι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 57
ἔχει δοκιμάσει *Pist. voskos* II 1.229

ἐσυναθροίσασαν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 307.8)
παρεγνώρισες *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 541
ἀν σέ καθίσουν εἰς ἀρχήν *Spaneas P* 171
ζεματίσετε *Ptoch. IV* 594
ὀφείλουν ἐγκρεμνίσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 890; θέλει νὰ τὸ καθίσει *ibid.* 2898
μὲ κέρδισε *Dig. E* 1566
καὶ σφόδρα ἐμουγκάνισεν *Diig. tetr.* 1009
ὠρισέν μας (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10)
καὶ ἐφούρκισάν τους (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.6)
ἐκουκλούκισεν ὁ πετεινός (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 124.1d)
ἄλλους ἐφυλακίσαν, ἄλλους ἐδέραν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 322.10
παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2)
κι ἀσπρίσα τα μαλλιά μου *CHORTATSI, Panor.* I.286
ἀπὸ τότε ἀρχισαν οἱ σύγχυτες (1616, Pogoniani, SCHREINER 1975/79: 64.IV, 497.31.3–4)
ἀναντράνισεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.19

καὶ ἔχεσαν οἱ πάντες *Diig. tetr.* 430
ἄξιόν ἐστιν νὰ σέ χέσωμεν *Spanos A* 415
γλυκὺν τὸ φαγεῖν, πικρὸν δὲ τὸ χέσειν *Paroim.* H 34
ἀν ἐμπορῇ ἄς τοὺς χέση! *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.422

The verbs βάζω and ἐβγάζω, derived from βάλλω and ἐκβάλλω respectively, retain their inherited non-sigmatic perfective stems (βαλ- and ἐβγαλ-), for which see 2.4.

2.2.1.6.2 Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of voiced sibilant stems is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem in -σ. The combination -σθ- may become -στ- through manner dissimilation (see I, 3.8.1). This group also includes deponent verbs such as ἀσπάζομαι, δυνάζομαι, ἐννοιάζομαι, ἐργάζομαι, στοχάζομαι, συμβάζομαι, χρειάζομαι and others:

ἀν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 128
τὴν ρήγαιναν ἀσπάσθηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 296
νὰ ᾔχε σχιστὴν καὶ διχαστὴν ἡ γῆς *Byz. Il.* 261
ἐνεγαλλιάσθη *Spanos A* 229
ἐσυμβιβάσθησαν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1278
ἐσοὺ νοιάσθης νὰ μ' ἀφήσης *Cypr. Canz.* 119.1 (ἐννοιάζομαι)
ἰσιαστήκαμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.20)
κι ὅλοι ἐχορτασθήκαν, *Alex. Rim.* 2053
ἐντροπιάσθησαν *Diig. Alex. E* 171.8 (Lolos)
καὶ διαμοιράσθησαν αὐτὰ *Vios Filaret.* 239.14
τὰ δὲ ἀσπρα ἐξοδιάστησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχονταρῖκι (1607, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 17, 78.2–3)
ἀρρεβωνιάσθη *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 1.18

γιά νὰ μὴν ντροπιαστοῦν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 98
ἐβραδιάστηκε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 37
νὰ ετοιμασθεῖτε ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ σας *Don Kis.* 49.37–50.1

2.2.1.7 Barytone Verbs with a Vocalic Extension /i/

A small group of barytone verbs form their perfective stem by adding a vocalic extension /i/, followed by the aoristic formant /s/, to the imperfective stem, just like the majority of oxytone verbs (see below). These verbs include inherited deponent verbs such as βούλομαι, δύναμαι/δύνομαι, δέομαι and εὐχομαι, which have passive morphology only, as well as the verbs (ἐ)θέλω and κύω, the second of which is rare in vernacular texts. Βλέπω has an alternative stem βλέπησ- (alongside -ιδ-), examples of which have been found in texts from Cyprus and Crete. In the northern mainland the verb ὑπάγω developed an alternative perfective stem παγήσ-, for which see 2.4.

2.2.1.7.1 Active Voice

The active is restricted to the inherited verb (ἐ)θέλω and the alternative stem of βλέπω,⁵⁴ which predates the LMedG period by many centuries:⁵⁵

διὰ τοῦτο ἐθελήσασιν οἱ ἄνωθε κριτάδες (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.11)
δὲν τὸ ἔβλησεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.12
ἤθελεν θελήσει (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.10–11)
θὲ θελήσω *GERMANO, Grammar* 94.23
δεν ηθέλησε νὰ τὸ κάμει *Don Kis.* 48.6

ὅπου σ' ἐβλέπισε καλῶς *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 190
νὰ τήνε βλέπησει *MOREZINOS, Klini* 4.23
τὸ μνημα νὰ βλέπῃσου *P&N Diath.* 4112

2.2.1.7.2 Passive Voice

The passive is formed by replacing the /s/ of the infix with /θ/ (cf. oxytone verbs):

τὸν πρίγκιπα ἐδεήθησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 8160
ὃς ἐδυνήθηκε *Pol. Tr.* 28; πρότερον ἐβουλήθηκεν ἐκεῖνη νὰ τὸν κρούσῃ *ibid.* 11076
τῶν εὐχήθηκεν *Dig. E* 1065
νὰ βλέπηθοῦν *Assizes B* 389.24
καὶ τότε μὲ εὐχήθηκεν *Poulol.* 579
ἀνέβειν ἡδυνήθηκεν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1269

⁵⁴ No examples have been found of the rather learned verb κύω, apart from an attempt at regularization: ἡ κόρη ἡ πανεξαίρετος ἔγκυσεν τὴν γαστέρα *Imber.* 48.

⁵⁵ The Stoic philosopher Sextus Empiricus (2nd/3rd c. AD) condemns and ridicules the form: ... ἐπὶ τῶν ρηματικῶν φερῆσω λέγειν καὶ βλέπησω ὡς κυῆσω καὶ θελήσω, οὐ μόνον ἀσαφὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ δὲ προσκοπῆς ἄξιον εἶναι δοκεῖ *Sextus Empiricus, Against the Grammarians*, 195.10–12 (ed. Mau/Mutschmann); see the online *TLG*. These forms of βλέπω are sometimes spelled βλέπισ-, even though imperfective *βλεπίζω has not been attested, and the passive stem is βλέπηθ-, not *βλεπισθ-, the participle βλέπημενος, not *βλεπισμένος.

και ειπεν του να βλεπτηθει VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.11
 και εδεήθη τον Αμμών *Alex. Rim.* 525
 ο Κάτης εβουλήθηκε τον Μποτικό να πνίξει *Katis* 3
 να βλεπτηθει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.19
 αφέντη, μην τό βουληθεις *Thysia Anr.* 692
 δεν εδυνηθήκαμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.28
 τον γενεράλη ν' ευχηθούν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2130; να δεθούν προς τον Θεόν *ibid.* 9663
 δε θέλουν δυνηθούν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 420
 Βασίλειος ο Διγενής κ' τής κόρης εκυήθη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1234
 βλεπήθου, Κύπρος *Thrinis Kypr.* 52

2.2.1.8 Barytone Verbs with a Change of Stem Vowel in the Passive Voice

A small group of verbs with stem vowel /e/, among which βρέχω, κλέπτω/κλέβω, στέκω/στέκομαι (< εστηκα, perf. of ἵσταμαι, with a change of /i/ to /e/), στρέφω, τρέπω, τρέφω and their prefixed derivatives, tend to retain their inherited passive perfective stem with /a/ (βραχ-, κλαπ-, σταθ-, στραφ-, etc.):⁵⁶

επαρεστάθη (1223, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 29, 443.12)
 ανατράφη *Dig.* E 724; στράφου *ibid.* 991
 να εστράφηκεν εκείθεν *Pol. Tr.* 196; δλα εβράχησαν *ibid.* 8121; δθεν εκλάπη *ibid.* 11925
 ότι κανεις βλος εκλάπη *Assizes B* 443.29
 και δένδρον ενετράφηκεν *Liv.* V 3632
 θέλουσιν εστραφήν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.7)
 σταθήτε πάντες αρχοντες *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 1
 αν η πόλβερη θέλει ερθει να βραχη (15th/16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.1)
 εστράφης (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.6)
 στάσου (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.16)
 εστάθηκα (1573, Famagusta, CONSTANTINIDES 1988: 172, f.146r.15)
 εποδιαντράπη (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.6)
 του αντιστάθη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.19
 ουδε εντράπη (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 217.56)
 εσταθήκασι (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.4)

These verbs only rarely develop regular alternative forms with /θ/: δθεν εκλέφθη ή Πελλάς *Pol. Tr.* 11925 app. crit. (V); ην εν τῷ σακκίῳ και εκλέφτην (post 1461-ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 88.3d); αναθρέφτηκα σε τόπον ἄγριον *Bertoldin.* 120.4.

2.2.1.9 Oxytone Verbs

As in previous and subsequent stages of the language, oxytone verbs form their active perfective stems by adding a syllable consisting of a vocalic stem extension /i/, /a/ or /e/ followed by the aoristic formant {s}. In some cases an intrusive velar /k/ is added before

⁵⁶ In the case of στέκω/στέκομαι with a semantic shift due to the disappearance of the root aorist εστην "I stood", which was replaced by passive εστάθη "I was placed".

this {s}, due to the fact that many oxytone verbs have alternative presents in -ζω, and that quite a few verbs in -ζω have perfective stems in -ξ (see 2.2.1.3). The passive perfective stem is typically formed by substituting /θ/ for /s/ in the active stem, or by adding /θ/ to it.

2.2.1.9.1 -ησ- and -ηθ-

Active Voice

The majority of oxytone A- and E-stems form their perfective active stem in -ησ. Some representative examples are:

A-stems

ρόφησε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 268
 πανταχοῦ ερευνήσατε, ἴδετε *Dig.* GI.210
 εἴ τις νικήσει τὸν πόλεμον *Assizes A* 171.14
 ἵνα τὸν ἀπαντήσῃ *Achil.* N 1580
 ἐδιπλωρώτησέν την *Spanos A* 251
 ἐπεμερίμνησαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν των (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 229-30)
 πάλιν ἐμετεβρόντησεν *Krasop.* AO 109
 ἐρρούφησεν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς *Alosis* 600
 καὶ ἀγάπησέ την *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.20
 ἐρωτήσαν το (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 276, 380.11)
 καὶ ἐτίμησέ τον (1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.4)
 ἐπαραγρίκησα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.363
 ἐψοφήσασι (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.7)
 ἐψηφήσεται (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 13.17)

E-stems

καὶ προσεκύνησέν σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1-2
 νὰ ἔχουν κινήσει *Chron. Mor.* H 585
 ἐχεροτόνησεν (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.3)
 ἐμίλησαν *Dig.* E 361
 θρηνήσετε *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 ποιήσατε (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 289.14)
 ἐσυνεφώνησαν (1474, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 32, 166.1)
 ἐμίλησετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.12)
 πάτησε *Diig. Alex.* F 136.11 (Lolos)
 καὶ ἀκλούθησέν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 566.32
 ἐποίησε χρόνους τρεῖς (1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.8)
 ἐμολόγησε (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.37)
 φιλήσετε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.357
 δταν ἀπίστησεν (1616, Pogoniani, SCHREINER 1975/79: 64.IV, 497.31.1)
 δέ μου τὸ ἐμολόγησε *Nov.* I 156.21
 παρηγορήσετε *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.138

In texts from Cyprus, certain verbs that usually form their perfective stems in -εσ (for which see 2.2.1.9.5) can have an alternative perfective stem in -ησ:

ἐπαρακάλησέν τον (1406-7, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 35, f.115v.3)
 ἐπαρκάλησα τὸν κυρ-παπα-Χαρίτων (1484, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 23, 236.8-9)
 ἐπαρακάλησαν τὸν ρήγα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 168.10; ὁ Γενουβίσος ἐπόννησεν *ibid.* 458.27

επαρκαλήσα *Fior* 77.3; νά μπόρησεν *ibid.* 79.34; ἀντάν δέν μπορήση νά ἔβρη *ibid.* 121.29
επαρκαλήσέ την *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 738; διατὶ ἐγὼ ἐπόνθησα *ibid.* 4393; but also, once:
τώρα αὐτόν ἐπόνθησεν *ibid.* 1919
επαρκαλήσεν τον *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 430
νά σέ παρακαλήσω *Thrinios Kypr.* 141

The verb χωρῶ, and especially its prefixed derivatives such as ἀναχωρῶ, παραχωρῶ, προχωρῶ, ὑποχωρῶ, and to a lesser degree συγχωρῶ and στενοχωρῶ, show a clear preference for forms with -ησ- over forms with -εσ- (for which see 2.2.1.9.5):

καὶ χωρήσει *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 300 transcr. (Lendari) (hapax)
καὶ ἡ κόρη ἀπεχώρησεν *Achil.* N 1061 (hapax)
ὁ πρίντζης ἀναχώρησεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 266.16; καὶ τόσον τοὺς ἐστενοχώρησεν *ibid.* 586.27 (no forms with -εσ-)
ἤθελα παραχωρήσειν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 74.16
ὅλοι ἀναχωρήσασιν *Diig. Apoll.* 236
νά μοῦ τὲς συγχωρήσετε (1574, Cyprus, *CONSTANTINIDES* 1996: 61.17)
ἤθελαν ἀναχωρήσει ὅλες τῶνε (1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 175.21–2)
ἀποχώρησεν ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνον *Vios Aisop.* I 252.38
ἀνεχώρησεν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.22
οἱ θεοὶ νά σας συγχωρήσουν *Alex. Fyll.* 39.37; καὶ δὲν θέλει σέ χωρήσει ὁ κόσμος ὅλος *ibid.* 42.21
ὅλα τους τα συγχώρησαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4844

Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of verbs that form their perfective active stem in -ησ is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. This group of verbs also includes the majority of deponent verbs in -ῶμαι, -οῦμαι and -ᾶμαι, such as ἀπιλογοῦμαι, ἀρνοῦμαι, ἀφηγοῦμαι, βρυχώμαι, διηγοῦμαι, ἐγγυῶμαι, ἐπιμελοῦμαι, θυμοῦμαι/θυμᾶμαι, καυχῶμαι, κοιμοῦμαι/κοιμᾶμαι, κτῶμαι, λυποῦμαι/λυπᾶμαι, μιμοῦμαι and φοβοῦμαι/φοβᾶμαι:

οἱ Φράγκοι ῥκονομήθησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 705; ἔπιασεν κ' εὐλογήθην *ibid.* 1194
ὥστε νά τοῦ ἀπιλογηθοῦν *Arm.* 30; καὶ τότε νά σ' ἀφηγηθῶ *ibid.* 132
Ὅπτιανόν ἐκτίθησα, πείναν οὐδὲν φοβοῦμαι *Ptoch. III* 273,20 app. crit. (PK)
ἐπροτιμήθην ἐκ παντός *Chron. Toc.* 116
διὰ νά κυβερνηθοῦσιν *Achil.* L 222; τὰ χέρια μου ἐκρατήθησαν *ibid.* 1326
ὅταν εἰς νοῦν ἀθυμηθῶ τῆς Πόλεως τὰ κάλλη *Anak. Konst.* 106
ὑπήγαινα νά κοιμηθῶ *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 64
μηδὲν πλανηθῆτε εἰς τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια (1430, Ioannina, *RIGO* 1998: [1], 62.15)
ἐγροικῆθην εἰς πᾶσα τόπον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 8.8; ἐδιαλαθῆθην παντοῦ *ibid.* 52.17
νά κοιμηθῶ ἐθυμήθην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 1; νά μυριολυπηθῆτε *id. Apok.* V 167
ἐλεημονήθηκέν τους *Diig. Alex.* F 188.11–12 (Lolos) (same in E)
νά πᾶ νά περιβοσκηθῇ *Fyll. gadar.* 7; ἐσὺ τοὺς ἐμιμήθης *ibid.* 213
ἄμε καὶ συ νά τιμηθεῖς *Apoll. Rim.* A 695 (same in all versions)
τόν μύθον ὁποῦ ἐσὺ ἐδιηγῆθης μου *Bertoldin.* 109.4
ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁποῦ ἐπουλήθηκα *Vios Aisop.* D 217.16

2.2.1.9.2 -ηξ- and -ηχθ-/-ηχτ-, -ηκτ-

Active Voice

Due to the fact that many oxytone verbs have alternative presents in -ίζω (see 2.1.3.2), and that quite a few verbs in -ίζω have perfective stems in -ιξ (see 2.2.1.3), in the period covered by this Grammar certain oxytone verbs also begin to develop perfective stems in /iks/. Forms with -ηξ- are absent from 14th-c. works like the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*,⁵⁷ and their first appearances in texts can be dated to the 15th c. Of course, whenever a variant in -ίζω is attested (see 2.1.3), it cannot possibly be established whether the form with /iks/ is derived from the barytone or the oxytone verb, as is e.g. the case with ἀκολουθῶ/ἀκολουθίζω; γροικῶ/γροικίζω; ἐρωτῶ/ἐρωτίζω; κρατῶ/κρατίζω; σταματῶ/σταματίζω; χαιρετῶ/χαιρετίζω; χλιμιντρῶ/χλιμιντριζω.

Forms with -ηξ- of the verb ἐρωτῶ are used quite generally, in various texts from different areas, though, notably, only rarely in texts from the south-east (Cyprus, Dodecanese):

νά ρωτήσουν *Byz. Il.* 284 (hapax, 3x -ησ-)
κι ἄς σ' ἄρωτήσουν *Cypr. Canz.* 132.18
ἐρωτήσαμεν (1528, Athos, *LEMERLE* 1988: 53, 173.47)
ἠρώτηξεν (16th c., Peloponnese?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.10)
ἐρώτηξαν *Diig. Alex.* F 292.2 (Lolos)
καὶ ἔκει την ανερώτηξε *Apoll. Rim.* E 1649
ἐρώτηξα *Pent. Gen.* 24.47
ἃ θε νά μάθης, ρώτηξε *P&N Diath.* 729
θέλει σέ ρωτήξει *Vosk.* 387
νά με ρωτήξει *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.255
ἐρώτηξά σε *Pist. voskos* V 5.246
νά ρωτήξω *MONTSEL., Evgena* 39
ἐρώτηξεν (1670, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 4, 16.12)

Others are found mainly in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese), Chios and certain Cycladic islands:

νά κρατήξη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 159
να τον κρατήξεις *Apoll. Rim.* A 511 (also in EV)
μηδεις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰσχύσαι κρατήξαι (1508, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 6, 12.16)
τὰ κράτηξε (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 132, 214.30);
ἐκράτηξεν (1579, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 5, 23.6)
ἐκράτηξεν (1613, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 841, 733.17)
ἐκράτηξα (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 50.89)
τόν ἐκράτηξε (1646 [later copy], Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 58, 149.68)
ἐκράτηξε (1688, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 743, 1013.7)
νά κρατήξετε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 57.1–2
ἦβγασιν καὶ παντήξαν τον *Achil.* L 478
δέτε, ἀπαντήξετέ μας *Rim. than.* 130
ἐσυναπάντηξέ τους *Pol. Tr.* 1949 app. crit. (V)

⁵⁷ With one exception in a 16th-c. ms: ἐσυναπάντηξε *Pol. Tr.* 1949 app. crit. (V), where mss BX read ἐσυναπάντησε.

ἔσυνεπάντηξάν με DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1325
 εκεί του ὁσυνεπάντηξε Apoll. Rim. V 237 (same in all versions)
 δποιο κι' ἄν ἀπαντήξω CHORTATIS, *Katz* II.123; για να συνεπαντήξομε id., *Panor.* III.469
 πὰ ν' ἀπαντήξω τὸ παιδί *Thysia Avr.* 1112
 ἀπάντηξά σε *Pist. voskos* V 5.243
 γιὰ κείνο μοῦ παντήξασι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.13
 ἡπάντηξέν του (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 16.10)
 ἀπαντήξαν *Leilasia Par.* 595
 ἐζήτηξεν *Jonas* 217.109
 τὴ θέ ζητήξει FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160
 μὴ μοῦ ζητήξεις *Rim. kor.* A 72
 νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ ζητήξη αὐτὸ τὸ ρέστος (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 107, 199.20)
 καὶ νὰ ζητήξετε καὶ ἄλλον (1571, Mani, CHASIOIS 1970: 5, 239.12–13)
 νὰ ζητήξομεν τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 20.28; δὲν ἤθελεν ζητήξιν ibid. 137.25; τοῦ ἐζήτηξα θέλημα id., *Logos* 469.25
 ἐζήτηξες BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.11
 συμπάθιο νὰ ζητήξουσι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.367
 καὶ τὴν εὐχή σου ἐζήτηξα KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.863
 ἐζήτηξέν το (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.73)
 ἐκείνο ὁποῦ μοῦ ζητήξεις *Bertoldos* 9.20
 ἐζητήξετε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.23)
 καὶ εσταμάτηξε καὶ αὐτὸς *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 177
 τὰ μάτια ἐσταματήξασι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.557
 νὰ σταματήξη *VEST., Pathi* 409
 ἐσταματήξαμε σὲ μίαν μερέαν (1687, Andros, LAMBROS 1909b: 2, 244.5)

Others appear to be mainly Cretan:⁵⁸

γης, σκίσου, ρούφηξέ με CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.203
 νὰ θέ νὰ τὸν ρουφήξη KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.658
 κάτω νὰ μὲ ρουφήξη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.466
 νὰ μὲ καταρουφήξει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 497.4
 καὶ ρούφηξε τὸ φούντος IOAKEIM KYPR. *Pali* 3484
 ἀκλουθήξασιν SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 154
 καὶ 'κεῖ τον ἀκλουθήξασι Apoll. Rim. N 785
 ἄς ἀκλουθήξη *Pist. voskos* I 1.3
 κι ἀκολούθηξά σου TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.247
 κι ὡς φουσῆξης τὸ κερί KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1102
 τότες ὡς ἐφύσηξεν ἄνεμος οὔ ποῦ θέλαν IOAKEIM KYPR. *Pali* 6929
 ἀνέμοι ἐφυσήξασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 263.1
 νὰ βοηθήξη *Pist. voskos* V 7.70
 καὶ θές νὰ μοῦ βοηθήξης KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1909 (rhymes with ξανοίξης); κιανεῖς νὰ τῆς βοηθήξη ibid. IV.77 (rhymes with πνίξη)

⁵⁸ Note that modern Cretan still favours /ks/ over /s/; see KONDOSPOULOS 2001: 31–2.

The verb *τολμῶ* (perfective stem normally in -ησ) has a variant form *τρομῶ*, which is the result of two phonetic processes, namely liquid interchange (*τολμῶ* > *τορμῶ*, e.g. νὰ μηδὲν *τορμήσουν* (1449, Chios, LAIOU 1982: 4, 124.10)) and metathesis (*τορμῶ* > *τρομῶ*) (for details see I, 3.8.6.2 and 3.9.1), possibly also influenced by the semantically related verb *τρομάζω*. This variant can form its perfective stem in -ησ (e.g. νὰ μηδὲν *τρομήσω* *Liv.* E 3418; οὐδὲ ἐγὼ θέλω *τρομήσει* *Diig. Alex.* F 146.9 (Lolos); ποτέ νὰ μην *τρομήσει* CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.129), but in texts from Crete and the Aegean also in -ηξ-:

τινάς οὐδὲν ἐτρόμηξε νὰ 'πά' νὰ του 'μιλήσει Apoll. Rim. V 1481 (also in EN; ἐτρόμαξε in A);
 οὐδὲ *τρομήξιν* ἤθελεν ibid. 1544 (also in AEN)
 νὰ μην ἔχη *τρομήξει* (1576, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 138, 259.15)
 νὰ μην *τρομήξουσιν* οἱ γυναῖκες (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 54.217)

Perfective stems in -ηξ for the verbs *πηδῶ* and *βροντῶ*, normal in SMG, are quite rare, and only appear from the 16th/17th c. onwards, mainly in Cretan texts, but in the case of *πηδῶ* also in *Don Kis.*, a text that was written in the Danubian Principalities in the early 18th c.:

καὶ τὸ ζιμιὸν ἐπήδηξεν ὁλόρθο σὰν τὸ λάφι KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2142
 ἐτότες μ' ἐπήδηξασιν ἀξάφνου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.85
 ἐπήδηξε ἀπὸ το παραθύρι *Don Kis.* 137.2

σα βροντήξει CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.259 (hapax, rhymes with ρίξει)
 ἐδέτσι ἀστραποβρόντηξε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.2131

Forms with -ηξ- of the verb *πορπατῶ* (< *περιπατῶ*) have only been found in the *Pentateuch* and in *Erotokritos*, but it cannot be excluded that they were more widely used, at least in Cretan:⁵⁹

ἐπορπάτηξεν ὁ Νοαχ *Pent. Gen.* 6.9; ἐπορπάτηξα ibid. 35.3
 νὰ πορπατήξη *Pent. Exod.* 21.19
 δπου κι ἄν ἐπορπάτηξεν KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1719 and IV.1099; δὲ θέ νὰ πορπατήξη ibid. IV.73.

Some forms with -ηξ- even appear to be typical of certain authors/texts, e.g. *γλακῶ*, *γλακήξω*, *γροικῶ*,⁶⁰ *γροικήξω*, *τηρῶ*, *τηρήξω* and *χαιρετῶ*, *χαιρετήξω* of Chortatis, *χλιμιτῶ*, *χλιμιτήξω* of *Alex. Rim.*, and *ξεψυχῶ*, *ξεψυχήξω* of *Diig. Alex.* E:

καὶ ἐξεψύχηξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Κτεναβῶ *Diig. Alex.* E 117.15 (Lolos)
 τότε πολλὰ *χλιμίτηξε*, βρουχᾶται ὡς περ λέω *Alex. Rim.* 2919

νὰ *γροικήξου* CHORTATIS, *Erof. Dedic.* 10 (hapax; rhymes with ἀνοίξου); νὰ *γλακήξει* id., *Panor.* I.361; καθὼς ἐκεῖνη *εγλάκηξε* ibid. I.363; μα τήρηξε τὴν ὄρεξη ibid. III.320; νὰ σὲ *χαιρετήξω* id., *Katz* II.164 (hapax; rhymes with ἀνοίξω)

⁵⁹ The noun *πορπατηξιά* is also found in *Velthandros* 614 and 715, *Panoria* I.426 and V.96, and *Fortounatos* III.742. *Panoria* and *Fortounatos* happen not to have perfective forms of this verb, *Velthandros*, however, has forms with -ησ-, e.g. καὶ δέκα *περιπάτησεν* *Velth.* 243.

⁶⁰ Of the verb *γροικῶ*, one example with -ηξ- was found in the following text from Chios: καὶ λυπὴν μὴν *γροικήξω* *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 706; but apart from the fact that it rhymes with *δεῖξω* in the previous verse, it should also be borne in mind that Chortatis's *Erofili* is one of the sources used by Vestarchis for his play (MANOUSAKAS/PUCHNER 2000: 49).

New oxytone verbs, e.g. τραβῶ (< τραβίζω < ταυρίζω) and βουτῶ (< βουτίζω, attested in the 13th c., see *LBG*), form perfective stems in -ηξ as well as -ησ:

ἐτράβηξεν *Pol. Tr.* 7065 app. crit. (C), where mss AX read ἐτάβριζε, V ἐτάβρισαν and B ἐτράβησεν
 νά τόν βουττήσουν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 72.9
 καί τήν ἐτραβήσανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 81.18
 νά βουτῇσαι *Kaini Diath. Louk.* 16.24
 νά μέ τραβήσετε ἔξω *Alex. Fyll.* 103.19–20
 βούτῃσε τὰ ραβδία τους *LANDOS, Geopon.* 153.25; but also: ἐάν βουτῇσης τὰς ρίζας του *ibid.* 208.28
 βουτῇσας εἰς τὸ βάθος *Vios Aisop.* D 242.14–15
 νά τραβήξει ὀπίσω *Bertoldin.* 136

Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of verbs that form their perfective active stem in -ηξ is formed by substituting -θ- for -σ-. Before -θ-, the velar becomes -χ-. The combination -χθ- may then become -χτ- through manner dissimilation (for details on the chronology of the phenomenon, and the issues of contemporary writing practice and modern editing, see I, 3.8.1):

ἐκρατήχθηκά σου (1553, Crete, *ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI* 2002: 181, 170.12)
 νά κρατηχτῇ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2117; νά βοηθηχτῶ *ibid.* III.353 app. crit. (X)
 ἐτραβήχθηκαν κάτω *Bertoldos* 71.31
 ἐτραβήχτησαν *Bertoldin.* 169.22
 ἐτραβήχθη ὀπίσω το ἄλογόν του *Don Kis.* 46.1

From around the 15th c. onwards in texts of southern provenance such as Crete, Cyprus, the Heptanese and certain Cycladic islands, -χτ- can subsequently “reassimilate” to become -κτ- (cf. 2.2.1.3):

ἐκεῖ συνεπαντήκητησαν *Achil.* L 926
 ἐκεῖ ὁπόπαντηκτῆκασιν *Apoll. Rim.* A 729 (same in all versions)
 νά ζητηκτεῖ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 27.6
 ἐτραβήκτη τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς Μικρῆς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 141.15
 γλυκοχαιρετηκτῆτε *Stathis* III.504 (γλυκοχαιρετικτῆτε in the ed.)
 ν’ ἀποχαιρετηκτοῦσινε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 378.8 (Xirouchakis); θέ ν’ ἀναζητηκτοῦνε *ibid.* 428.26 (both corrected to -χτ- in ed. Alexiou/Aposkiti)

2.2.1.9.3 -ασ- and -ασθ-/αστ-

Active Voice

Oxytone A-stem verbs that historically formed their perfective stem in -ασ, e.g. AG γελῶ (< γηρῶ/γηράσκω), ἔξερῶ (> ξερνῶ), κρεμῶ, περῶ (> περνῶ), χαλῶ, Koine πεινῶ, δειλιῶ, EMedG κερνῶ (< κεράννυμι), continue to do so throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

νά ἔχουν περάσει *Chron. Mor.* H 400
 ὅλους νά σᾶς κρεμάσουν *Pol. Tr.* 1464; ὁποῦ καί θέν νά μᾶς χαλάσουν *ibid.* 6601 app. crit. (A)
 μή δειλιάσετε, ἄρχοντες *Achil.* N 450; ὅλλα ὁ εἰς τοὺς δέκα ἐσύνθλασεν *ibid.* 552
 κρέμασε *Dig.* E 802; περάσειν ἔχω *ibid.* 1532

μήτε ἐκκλησίας νά χαλάσωμεν (1430, Ioannina, *RIGO* 1998: [1], 62.21)
 νά ἐξέρασα *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 196
 καί εκρέμμασεν κ’ ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τα πόδια *VOUSTR. Chron.* A 104.14–15
 ὅταν γεράσουν *Diig. Alex.* F 140.15 (Lolos)
 καί βλέπε μή δειλιάσεις *Thysia Avr.* 18; κρέμασε τὸ σκληρὸ σπαθί *ibid.* 232
 θέλει νά ξεδειλιάση *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.679
 ἕως ποῦ νά γεράσης *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O Prol. 5
 ἐχάλασαν (17th c., Lefkada, *TSILIMINGRA* 1955: I.2, 72.17)
 οἱ Τούρκοι εδειλίασαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6897
 το ποτήρι οποῦ με ἐκέρασες *Alex. Fyll.* 115.16
 Ὁ δὸν Κισότε ἐγέλασεν *Don Kis.* 47.21; ἤθελε νά περάσει *ibid.* 49.11

Of a small group of verbs that usually have perfective stems in -αξ (see below, 2.2.1.9.4) forms with -ασ- can occasionally be found:

καί ἀπὲ τὰ δέντρα ἐπέτασεν *Achil.* L 713
 νά πετάση [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1555
 καί τὰ πουλιά ἐπετάσασιν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 64
 δὲν ἤμποροῦσιν νά πετάσουσιν *Fior* 97.19
 νά πετάσουν *Vios Aisop.* D 238.35 (but also: ἐπέταξεν *ibid.* 230.18)
 νά τοῦ τὸ ξεπετάσει *Bertoldin.* 151.3 (but also: νά ἀπετάξουν *ibid.* 141.6)

ἐρπάσουσιν *DELLAP., Peri antapod.* 14
 ἔχει νά τὴν ἀρπάση *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 52

Passive Voice

The perfective passive stem of verbs that form their perfective active stem in -ασ is formed by adding -θ- to the perfective active stem. The combination -σθ- may then become -στ- through manner dissimilation (for details, see I, 3.8.1):

ἂν πεταστῇτε εἰς οὐρανόν *Liv.* E 522
 μέλλει νά κρεμαστῇ (13th?/16th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* A 185.29)
 ἐκρεμάστη *Spanos* A 99
 κ’ ἐπεῖτα στὸ τραχήλι μας ὕστερ’ ἀποκρεμάσθην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 382
 καί θέλεις χαλαστεῖν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 642.30
 ἡχαλάστηκεν *Synax. gyn.* 360
 ἀφ’ ὕψους ἐπετάσθην *Dig.* T 2032
 καί ὅλοι χαλασθοῦμεν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 550

2.2.1.9.4 -αξ- and -αχθ-/αχτ-, -ακτ-

Active Voice

A small group of verbs, among which are ἀρπῶ, βαστῶ, πετῶ, πλαντῶ and φυλῶ form their perfective stems in -αξ. These stems are built on the analogy of their, usually older and more common, barytone variants in -άζω or -άσσω: βαστάζω, πετάζω (< πετάννυμι), πλαντάζω, ἀρπάζω, φυλάσσω, for which see 2.2.1.3; see also 2.1.3.1.

ἤρπαξεν (post 1306, Cyprus, *CONSTANTINIDES/BROWNING* 1993: 31, 163.[23]2)
 διατὶ ἐβάσταξε ἄρματα *Chron. Mor.* H 3337 (cf. βαστοῦν *ibid.* 2489; but also: ἐβάσταζαν *ibid.* 231)

καὶ ὡς γυνήν του νόμιμον κρατήσει καὶ φυλάξει *Pol. Tr.* 1128
 ὅς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ ἀπέταξεν *Arm.* 82
 καὶ πάσχου νὰ πλαντάξου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 57 (cf. πλαντῶ *ibid.* 689)
 καὶ ἄμα τὸ σώσειν ἤρπαξεν τ' ἀριστερὸν τιμόνιν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 356 (cf. ἤρπουν *ibid.* 41)
 ἐπέταξεν ἡ μία καὶ ἔφυγε *Vios Aisop.* D 230.18 (cf. νὰ πετοῦν *ibid.* 239.1; but also: νὰ
 πετάσουν *ibid.* 238.35)
 νὰ τὸν βαστάξῃ *Vios Aisop.* K 148.30–1 (cf. νὰ βαστῶ *ibid.* 153.13; but also: ἔπαρε καὶ
 βάσταζε 153.20)

Some of these verbs (though not πλαντῶ and φυλῶ) also have variant perfective stems in -ας, for which see above, 2.2.1.9.3.

Passive Voice

The group of oxytone verbs that have a perfective active stem in -αξ /ak-s/ form their perfective passive stem by substituting /θ/ for /s/, resulting in -αχθ. Through manner dissimilation -χθ- may become -χτ- (see I, 3.8.1), and in certain areas -χτ- may "re-assimilate" to become -κτ-:

ὑπάγαινε νὰ πεταχθῇ *Pol. Tr.* 5177; ἂν εἶχε τοῦτος βασταχθῇ *ibid.* 13370
 χίλιοι νὰ πεταχτήκα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.439

ἐπετακτήκα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.331 app. crit. (DN)
 νὰ πετακτῶ ὀλομόναχος *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.197 (corrected to πεταχτῶ in the edition)
 νὰ πετακτοῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 239.13 (Xirouchakis) (πεταχτοῦσι in ed. Alexiou/
 Aposkiti)

2.2.1.9.5 -εσ- and -εθ-, -εσθ-/εστ-

Active Voice

Oxytone E-stem verbs that traditionally had aorists in -εσα continue to do so throughout and after our period, e.g. τελῶ, ἀρκῶ, ἐπαινῶ, καλῶ, which had -εσα in AG, or ἡμπορῶ (<εὐπορῶ>), βαρῶ, φορῶ, πονῶ, χωρῶ, ὠφελῶ, which had -ησα in AG and obtained variant perfective stems in -εσ in post-classical times. Forms of both stems of these verbs are common, forms with -ησ being particularly common for compounds with the verb χωρῶ (see 2.2.1.9.1). Newer formations of perfective stems in -εσ include the verbs πλανῶ, καρτερῶ, εὐκαιρῶ, and ἀντῶ. Because the last two verbs also form alternative imperfective stems in -αίνω/-ένω (for which see 2.1.3.2), it cannot be established whether a perfective form with -εσ is derived from the oxytone or the barytone variant of the verb. Even when the imperfective stem transfers from E-stem to A-stem, the perfective stem in -εσ is usually retained:

καὶ ὁμῶς συγχώρεσόν με, πάτερ μου *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.3
 ἐγκαλέσαμεν (1128, S. Italy, *MERCATI et al.* 1980: 13, 97.5)
 ἔτσούκα, ὅπου τὰ ἐχώρεσες *Ptoch.* IV 217
 πῶς νὰ ἡπορέσω στέρησιν νὰ ἴδω τῆς θυγατρὸς μου *Eisit.* f.8 r.17–18
 νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει *Chron. Mor.* H 953; οὕτως τοὺς ἐπλανέσαν *ibid.* 1099
 τὸν θέλουσιν ἐγρήγορα βαρέσει *Pol. Tr.* 1075; τὴν θλίψιν νὰ τελέσῃ *ibid.* 12925
 ἐψυχοπόνεσέ με *Liv.* V 3699
 εὐκαιρέσασιν τὴν χώραν (15th, Cyprus, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 28, 209.4.3–4)
 κανεῖν δὲν ἐκαρτέρεσεν *Chron. Toc.* 1495; πολλὰ ἐστενοχώρεσεν τὴν πόλιν *Γιαννίνων* *ibid.* 1819

πονέσετε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 15
 τίποτες οὐδὲν ἐφέλεσεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 44.17 (<ὠφελῶ>
 ἐπαρακαλέσασιν τοὺς (1574, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 15, 141.9)
 οἱ Εβραῖοι ὄνταν ἐντεσαν στὸν Φαραῶ ἐκεῖνο *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 5018
 δὲν θὲν τὴν ἐπαινέσῃ *KONDAR., Paidēs* 234
 τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐποὶ ἠθέλησαν νὰ ἀποτελέσουν *Alex. Fyll.* 111.3–4

In texts from Cyprus alternative perfective stems in -ησ can be found for some of these verbs, not only those which traditionally had -ησ such as πονῶ, but also e.g. for παρακαλῶ (for examples, see 2.2.1.9.1).

Passive Voice

Of oxytone verbs that form their perfective active stem in -εσ, the majority form the perfective passive stem in -εθ. A small group of verbs has perfective passive stems in -εσθ. The choice of -εθ or -εσθ can usually be explained historically: verbs that had passive aorists in -έθην retain their perfective passive stems in -εθ (e.g. ἐπαινῶ, αἰρῶ), whereas verbs that had passive aorists in -έσθην continue to do so in the period under review (e.g. τελῶ, ἀρκῶ). The verb καλῶ and its compounds had moved from an irregular passive aorist (ἐκλήθην) to a more regular one (ἐκαλέσθην) in the EMedG period, though the old forms can still be found in the texts examined. The sequence <σθ> may become <στ> through manner dissimilation (see I, 3.8.1). Verbs that transfer from stems in -ησ to stems in -εσ form their perfective passive stem in -εθ (e.g. βαρῶ, βαρήσω > βαρέσω > ἐβαρέθην):

ἀφαιρέθῃ (1225, Sicily, *CUSA Coll.* IX: 1868/82: 31, 449.15)
 πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 2818
 ἠθελες ... ἐπαινεθῇ *Dig.* E 252
 μήπως καὶ βαρεθῶσι σε *Pol. Tr.* 557 app. crit. (A)
 πολλὰ ἐβαρέθηκε *Spanos* D 395
 πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

μετὰ δὲ τὸ συντελεσθῇ τὸν τριμηνῆτον γάμον *Dig.* G IV.933
 ἠρκέστηκεν *Velis.* χ 398
 ὅπου μέλλουν νὰ ἀρκεσθῶν (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.2)
 ἐγκαλέσθησαν *Bertoldin.* 112.28–9
 ἐπικαλέσθησαν (1688, Gortynia, *YANNAROPOULOU* 1972: 113, 324.2)

2.2.1.10 Verbs with an Alternative Stem Formation in -κ-

2.2.1.10.1 Indicative

The athematic aorist in -κα in the singular of the three AG verbs δίδωμι, τίθημι, ἀφίημι had already begun to spread to the plural before the Hellenistic period (see *MANDILARAS* 1973: 145), and forms with -κ- (ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα or ἔθεκα and ἀφῆκα or ἀφηκα) are found for all persons throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

κακὴν βουλὴν τὸν ἔδωκαν *Spaneas* P 221
 μά τὸν Θεὸν ὅπου με ἔδωκεν τὸ κεφαλατικὸν (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, *ZACHARIADOU* 1962: 256.27–8)
 δὲν ἔδωκα χάριν ψυχικῆς μου σωτηρίας (1400, Patras, *GERLAND* 1903: 10, 194.6)

οὔτε φίλημαν με ἔδωκεν *Dig. E* 166
 ἔδωκαν οἱ ὅλοι τὸν λόγον τῶς (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)
 ἔδωκανε (15th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 176, 120.1)
 καὶ ἔδωκάν τα τοὺς Λατίνους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 28.4
 το πῶς ἔδωκαν *Diig. Alex.* K 365.15
 εἰς δ,τι ἄρα σοῦ ἔδωκαμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 44, 42.5)
 ἔδωκα καὶ παράδωκαν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 9, 131.13)
 καὶ ἔδωκε (1662, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 27, 33.11)
 τόση δύναμην ἔδωκαν *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 1005
 δὲν ἤδωκε ἄλλο τιβετισ (17th c., Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.44)
 ἀνταπεδώκασιν ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 180
 καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν *Thrinis Kypr.* 144

ἔθηκεν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 335
 εἰς κάτεργα δύο τὴν ἔθηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 2478
 ἔθέκαν *Dig. E* 480; but also: ἔθηκαν *ibid.* E 780
 ἔθηκαν *Assizes B* 395.23
 ἔθηκαν *Achil.* N 380; but also: ἔθέκαν *ibid.* 1832
 κανεῖς οὐδὲν ἔθέκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1149
 ἤθεκα στὸ κρεβάτιν μου BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 4
 ἀπόθηκέν το εἰς το σκαμνὶ του *Diig. Alex.* K 375.1
 ἐμετάθεκα τὸ παρὸ (1610, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 7, 22.15)
 ἔθηκεν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavrass) 161.2
 μοῦ θέκανε μαχαίρι ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 540.22
 καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐμετάθεκαν οἱ φονογραμματαῖοι VEST., *Pathi* 188
 ἐμετάθεκα τὸ παρὸν (1681, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 70, 58.29)

ἐμὲ ἀφῆκαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.12
 τοῖς ἀφηκεν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.16)
 ἀφηκες *Pol. Tr.* 1933
 ἤφηκεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 22, 57.6)
 ἀφηκες ... τὸν κόσμον; *Alosis* 145
 μὰ πάλι ἀπεί σ' ἐφῆκαν FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 280
 ἀφηκες ἄλλα εἶδη *Syndipas* 118.6
 ἐγὼ ἀφῆκα πολλὰ χωριά *Fior* 125.3
 τοῦ ἐφῆκαν (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 162.16–17)
 ἐφηκες GERMANO, *Grammar* 99.10
 μὰς ἀφήκασιν γραφικῶς LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.18
 καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐφήκασιν KONDAK., *Paidas* 957
 μὰς ἀφηκεν (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.6)
 τὸν ἀφήκαμ' ἐφημέριον (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 89, 321.7)
 τῶν τὸ ἤφηκεν (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.5)

As is well known, the AG category of the Perfect had started to disappear from the spoken language already in Hellenistic times. Forms that morphologically are perfects continue to be used in written texts in the post-classical and Byzantine periods, but apart from the most classicizing texts they are generally used as aorists (HORROCKS 2010: 131–2; HINTERBERGER 2014b), and by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar their use is entirely residual. The only morphological perfect to have survived, but semantically

as an aorist, is εὔρηκα (< εὐρίσκω) (THUMB 1912: 147–8), which since Hellenistic times had been in use as an aorist indicative,⁶¹ alongside the inherited thematic form εὔρον/ἤρον and, later, the newer form ἤρα, both of which it eventually managed to supersede. Due to the sound change in the diphthong ευ from [eu] to [ew] and ultimately to [ev], which started around the 3rd c. BC (HORROCKS 2010: 169), /e/ came to be reanalysed as an augment, thus facilitating the interpretation of the form εὔρηκα (also spelled ἔβρηκα) as an aorist, by analogy with the aforementioned aorists ἔδωκα, ἔφηκα, ἔθηκεν (HORROCKS 2010: 302). By analogy with ἤρον/ἤρα versus εὔρον, εὔρηκα could then also adopt the /i/ augment: ἤρηκα (for εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω, see also 2.4; for the augment, see Chapter 3).

ἤρηκαν *Dig. G* II.154
 ἤρηκα *Dig. E* 1197; μὰς ἤβρηκαν *Dig. E* 1321 app. crit.
 εὔρηκεν *Assizes A* 222.16
 εὔρηκα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2367
 ἤρηκε *Velth.* 244
 δὲν ἤρηκα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 18
 ἔβρήκασιν *Porikol.* I 127
 εὐρήκασιν *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.11
 ἤρηκα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.177
 εὐρήκετε (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.14)
 ἤρηκα πήχες εἴκοσι πέντε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 43–4
 ἤρηκε *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 9
 ἔσκαψαν τὴν κοπριά καὶ τὰ ἤρηκαν *Paroim.* (Warner) 107.21–2
 καὶ εὐρήκασιν τὴν (1689, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 852, 1138.7)
 εὔρηκε ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 26.15
 εὐρήκαμε (1719, Patmos, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 16.3)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate in proparoxytone forms, resulting in columnar stress (see also I, 4.2.4.2), occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards:

αὐτὸς ἠύρηκεν ἀφορμὴν *Chron. Toc.* 505
 εὐρήκαν καὶ ἑκατὸν χιλιάδες ἄλογα *Alex. Fyll.* 69.15; εὐρήκα χρυσάφι πολὺ *ibid.* 109.5
 ἠύρηκα VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 305
 εὐρήκαν ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 179

These forms are the precursors of SMG βρήκα, βρήκες etc., which are the result of deletion of the initial /e/ or /i/. The verb thus joined the small group of verbs with disyllabic aorists, which includes εἶπα, εἶδα, ἦρθα, μπήκα and βγήκα. This is probably due to the fact that these verbs uniquely share a tendency to become monosyllabic in the subjunctive (cf. εὔρω and εὐρῶ (> βρῶ), εἴπω and εἴπῶ (> πῶ), ἔμπω and ἔμπῶ (> μπῶ) etc.) and the infinitive (εὔρεῖν (> βρεῖ), εἰπεῖν (> πεῖ), ἔμπεῖν (> μπεῖ), etc.). Secure examples of the forms βρήκα, βρήκες etc. have not been found in the period covered by this Grammar; the Cretan work *Palaia kai Nea Diathiki* (mid-17th-c. ms, written in Latin script) offers: ἂν βρήκασιν σωσμοὶ *P&N Diath.* 1221 and δὲν τὸν βρήκα *ibid.* 2380 (3 pl.), but, as becomes clear from the

⁶¹ See for instance the following example from the *Septuagint*: καὶ ἐνέπρησεν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐχ εὔρηκέν σε *Septuaginta*, Regn. III, 18.10.

critical apparatus, neither form is undoubtedly "augmentless": v. 1221 reads: aneuricassi (δν εὐρήκασι) and v. 2380: dhedo (δέν τὸ, not τὸν). The SMG form βρήκα is in all likelihood a late, or initially regional, development.⁶²

Apart from ἔδωκα, ἄφηκα, ἔθηκα and εὐρηκα, discussed above, there are many other verbs that show a /k/ stem in the aorist indicative. These alternative aorist indicative forms with -κ- (instead of the usual -σ-), are usually either interpreted as incorrectly formed perfects in which the augment replaces the reduplication (in other words, e.g. ἐποίηκα is in fact πεποίηκα, and ἔβηκα is in fact βέβηκα; see among others CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 548–9; MANDILARAS 1973: 146; GIGNAC 1981: 243–4) or as the result of confusion between the aorist and the perfect (MANDILARAS 1973: 57; HORROCKS 2010: 176–8 and 302–3). Though there is nothing inherently implausible about confusion in the Hellenistic period when the two tenses merged, the evidence for it in Greek papyri is relatively slender and relatively late: see GIGNAC 1981: 243–4 who offers a mere handful of examples from papyri of the 2nd c. AD onwards. In fact, the popularity of the κ- aorist (other than the inherited forms ἔδωκα, ἄφηκα, ἔθηκα and εὐρηκα) dates from long after the demise of the perfect. The first attestation so far of ἐποίηκα has been found in Malalas (6th c.): καλῶς μὲν ἐποίηκατε Malalas, *Chronogr.* 399.95 app. crit. (O) (ed. Thurn);⁶³ and the earliest example so far of ἔβηκα dates to the 9th c., appearing in a letter by Theodore of Studios: ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἴονεῖ καὶ ἔργον προύβηκεν τὸ βουλευθὲν διὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ θείας συντεύξεως Theod. Stud., *Letter* 52, l. 19 (in all mss, oldest ms (C) 9th c.; ed. Fatouros).

Whatever the origin of the remarkable /k/ stem, it should be stressed that from a semantic point of view these forms are indeed aorists. Take, for instance, the following 7th-c. example of ἀπόλλυμι quoted in the Chronicle of Theophanes (early 9th c.):⁶⁴ πάλιν εἰς τὸν καῦκον ἔπιες· πάλιν τὸν νοῦν ἀπέλεκας Theoph., *Chronogr.* 296.27 app. crit. (ed. De Boor). That this form is used as an aorist indicative becomes clear from subsequent Byzantine authors who quote this passage, such as the *Chronicle of the Logothete*, George the Monk, Constantine Pophyrogennitos, Kedrinios and Glykas; they all change the "vulgar" form ἀπέλεκας, not into a perfect (ἀπολώλεκας), but into an aorist, ἀπώλεσας.

It must also be stressed that some of the κ-aorists treated below are clearly not based on any parallel forms of the perfect: e.g. ἔπεκε derives from ἔπεσε, not from πέπτωκε and ἐγλύτωκε is formed from the innovative verb γλυτώνω. The same clearly goes for the /k/ attached to the passive aorist stem: ἐλύθην > ἐλύθηκα, the earliest examples of which date from the 13th c. (see 4.4).

Apart from ἔδωκα, ἄφηκα, ἔθηκα, εὐρηκα and the highly productive aorist passive in -ηκα, there are three other verbs which particularly favour the /k/ aorist in the Middle Ages and beyond: βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives, ποιῶ and ἀπολύω/ἐξαπολύω. To begin with the verb βαίνω and its derivatives ἀναβαίνω, διαβαίνω, ἐκβαίνω/ἐβγαίνω, ἐμβαίνω/

⁶² It is noteworthy that neither Chatzidakis nor Jannaris mention the form βρήκα.

⁶³ This form was corrected to a perfect (πεποίηκατε) by the editor. In the context an aorist is more suitable than a perfect.

⁶⁴ This is the reading of all mss but one (M), which reads ἀπόλεκας (corrected to ἀπώλεσας in the edition); interestingly, this form appears in a satirical song sung by the Demes in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in AD 609–10 (Theophanes quotes John of Antioch); see also MAAΣ 1912.

ἐμπαίνω, ἐπιβαίνω, καταβαίνω, συμβαίνει, these verbs may have developed a new ending -ηκα by analogy with ἔθηκα and ἄφηκα, or with εὐρηκα, with which they share certain common characteristics in the formation of perfective forms: εὐρίσκω, aor. ind. εὐρηκα > ἐβρήκα, aor. subj. εὐρώ > εὐρῶ > βρῶ; ἐμβαίνω, aor. ind. ἐμβηκα > ἐμπήκα, aor. subj. ἐμβω > ἐμπω > ἐμπῶ > μπῶ (see 4.4.2 and 4.2.3). The fact that /k/ forms of βαίνω can be found in early mixed-register texts such as Glykas and Dig. G indicates that by the 12th/13th c. they had become perfectly acceptable in writing (as noted above, the earliest example found so far dates to the 9th c.) (for these verbs' influence on the passive aorist see 4.4):

συνέβηκεν (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.9–10)
καὶ ὥσει σκιά διέβηκες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199
ἐπέβηκεν Dig. G IV.759
ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch.* I 131; εἰσέβηκα ibid. 130; καὶ μέσα νὰ ἐκατάβηκεν *Ptoch.* IV 191
ἐμπήκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 4846; ἀνέβηκεν ibid. 5357; ἐσυνέβηκεν ibid. 7203
ἐμπήκαν Dig. E 75; ἐδιάβηκα ibid. 545; ἐκατέβηκεν ibid. 618; οὐκ ἐβγήκα ibid. 1231; ἐξέβηκαν ibid. 1411
ἐδιέβηκεν *Florios* 1487; ἐμπηκεν ibid. 1599
ἐπέβηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 19; ἀνέβηκεν ibid. 239; ἐκατέβηκαν ibid. 1722; ἐσυνέβηκεν ibid. 1982
ἤμπηκεν *Achil.* L 769 καὶ ἤμπηκεν ibid. 992
ἐκατέβηκαν *Achil.* N 550; ἐμπήκεν ibid. 1153; μή τι δεινὸν συνέβηκεν ibid. 1456
καὶ εἰς τὸ κάστρον ἀνέβηκεν *Achil.* O 526; ἡ κόρη ἐδιέβηκεν ibid. 1228
ἐμπηκεν *Byz. Il.* 974
σ' ἐμᾶς ἐκατεβήκαν *Alex. Rim.* 1643; ἐμπήκανε ibid. 1671; ἐμπήκαμε ibid. 2112
ἐμπηκαν *Bertoldos* 65.8

The verb ποιῶ forms an alternative perfective stem in -κ-, alongside its regular sigmatic one ποιησ- (for which see 2.2.1.9.1), with both paroxytone and proparoxytone variant forms for the singular: ἐποίηκα and ἔποικα, on the model of its alternative sigmatic forms ἐποίησα > ἔποισα (for which see 2.4; see also HATZIDAKIS 1892: 438). Alternative stress patterns are, of course, very convenient for poets, but proparoxytone forms are not restricted to metrical positions where such a stress pattern may be obligatory (e.g. before the caesura), or indeed even to verse texts, e.g. ἔποικα σχῆμα σιωπῆς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 153, where ἐποίηκα would be equally acceptable metrically, and μὲ ἔποικεν (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 1, 480.2). Examples occur from the beginning of the LMedG period in a large geographical area:

καὶ τώρα ἐποίηκε τὸν σταυρὸν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 262
καὶ ἐποίηκες με ἐρημίτριαν *Ptoch.* I 147
τί ἐποίηκεν ὁ πατήρ σου Dig. E 264
τὴν ἀγορά τὴν ἐποίηκεν *Assizes* B 286.18
ἐποίηκες ὡς εὐγενική *Pol. Tr.* 341 app. crit. (EV)
τὸν ὄρκον τὸν μ' ἐποίηκες *Katal.* 24
σφακέλωμαν ἐποίηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1165
κι ἐποίηκε το μετὰ χαρᾶς FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 10; τὰ τόσα ποῦ σ' ἐποίηκαν ibid. 279
ὅπου μοῦ ἐποίηκετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.30; δὲν ἐποίηκαμεν βεντέτταν ibid. 236.5
τὸ ποίκεν *Rim. kor.* V 134
τὴν ἀντροπήν, οἱ τοῦ ἐποίηκεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.9
ἐποίηκεν MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 227
ὄλα ἐσὺ τὰ ποίκες MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2667

μέ τιμή το έποϊκαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3060
καί πρόσωπον έποϊκασιν *Thrinis Kypr.* 63 ms

τά λουτρικά τά μέ έποϊκες *Ptoch.* I 62
τί έποϊκεν ό παππούς σου *Dig.* E 254
άν έποϊκεν κανείς *Spaneas* Z 349
άτιμον πράγμαν έποϊκεν *Pol. Tr.* 178; έποϊκες *Pol. Tr.* 341 app. crit. (AX)
πατήρ μου πράξιν έποϊκες εις κόρην Πλάτζια-Φλώρη *Florios* 1075
καί έποϊκεν τέτοιαν τέχνην *Chron. Toc.* 932
άνδραγαθίς τας έποϊκεν *Velis.* χ 121
διά τόν φόνον όπου έποϊκες *Achil.* N 994
καί τας πονηρίας, ως έποϊκες *Spanos* D 1288
τρείς χρόνους ό Ήμπερίος έποϊκεν στην σκλαβίαν *Imb. Rim.* 725
έγώ τό έποϊκα (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 144.15)
όποιος τό ποικεν *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 192
έποϊκε έξολόθρεμα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 20.3

Only one instance has been found of the stem ποικη- instead of ποικ-, but this one example is purely graphematic and should be read as έποϊκασιν: κ' έποϊήκασιν οι δύο όμοις εκείνους τούς τρείς άφέντες *Chron. Mor.* H 7383.

Similarly, the verb άπολύω and its derivative έξαπολύω has an alternative aorist άπέλυκα for άπέλυσα from at least the 15th c. in texts from various areas. Given its relatively late appearance, it can safely be excluded that residual perfect forms had any influence on this development:

άπέλυκεν ή λειτουργία (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 530); άπεδά άπέλυκαν (ibid. 1415)
στά πταισμάτα σ' έπόλυκεν *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 21
καί άπέλυκες πιστάκια *Spanos* B 224
άφήκες, έξαπόλυκες, πανύμνητε, τόν κόσμον; *Alosis* 145
ήλθεν άετός μέγας ... καί άπόλυκεν αύγόν *Diig. Alex.* F 106.12 (Lolos) (same in E); καί
άπόλυκέν τους ibid. 240.15-16 (Lolos)
και τους άπόλυκαν *Diig. Alex.* K 344.29-30; τα μαλλιά της άπόλυκεν ibid. 375.4
έπόλυκές τσι *Stathis* II.62
δέν τό ξαπόλυκες *Pist. voskos* II 2.108
άξαπολύω, [άξαπόλ]υσα & [άξαπόλ]υκα *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. lasciare* and ibid., 299 s.v.
tralasciare
ο Πιλάτος ... άπόλυκέν τους τον Βαραββάν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 15.15
τόν πλάστην έξαπόλυκες *KONDAR., Paidēs* 722
τά πλούτη έξαπόλυκες *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1025
παρευθύς έξαπόλυκα δλα τά μοιρολόγια *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 246
καί τ' άλογά του έπόλυκε *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1749

It is important to realize that for the verbs δίνω, άφήνω, θέτω, ποιώ and άπολύω the κ-aorist formation exists alongside the sigmatic one and that the /k/ stem, with the notable exception of άφήνω and δίδω (see below), is normally restricted to the indicative.

Seeing that certain MG dialects make extensive use of the κ-aorist,⁶⁵ it is clear that the limited number of examples in LMedG and EMG sources of verbs other than the ones

⁶⁵ KONDOSOPOULOS (2001: XXIII) mentions general appearance of κ-aorists in the modern dialects of the Peloponnese, Old Athenian, Epirus and Skyros, and less general in Tsakonia and S. Italy.

mentioned above are likely to be just the tip of the iceberg, as there is a lack of material from certain areas and because forms as idiomatic as these are usually avoided in writing. Almost all examples of these alternative κ-aorists in LMedG and EMG sources are in /oka/ (from verbs in -ωνω and others) and in /ika/ (from oxytone verbs and others), but note the form έπεκε (= έπεσε) (and below, among the subjunctives, πιάκεις):

κι άπώθωκα την διάταξιν στην τήρησιν τής κούρτης *Chron. Mor.* H 7672
μέγαν γομάριν έμπλάκωκες *Pol. Tr.* 6037 app. crit. (A); τά έντερα τών ζώων άποθώκαν ibid.
11797 app. crit. (A)
εις τό σκολεϊον εκάθηκα *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1209
ό Πάρις μόνος έγλύτωκε *Byz. Il.* 426
εις την μέσην βαρήκαν *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* XVI.489 (but read βάρηκαν for the sake of the metre)
έξενίζονταν πώς έγλύτωκαν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 31.35; έβάρηκε ibid. 86.38
δλα μου τά έπλήρωκες *Diig. Alex.* F 120.15 (Konstantinopulos)
έπεκε στάκτη ένα δάκτυλο εισέ δλην την γην (1605-32, Preveza?, LAMBROS 1910: 241, 184.4) (= έπεσε)
την σήμεραν όμολογήκαμε καί όμολογοϋμεν (1636, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.1)
ίντα 'χεις; ποιός σου βάρηκε; *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.50; για κείνο σου βαρήκα ibid. III.81
έβάρηκε του Ήσου *P&N Diath.* 3078
τότες δέν του βαρήκασι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 205.21; κι δλοι όπου γλυτώκανε ibid. 542.17
έπουλήκασι παιδία (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.30)
καί δέν τό έθάρήκασιν χάρισμαν νά του δώσουν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 168
δέ σώνει όπου μ' έγλύτωκε *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV.1397
δλοι, πτωχή άδελφή, σ' άπαρτήκαν | δλοι σ' άρνήθησαν κι' άλημονήκαν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.437-8; όπόμπτηκαν | οι Τουρκοι εις αύτό καί έπατήκαν ibid. II.14

2.2.1.10.2 Other Moods

From the 14th c. onwards, the /k/ stems of δίδω and άφήνω, but not θέτω,⁶⁶ are also used for the aorist subjunctive, the gerund, the infinitive and the imperative, mainly in texts from Epirus, the Heptanese, the Peloponnese, Chios and certain Cycladic islands, and only rarely in texts from Crete and Asia Minor:

μή δώκης δώρα αύθεντός *Spaneas* Z 238; καί δώκουν καί σκοτώσου σε ibid. 327
έλεγαν νά τό δώκουν *Chron. Toc.* 2472
έτι νά δώκη ή ειρημένη Χρυσάννα (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 10, 18.20) (hapax)
λιζάτον νά του δώκετε *Diig. Alex.* E 167.15 (Lolos)
νά έχουν νά δώκουν (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.5); ήθελε δώκει (1555, ibid. 177, 228.28)
νάν του δώκω (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.14)
νά του δώκετε (1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 5, 239.10); νά τους δώκης (ibid. 240.18)
και να του δώκη και τα καστέλλια *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 70.4
έχεις τίποτις νά μου δώκης; *GERMANO, Grammar* 71.25; παράδωκε id., *Vocab. s.v. raccomandare* (imp.)

⁶⁶ In Chios, however, an innovative *present* indicative with /k/ is attested, for which see 2.4.

νά παραδῶκουν VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 470; νά προδῶκη *ibid.* 900; ὅσα σοῦ δῶκω *ibid.* 1591
 θέλω δῶκω (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.24)
 ἔχομε νά δῶκωμε (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 123.12)
 τί λόγο θέλεις δῶκεις *Alfan.* II 31; ἀπόκρισιν θά δῶκης *ibid.* 32
 τοῦ δῶκουνε (1605 [late 17th–early 18th c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 512.8)
 ἤθελα τοὺς δῶκω (1716, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 38, 140.7–8)

νά ἀφήκουσιν τὸ πέραμα *Chron. Mor.* H 155; ἦτον ἀφήκοντα *ibid.* 4689
 μὴ τὴν ἀπαφήκης *Spaneas* Z 171; μὴ τὰ ἐξαφήκης *ibid.* 421
 νά με ἀφήκης *Pol. Tr.* 414 app. crit. (EV); νά μηδὲν τὴν ἀφήκουν *ibid.* 2371 (mss ABV)
 εἶχεν ἀφήκει τὴν μητέρα του *Diig. Alex.* V 33.15; νά τὸ ἀφήκωμεν *ibid.* 56.26
 τὸν Τοῦρκον ἂν ἀφήκετε *Alosis* 845
 ν' ἀφήκης τὸ δοξάριον *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 217
 νά τοὺς ἀφήκη ζακόνια καλὰ *Diig. Alex.* F 188.10 (Lolos)
 καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ὁ Νεκτεναβός *Diig. Alex.* K 349.23
 δὲν ἔχω τὸ ποῦ ν' ἀφήκω τὰ παιδία σου (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.12)
 διὰ νά μὴν ἀφήκω σκάλα ἔτοιμη τοῦ ἀντροῦς μου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 6, 33.30)
 ν' ἀφήκη ἐσένα ὁ λωλός *KONDAR., Paides* 974
 μὴν μ' ἀφήκης (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.4)
 θε νά 'φήκουμε (1705, Symp., GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.16)

The /k/ stem of ἀπολύω is only sporadically used for moods other than the indicative: ὅταν
 'πολύκουν τὸ ἀρνί *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 300.19.

Other examples of the subjunctive formed from the /k/ stem are the following, found in
 the Epirot version of *Spaneas* and in a document, also from Epirus: ποσῶς μηδὲν γογγύκης
Spaneas Z 338 app. crit. (<γογγύζω); νά τὸν πιάκης (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b:
 13, 51.10).

2.2.2 Non-sigmatic

2.2.2.1 Nasal/liquid stems

2.2.2.1.1 Nasal Stems

Verbs in -άνω/-ύνω/-αίνω

Verbs in -άνω, -ύνω and -αίνω fall into three different categories where the formation of
 their perfective stems is concerned:

- 1) AG and post-classical verbs in -αίνω and -άνω that had perfective stems in -αν (e.g.
 πικραίνω, ὑγιαίνω) continue to do so before, throughout and after our period. The
 majority of newer verbs in -αίνω also form their perfective stems in -αν (e.g. ἀποθαίνω
 < ἀποθνήσκω, ἀνασαίνω, βουβαίνω, ζεσταίνω, ὀλιγαίνω, τρελαίνω).
- 2) Verbs in -ύνω/-αίνω (e.g. ἀπαλαίνω < ἀπαλύνω, εὐρύνω, μολύνω, πλαταίνω <
 πλατύνω) retain their AG perfective stems in -υν; a number of newer verbs in -αίνω,
 derived mainly from adjectives (e.g. ἀσχημαίνω, θαμπαίνω, ψαραίνω), also form their
 perfective stems in -υν, most probably by analogy with the first, since both groups of
 verbs fall into the same semantic category, denoting a change of state, especially of
 outward appearance. In modern editions the /i/ in the perfective stem of the second
 group, the "new" verbs in -αίνω, is sometimes spelled with <η> or <ι> instead of <υ>

- 3) Verbs in -άνω/-αίνω that had thematic aorist formations in AG retain their thematic
 aorist stems, e.g. λαβαίνω (< λαμβάνω), λαβ-; λαθαίνω (< λανθάνω), λαθ-; λαχαίνω (<
 λαγχάνω), λαχ-; μαθαίνω (< μανθάνω), μαθ-; παθαίνω (< πανθάνω < πάσχω), παθ-;
 τυχαίνω (< τυγχάνω), τυχ-. For these verbs see 2.2.2.2.

Active Voice

ὑγιανε *Pol. Tr.* 6427 app. crit. (A)
 ἐνέσανα *Spanos* A 262 (ἀνασαίνω)
 ἀπόκρυανε καὶ 'χάθη *Apoll. Rim.* A 1457 (same in all versions)
 οὐδ' ἐλιγὰνα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 108 (3 pl.)
 ἀποκρυάναν, ὡς γοῖο νά εἶχαν τζακκιστεῖν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 344.1; τότες ἀναφάναν οἱ
 Σαρακηνοὶ *ibid.* 660.28 (ἀναφαίνω)
 καὶ κατάντανε *Rim. kor.* A 28 (κατανταίνω)
 κι ἔγιανέ με *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.345
 τὸ κορμί τῆ ἐκρύγιανε *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.560
 ἐπατρατρέλλανέ με *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 77
 καὶ πῶς τοὺς απομῶρανες *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1071

ἐπλουτύνετε *Chron. Mor.* H 5107
 πολλὰ θέλει πλατύνει *Pol. Tr.* 197; πολλὰ ἀπομακρύναν *ibid.* 225
 ἐγώ 'μαι ὅπου σέ ἐνέθρεψα καὶ ἐκατεκάλλυνά σε *Achil.* N 1070
 ὅτι πολλὰ ἀσχήμενε *Spanos* D 397
 μετέπειτα ἀκρίβηνε τὸ ἀλεύρι (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 5, 18.4)
 ἐβράδυνεν, ἐνύκτωσεν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 937
 γι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐπληθύνασιν οἱ πόνοι οὐδ' ἐλιγὰνα *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 108
 θέλει παχύνειν *Alosis* 847
 ἐφτωχήνασι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 53.22
 ὅταν ἐβράδυνεν, ὑπῆγεν με τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ *Diig. Alex.* E 131.2 (Lolos)
 σαν εἶδα κι ἐπαρήνασι κι ἀσπρίσα τα μαλλιά μου *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.286
 λαμπρύνετε τὰ ἄρματα σας *Alex. Fyll.* 40.20
 ἤθελες με πλουτίνει *Bertoldos* 61.9
 μιὰ τρίχα δὲν τ' ἀφάρινε *Pist. voskos* V.201
 ὅτι ἀλάφρυνεν ὁλότελα τὸ φόρτωμάν τοῦ *Vios Aisop.* I 251.38

Passive Voice

Verbs in -αίνω that have a perfective active stem in -αν form their perfective passive stem
 either by adding -θ- to the active stem, or by substituting -θ- for -ν-. The choice of -νθ- or
 -θ- can usually be explained historically: AG and post-classical verbs in -αίνω that had
 perfective active stems in -αν and aorists in -άντην (e.g. εὐφραίνω, ἀναφαίνω, πικραίνω,
 γλυκαίνω) continue to form their perfective passive stems in -ανθ; newer verbs in -αίνω
 with perfective active stems in -αν (e.g. τρελαίνω, βουβαίνω, ζεσταίνω) as a rule form
 their perfective passive stem in -αθ, although there is always room for variation, especially
 with verbs like πικραίνω, γλυκαίνω, which belong to the same semantic category as the
 newer verbs in -αίνω ("to become X"):

ἐφάγασιν, εὐφράνθησαν *Pol. Tr.* 711 app. crit. (BEVX); οἱ πάντες ἐπικράνθησαν *ibid.* 12890
 ἐκατεπικράνθη *Liv.* E 2597
 καὶ τάχα ἐγλυκάνθη *Liv.* V 3898; but also: καὶ καταγλυκαθῆ *ibid.* 908; πάλιν νά
 εὐφρανθοῦμεν *ibid.* 3913; τοὺς ἐκατεπικράθηκα *ibid.* 4003
 πολλὰ ἐπικράνθη *Liv.* α 1422

καὶ ποττὲ δὲν ἐγλυκάνθη *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 620.16*
 ἡ γλῶσσα μου ἤξηράνθη *Krasop. AO 42*
 νὰ γλυκαθῇ ἡ πικριά μου *FALIEROS, Ist. On. 51* (γλυκανθῇ in V)
 πολλά το επικράνθη *DEFAR., Sos. 10* (Holton)
 πασάνας επικράθη *Alex. Rim. 1789*
 καὶ παρευθὺς ἤξηράνθη ἡ συκία *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 21.19*; but also: ἔξεράθησαν
ibid. 13.6

As in previous stages of the language, verbs in -ύνω in principle add -θ- to the active stem in -ν-; however, the nasal of the verb stem may be deleted before the fricative /θ/ (see I, 3.6.2.2):

μεγάλως τὸ ἐβαρύνθη *Chron. Mor. H 2531*
 τόσον αὐξύνθη ὁ λαός *Pol. Tr. 13429*
 αἰσχύνθη γοῦν ἡ ἔλαφος *Diig. tetr. 416*
 ὁ λόγος ἐπλατύνθηκεν *Chron. Toc. 1452*
 καὶ ἡ χώρα του ἐπληθύνθη *Achil. N 84*
 ὥστε ὁποῦ ἐμεγαλύνθη *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis 33* transcr. (Lendari)
 ἐπαχύνθη ἡ καρδιά τοῦ λαοῦ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 13.15*
 ἐὰν ἐμολύνθη, χαλοῦσι τὰ χαλούμια *LANDOS, Geopon. 252.1*
 ἀν αὐξυνθῇ (1653–5, Venice, FONKİÇ 2000: 240, f.1v.22)
 πῶς κατησχύνθη ὁ εχθρός *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 570*
 ἐβαθύτην *Peri xen. 355*
 ἐδριμύτην *Spanos B 88*
 μὲν τὸ βαρυθῆς *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 108.30*
 ἐπλατύτη *Pol. Tr. 5867* app. crit. (V) (ἐπλατύνθη in BCX)

Stems in -ν or -μ

Active Voice

This category comprises verbs ending in -ίνω, -ένω and -έμω. As in previous stages of the language, verbs with an /e/ in their stem, such as νέμω, μένω and their compounds (the verbs γέμω and τρέμω do not have perfective stems), form their perfective stems by substituting /i/ for /e/. This /i/ is conventionally spelled <ει> for historical/etymological reasons, as it derives from an AG long [e:], the result of compensatory lengthening after deletion of the standard aoristic formant {s} in the adjacency of a nasal. Verbs in -ίνω, such as κρίνω and κλίνω, have identical imperfective and perfective stems. This group of verbs excludes former vowel-stem verbs in -νω (e.g. δένω), which have sigmatic perfective stems (see 2.2.1).

κοσμήτης οὐκ ἀπέμεινεν *Ptoch. I 79*
 ἀνευ αργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς διένειμεν τὸν σίτον *Diig. Apoll. 128*
 ὥδε μὲ περιμένετε *Velth. 280*
 ἐδιέμεινεν *Ekth. Chron. 13.23*
 ἔμειναν εὐχαριστημένοι (1545, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 153, 100.10)
 καὶ ἀπόμειναν πολλά κοτέντοι (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.26)

Imperfective nasal stems in -ν that derive from liquid stems in -λλ, such as βάνω <βάλλω, ἐβγάνω <ἐκβάλλω and Cretan σφάνω <σφάλλω, retain their perfective stems in -λ, for which see 2.2.2.1.2. For βάλλω see also 2.4.

Passive Voice

Verbs in -ίνω form the perfective passive stem by substituting -θ- for active -ν-, though occasionally (especially in *Diig. Alex. F*) a nasal is added before the fricative /θ/ (for which see 2.2.3; see also I, 3.5.2.4). Verbs in -μω (τρέμω, νέμω) tend not to have perfective passive morphology.⁶⁷

ἀφοῦ κλιθῆς καὶ μαρανθῆς *GLYKAS, Stichoi 219*
 διὰ νὰ κριθοῦμε μετ' αὐτό *Chron. Mor. H 7671*
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀνταπεκρίθησαν *Achil. N 421*
 ἀπεκρίθηκα οὐχί (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.18–19)
 καὶ μ' αὐτὴν ἐσυγκρίθη *Alex. Rim. 171*
 θέλω νὰ ὑποκριθῶ, ἤγουν νὰ καμωθῶ μετὰ σέ *Vios Aisop. K 177.1*
 νὰ συγκριθεῖ, σαν πεθυμάς *CHORTATIS, Panor. II.551*
 καὶ νὰ κατακριθεῖ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark. 8.31*

2.2.2.1.2 Liquid Stems

Active Voice

Verbs with imperfective stems in -λλ or -λν retain their inherited perfective stems: verbs with /e/ in their stems, such as ἀνατέλλω, στέλλω/στέλνω, ἀγγέλλω/ἀγγέλνω and their compounds, substitute /i/ for /e/ in their perfective stems. This /i/ is conventionally spelled <ει> for historical/etymological reasons, as it derives from an AG long [e:], and is the result of compensatory lengthening after deletion of the aoristic formant {s} in the adjacency of a liquid. Verbs with /a/ in their stems, such as σφάλλω and ψάλλω have perfective stems in -αλ. Verbs with imperfective stems in -ρ, such as ἐγείρω/γέρνω, δέρω/δέρνω, σπείρω/σπέρνω, σύρω/σέρνω and φθείρω also retain their inherited perfective stems, which used to be identical to their imperfective stems, before the addition of /n/ to the latter. The verb φέρω/φέρνω, which had obtained a new aorist ἔφερα for AG ἤνεγκον in at least the EMedG period,⁶⁸ also belongs to this category.

ἀνάτειλες *GLYKAS, Stichoi 200*
 ἐνέγγειλεν *Jonas 214.28*
 στήν Βενετίαν ἀπόστειλεν τὰ πλευτικά *Chron. Mor. H 1396*
 ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος *Achil. L 1077*
 στείλε τον ἔδω (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.11–12); ὁ,τι ... ἐπαρεγγείλατε (1489, Constantinople, *ibid.* 19, 100.8)
 ἐπεστείλασιν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 1240*
 ἤθελεν ἔξαποστειλεῖ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 16, 94.9–10)
 στείλε ὑψηλὴ γραφὴν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.25)
 θὰ τοῦ στείλω *CHORTATIS, Erot. II.15*

⁶⁷ No passive examples have been found of νέμω, a verb that is generally rare in the examined texts. For a rare passive imperfect ἐτρεμάμην in Falieros see 4.3.1.2.

⁶⁸ Perfective forms with φερ- can be found in the work of John Moschos (6th–7th c.), e.g. καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἔφερα πρὸς ὑμᾶς Moschos, *Leimon* 3004.4; φέρετέ μοι ὥδε σκάφην μεγάλην *ibid.* 3057.39 (ed. Migne); cf. also the following innovative aorist participle: καὶ φέρας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βοῦν *Vios Philaret. 187* (9th c., 11th-c. ms).

ἐξαπόστειλεν (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.6)
θέλω τοῦ παραγγεῖλει (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.18)

νὰ ψάλουσιν τὸν ταπεινὸν ξένον *Imb. Rim.* 781
ἡσφαλα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.9)
διὰ νὰ ψάλει ὁ κόρακας ἔχασε τὸ τυρί *Bertoldos* 72.35–6
θὲ νὰ μὲ ψάλη (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 29.9)
δὲ θὲ σφάλω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 568

ἀνέγειρεν (1225, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 31, 450.17)
σπείρε *Pol. Tr.* 574; νὰ βάλω νὰ σὲ σύρουν *ibid.* 1465
νὰ σύρω *Dig. G* II.196
ἐδιάγειρε *Dig. E* 202
σύρε *Spanos A* 12
νὰ γείρη *Defi. Par.* 21
ἔσυρε *Cypr. Canz.* 127.29
ὁποῦ ἔχεν σπείρει (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 34, 40.4)
καὶ ἔσυρε μία σαῖττα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.20
μήτε ἔφθειρεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.36
δὲ θὲς γιαγίρει *Thysia Avr.* 781
ποτὲ δὲν ἐγιαγίραμεν ὀπίσω VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.2
σύρτε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 527
εἶχεν δέριει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §11.14

ἐπρόσφεράν με (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.5)
θέλω ἀναφέρει *Ptochol.* α 629
ἔμαθα καὶ ἀνάφερα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2)
εἴπαμεν, ἐνεφέραμεν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1266

Passive Voice

For the passive voice, too, the inherited perfective stems remain in use (e.g. ἀγγέλλω, ἀγγελθ-; στέλλω, σταλ-; σύρω/σέρνω, συρθ-; χαίρω, χαρ-), but for some verbs new formations appear from at least the 14th c. onwards, whereby the passive perfective stem is formed in a more regular fashion, by adding -θ to the old passive stem (e.g. σπείρω/σπέρνω, σπαρ-θ-; στέλλω/στέλνω, σταλ-θ-; ψάλλω, ψαλ-θ-). This -θ- only sporadically becomes -τ- (for details on chronology and geographical spread, see I, 3.8.1).

εἰς ἄλλον ἀπεστάλη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 565
πρὸς μὲ σταλὲς τὸν ἐλεεινὸν *Ptoch. IV* 129
ἀπεστάλην *Liv.* α 2024 app. crit. (N)
ἐστάλησαν ὀπίσω [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 207

νὰ τὴν περιχαρῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280
ἐχαρήκετε *Diig. Alex. F* 22.20 (Konstantinopulos)

ἐπαρηγγέλθηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 683
ἐφέρτην *Assizes B* 425.28
νὰ φερθοῦν οἱ ἄγιοι AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 228
ἐσύρθηκεν (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.35)
νὰ γιαγερθοῦσιν (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.20–1)

ἀπεστάλην *Liv. S* 805 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
βαλθήκετε CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 226 app. crit. (B)

καὶ νὰ θαπτῶ καὶ νὰ ψαλθῶ (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 125, 228.9)
ἐστάληκα KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 15.24; ἀπεστάλη *ibid.* Louk. 1.26

νὰ σπαρτοῦν *Assizes B* 407.26
διντε σπαρθοῦσι (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 311, 296.9–10)
ἐδάρθηκα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §20.2
ἀπ' ὅ,τι σπαρθῇ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 176.29)
ἐδάρθηκες, ὑβρίσθηκες NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 246

For verbs in -άρω/-ίρω/-έρω, see 2.2.4.1; for ἐπαίρω and καθαίρω see 2.4.

2.2.2.2 Thematic Aorist

Verbs that had a thematic (or second) aorist in AG and that survive in the period covered by this Grammar usually retain their inherited perfective stem, e.g.:

βάλλω, βαλ-: καὶ ὑπεβγάλη με NIKON, *Logos* 9 315.32; βάλετε χερί νὰ μιλήσετε (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.41)
βλέπω, ἴδ- (in AG associated with ὁράω, the aorist attached itself to βλέπω on semantic grounds): εἶδαμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 914; νὰ ἴδοῦσι (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 1, 11.4)
ἔρχομαι, ἔλθ- (and its phonetic variant ἐρθ-): ἦλθαν NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.9; διὰ νὰ ἔλθουσι (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.5); ἤρθαν EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 30.1
εὐρίσκω, εὐρ-: δὲν ἦῦρα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2); ἔαν σᾶς ἦθελα εὐρεῖ *Diig. Alex. F* 204.16 (Lolos)
λαβαίνω (< λαμβάνω), λαβ-: ἔλαβα μνηστρα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 17.54–5); θέλεις νὰ λάβης VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 94
λαθαίνω (< λανθάνω), λαθ-: ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄγγελον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 565; τὰ λόγια δὲν τῆς ἔλαθαν *Fyll. gadar.* 45
λαχαίνω (< λαγχάνω), λαχ-: ἤλαχα CHORTATIS, *Katz. III.4*; εἶχες λάχει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.36
λέγω, εἶπ-: νὰ εἰπῶ Achil. N 2; εἴπασιν νὰ κάμουν (1580, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 24, 161.15)
μαθαίνω (< μαθάνω), μαθ-: ἐκατέμαθεν *Dig. E* 629; θέλετε μάθειν (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.9)
παθαίνω (< πανθάνω < πάσχω), παθ-: θὲ νὰ πάθῃ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 42; ποῦ πάθαν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 145.21
πίνω, πι-: νὰ φᾶν, νὰ πιοῦν *Defi. Par.* 208; ὅταν ἐπίασιν νερό ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 2.2
πίπτω/πέφτω, πεσ-: νὰ ἔχης πέσει *Pol. Tr.* 3700; ἐπέσαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 505
τρώγω, φαγ- (in AG connected with the verb ἔσθω on semantic rather than morphological grounds, it later became associated with τρώγω): ἐφάγαν γιόμαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 44.25; φάγε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.2
τυχαίνω (< τυγχάνω), τυχ-: ἀπότυχε (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI 1996: 11, 223.3); ἂ μοῦ τύχει θάνατος (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.3)
φεύγω, φυγ-: ἐπροσέφυγα NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.22; ἐμελλαν νὰ φύγουν ANDONIOS, *Vias Sym. Styl.* 243–4.14, 1.

A few of these verbs move over to a regular sigmatic formation, among which most prefixed derivatives of ἄγω, ἄξ- (for AG ἀγαγ-; see also 2.4); the verbs ἐρωτῶ, ἐρωτησ- (AG ἐρ-, aor. ind. ἠρόμην); τρέχω, τρεξ- (AG δραμ-); λείπω, λειψ- (AG λιπ-); πείθω, πεισ- (AG πιθ-); and prefixed derivatives of -λαμπάνω (< λαμβάνω), for which see 2.2.1.5. For the

alternative vowel stems and "contracted" forms of φάγω and ὑπάγω see also 2.2.2.3. For barytone and oxytone alternatives in the aorist subjunctive of some of these verbs see 4.2.3. For γίνομαι and its peculiarities, see 2.4.

2.2.2.3 Vowel Stems

Two of the verbs that retain the stem of their inherited thematic aorists, namely τρώγω (perfective stem φαγ-) and ὑπάγω/ὑπαγαίνω (perfective stem (ὑ)παγ-) may lose their intervocalic /y/ and exhibit forms in the aorist indicative (τρώγω only, e.g. ἔφα < ἔφαε), subjunctive, imperative and infinitive, in which the vowel of the ending, /e/, /i/, /o/ or /u/, is deleted after the /a/ of the stem, in accordance with the vowel hierarchy (see I, 2.9.2). It is difficult to establish when these forms came into existence, but at least the 2 sg. imperative ὑπα is attested from the 6th c. onwards.⁶⁹

νὰ κάτσωμεν νὰ φᾶμεν *Ptoch.* I 243
 νὰ φᾶ τὴν πίτταν *Vulgärorakel* I.98; ἔφα τὸ μιὰρὸν ποντίκιν *ibid.* VI.1
 νὰ μὴδε φᾶς *Dig.* E 662
 νὰ φᾶν *Assizes* B 381.3
 ἔφας *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 203
 ὁποῦ ἔφας *Poulol.* 14; ὁποῦ ἔφα τὰ πουλῖα μου *ibid.* 393
 νὰ φᾶν (1449, Chios, *LAIOU* 1982: 4, 124.8)
 ἔφα *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 23; ἄν φᾶ *ibid.* 261
 καὶ ἔφαν ... καὶ ὄνταν ἀπόφαν, ἔππεσεν ... καὶ ἐκοιμήθην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 6.22
 που νὰ ᾄχε φα φαρμάκι *Kakop.* 115 (inf.)
 ἔλα σὲ φᾶν οἱ σκύλοι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.142
 διὰ νὰ φᾶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 732
 νὰ φᾶνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 98.20
 ἔφας, ἔφα ... ἐφᾶτε ... ἐφᾶσι *GERMANO, Grammar* 96.2-3
 νὰ τὸ φάσινε (1649, Mykonos, *ZERLENDIS* 1924a: [5], 20.22)

ὑπᾶτε, παραλάβετε *Dig.* E 174
 ὑπα, ἄς ἀνασάνωμεν *Liv.* V 2377
 πᾶτε νὰ γλυτωθῆτε *Anak. Konst.* 34
 ὑπα ... γυνή, εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 62
 ὑπᾶτε καὶ στολίσετε τὴν κόρην *Flor.* L 956
 ὑπᾶ θέλεις εἰς τὸν καλόγερόν σου; (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 1945-6) (infinitive)
 ὑπᾶτε, θάψετε τὴν *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 97; νὰ πᾶ νὰ ταξιδεύσῃ *id., Afigisis* 283
 ὑπα, σηκώσου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 377
 νὰ ὑπᾶσιν *Achil.* N 705; ἄς ὑπᾶμεν *ibid.* 1335
 νὰ πᾶνε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 362.32
 νὰ πᾶσι (1598, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 43, 191.21)
 νὰ πᾶ ᾄ τὴν Ἑρδελίαν *ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 160
 νὰ πᾶ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 101
 νὰ πᾶ νὰ πάρῃ *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.196
 μέλλει νὰ πᾶνε (1683, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 323, 523.4-5)

⁶⁹ The earliest examples found so far are: ὑπα Barsanuphius & John of Gaza, *Letter* 1, 31 and *Letter* 219, 15 (eds. Ney/de Angelis-Noah) (6th c.); ὑπα μάθε τὴν κατάστασιν *Satirical Songs* IV 35.1 (ed. Maas) (song dated 26/11/602); ὑπα Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 151.3, 161.20 and 165.8 (ed. Rydén); *id., Life of John the Almsgiver* 396.2, 385.11 and 392.27 (eds. Festugière/Rydén) (7th c.).

The imperative forms φά and φᾶτε appear in the later part of the period covered by this Grammar. Since the number of literary contexts in which a command "eat!" is likely to be issued is fairly limited, it is probably coincidental that the singular form has only been found in Cretan theatrical texts, especially when one considers the much wider geographical spread of the form for the 3 sg. aorist subjunctive: καὶ κάτσε φά το *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.24; φά το *Stathis* III.251; φά τα *Thysia Avr.* 539; λέγει τοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς: ἐλάτε φᾶτε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 21.12.

Forms without vowel deletion after the loss of the /y/ of the stem can sometimes be found:

γλυκὺν τὸ φαεῖν *Paroim.* I 34 (for such substantivized infinitives see II, 2.20)
 διὰ νὰ φάη (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 51, 90.15)
 σὲ θέλω φαεῖν *Diig. Alex.* F 64.8 (Konstantinopolos)
 ἄνὲ καὶ φάης *Stathis* II.90
 νὰ φάη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 143.21
 ἔφαε τὸ φαρμάκι (1610, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 3, 169.11)
 θέλειν ὑπάει *Diig. Alex.* F 186.5 (Lolos)
 δλα τῶς τὰ ψέματα θέλουσι πᾶει εἰς τὸ βυθὸ (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 132, 217.38)
 νὰ ὑπάης (1571, Unknown, *CATALDI PALAU* 2003: 8, 481.7); νὰ μὴ πάης (*ibid.* 481.16); νὰ πᾶω εἰς τὸ Λεβάντην (*ibid.* 481.18-19)
 κ' ἦτονε παωμένοι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 148.20 (< παγωμένοι/παγομένοι)

Forms of these verbs are often written in full, and are sometimes even written with the intervocalic /y/, while in reality they are "contracted". Verse texts are the best witnesses to this practice. The following examples should clearly be read in such a way in order for the verse to scan:

νὰ ὑπάγῃ νὰ ἰδῇ τὸ θαύμασμα *Pol. Tr.* 597 app. crit. (AX); νὰ ὑπάγουν νὰ τὴν ζητήσουν *ibid.* 1337 app. crit. (X); καλὰ τυχαίνει τοῦ νὰ ὑπάγῃς μετ' ἐκείνους ἀπάρτι *ibid.* 5094 app. crit. (X); τὴν θλίψιν σου καὶ τὴν χολὴν τὴν λέγεις ὅτι ἔκαμά σου *ibid.* 5622 app. crit. (X)
 σὰν πᾶει στὸ πρόσωπό του *Thysia Avr.* 371

For the shortened form πᾶ, used for all persons singular and plural, see 2.4.

2.2.3 Addition of /s/ and /n/

Oxytone verbs that normally have perfective passive stems in -θ can develop alternative stems in -σθ/-στ, with an added /s/, on the analogy of barytone verbs in -ζω, which have perfective passive stems in -σθ/-στ, as many verbs have both barytone and oxytone variants (see 2.1.3) (a similar development can be observed in passive participles, for which see 2.3.2). When the passive stem vowel is /i/, some modern editors choose to spell these forms with <i> rather than <η>, even when variants in -ίζω are not attested (e.g. *ἀρνίζομαι):

συμφωνισθείσης (1113-14, S. Italy, *MERCATI et al.* 1980: 8, 76.17)
 ἐμαντατοφορήστησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 306; ἐσυμπαθήστησαν *ibid.* 2719
 ὡς λέων ἐβρυχίσθηκεν *Dig.* E 304
 ὅταν ἐξαπορισθῇς *Diig. tetr.* 287; οὐδὲ καυχίστηκά τα *ibid.* 472
 νὰ ἀρνιστῇς τὴν δόξα σου *Achil.* L 208

καὶ λέγουν διὰ ἀρνήστης με *Katal.* 276
 ἐφθονίστην ὁ τόπος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 80.30
 μηδὲν ἀποθαριστῆς *Fior* 78.2
 κ' ἡ θάλασσο' ἐβρουχίστην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 346 (same in *Apok.* V)
 ἐστορίστη (1559, Lesvos, *KLEOMVROTOS* 1970: 23, 163.3) (< ἱστορῶ)
 ποτὲ νὰ μὴν μὲ ἀρνησθῇ *Dig.* A 2575
 'ς τοὺς Τούρκους ἐχυμήστηκεν *PALAMIDIS, Ist. Mich. Voen.* 294
 καὶ ὁ Πέτρος τὸν ἀρνήσθη *KALLIOUP, Kaini Diath. Louk.* 22.57
 γιὰτ' ἐρνήστην τὴν θρησκεῖα *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 561; ἀρνήστηκες τὴν πίστιν σου *ibid.* 1030
 νὰ το ἀρνησθῇ *Don Kis.* 608.7

Sometimes the existence of these forms can lead to the development of new barytone present stems, even of deponent verbs such as βρυχώμαι (> βρυχίζω/βρυχίζομαι). The same phenomenon can occasionally affect barytone verbs as well:

οὐ μὴ μαχεσθῶ αὐτὰ ποτὲ *app. crit.* (1346–7, Smyrna?, *ZACHARIADOU* 1962: 256.34) (< μαχέζομαι < μάχομαι)
 εὐχίσθηκά σου *Dig.* E 251
 πολλὰ τὸν εὐχίστην *Achil.* L 1205
 ἵνα σὲ εὐχισθῇ *Spanos* B 157
 καὶ ἀφότου μᾶς εὐχίστηκεν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 323
 ἐμαχίστηκε *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* I.88
 σηκώσθηκεν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 317 and 344, but also: σηκώθην *ibid.* 336

Occasionally a nasal is inserted before the fricative /θ/ of the perfective passive stem. In the case of verbs such as αὐξάνω and κρίνω and its derivatives, the nasal is added by analogy with the active stem, whereas in the case of the oxytone verbs (ἐξαπορῶ, βοηθῶ, etc.), the analogy is secondary, to nasal-stem verbs (for phonetic addition of nasals see I, 3.5.2.4):

καὶ ὅταν ἐξαπορινθῇς *Diig. tetr.* 790 *app. crit.* (C) (ἐξαπορῶ)
 τάχα νὰ παραβοσκηθῇ *Synax. gadar.* 7
 τὸ πῶς νὰ ἐβοηθήθην *Pol. Tr.* 8144 *app. crit.* (A); καλὰ δὲ ἐβοηθήθησαν *ibid.* 8147 *app. crit.* (A) (βοηθῶ)
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀποκρίνησαν *Diig. Alex.* F 32.3–4 (Lolos); ἐδοκῆνθη *ibid.* 100.8 and 280.15 (Lolos), and 136.12 and 188.10 (Konstantinopulos) (δοκῶ); ὡς λέων ἐβρυχήνθη *ibid.* 128.4 (Lolos) (βρυχώμαι)
 καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἀπεκρίνη *Diig. Alex.* E 173.3 (Konstantinopulos) (ἀποκρίνομαι)
 αὐξήνθη ἡ τέχνη τῶν λουμπαρδάρων (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, *MORGAN* 1954: 60.18)

2.2.4 Adaptation of Loanwords

2.2.4.1 -άρω/-ίρω/-έρω

2.2.4.1.1 Imperfective Stem

Loanwords from Romance languages in -άρω, -ίρω and -έρω, which at first do not show any distinction between the imperfective and the perfective stem, develop an alternative imperfective stem through the addition of -ιζ- (modelled on the alternative aorist stems in -αρισ/-ιρισ/-ερισ (see below). This alternative imperfective stem is used from at least the early 16th c. onwards. Forms without this added affix also continue to be in use:

σατισφάροντας τὸ Μόρα (15th c., Crete, *KODER* 1964: 48.52) (< Ven. *satisfar*)
 προμετέρω (1511, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 25, 46.87) (< Ven. *promèter*)
 ἐμπλεγάρμασταν (1546–51, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 26, 64.22–3)
 νὰ σοτοσκρίβερης (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 141, 141.7–8); νὰ ποσεδέρωμεν (*ibid.* 272, 268.16–17) (< Ven. *sotoscriver* and *posseder*)
 ἀβιζάροντάς τονε (1564, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 1, 79.24) (< Ven. *avisar*)
 νὰ σοὺ τὸν ἐσπριμέρω *Stathis* III.209 (< Ven. *esprimer*)
 ἐφουντάρανε καμπόσα ξύλα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.3 (< Ital. *fondare*)
 ἐλετζέρουντα ... οἱ ... πρωτοπαπάδες τους (1614, Tinos, *HOFMANN* 1936: 1, 58.6) (< Ven. *eleggier*)
 καὶ σάλια ροζονάρεις *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.110 (< Ven. *resonar*)
 νὰ τοὺς μαντινιέρωμε καὶ ἀτούς (1671, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 20, 91.19) (< Ven. *mantegnir*)
 καὶ προμετάρω σου *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.24 (< Ven. *promèter*)
 δὲν ρισολβέρι νὰ ἔλθῃ ἐδῶ (1715, Corfu, *LIATA* 1975: 22, 136.11); κορέρι ρεάλια 14½ ἢ βαρέλια (1715, Zakynthos, *ibid.* 26, 137.5) (< Ven. *rissolver* and *corer*)
 ὀμπλιγαρίζομαι (1511, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 25, 46.87) (< Ven. *obligar*)
 ἐρεστάριζα (1527, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1994a: 60, 90.4) (< Ven. *restar*)
 ἐσονάριζες *CHORTATSIS, Katz.* II.162 (< Ven. *sonar*)
 ἐσκοδέριζεν (1610, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 662, 576.11) (< Ven. *scuoder*)
 ἐτεντέριζε (1649, Crete, *PANOPOULOU* 2003: 1, 145.17) (ἀτεντέρω < Ven. *atender*)
 σολατσάριζε ὀλίγην ὥραν *LANDOS Geopon.* 182.19 (< Ital. *sollazzare*)
 μ' ἐζαμινάριζε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.357 (< Ven. *esaminar*)
 τὴν ἐμαντινιέριζεν (1680, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 51, 203.20) (< Ven. *mantegnir*)
 ὀμπλιγαρίζομεστα νὰ τῶν τὰ δώσωμε (1697, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 12, 27.9) (imperf.)
 ἐφεουδάριζε *Chron. Theod.* 21.15 (< Lat./Ital. *feudare*)
 καὶ ἐγοβερνάριζε τὰ ἄλογά του (17th c., Crete, *SPANAKIS* 1971: [1], 179.4) (< Ven. *governar*)
 τὸν ἐτραδίριζε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 48.6 (< Ital. *tradire*)

In Cretan documents, verbs in -έρω, most notably σκο(υ)δέρω, may acquire an added nasal in the imperfective stem, possibly by analogy with other verbs in -(έ)ρνω such as σέρνω (< σύρω) and φέρνω (< φέρω) (see 2.1.1.5):

νὰ σκουδέρνουν (1522, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 65, 122.31); ἐχέτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν ... δεφενδέρειν, σκουδέρνειν (1524, *ibid.* 89, 169.34)
 σκουδέρνουνται (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 280, 262.14)
 νὰ σκουδέρνεται ἀπὸ μένα (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 122, 120.13); ἐκεῖνα νὰ σκουδέρνεις ἀπὸ μένα (*ibid.* 243, 241.9)
 νὰ τὰ σκουδέρνει (1601, Crete, *SIKOTOS* 2006: 1, 191.1)
 νὰ τὰ σκουδέρνω (1614, Crete, *VARZELIOTI* 2000: 1, 331.24)
 σκουδέρνουνται (1624, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 2000: 2, 516.21)

Again in texts from Crete verbs in -άρω or -ίρω may acquire a new affix -έρνω: τέτοια συχινὰ συγέρνουσι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 289 (< σιγίρω < Ital. *seguire*);⁷⁰ κι ὁ Τοῦρκος

⁷⁰ The etymology given by Kriaras in the glossary to his edition of Katsaitis and by *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 430 (σιγίρω < *seguire*) makes perfect sense and does not justify the "hellenized" spelling συγέρνω, νὰ συγέρω or νὰ συγύρω that is usually adopted in modern editions. See also the following spelling of the verb, which is even closer to the Italian original: σποῦ ἤθελε σεγβήρη / ὀποῦ ἤθελε σεγβίρει (1634, Crete, *KAZANAKI* 1974: 5, 270.23–4). For the rendering of the phoneme /g/ by <γ>, cf. ἀντῖλα (1610, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 662, 576.4–5) for Ven. *antiga*.

ἀμολέρνει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 157.17 (< Ven. *amollàr*); καὶ σταλέρνου *ibid.* 323.19 (< Ven. *stalàr*).

2.2.4.1.2 Perfective Stem

From about the 15th c. onwards, loans from Romance languages in -άρω/-ίρω/-έρω begin to develop alternative perfective stems in -αρισ/-ιρισ/-ερισ (and sporadically -ουρισ in verbs deriving from Venetian verbs in -dùr). Throughout the EMG period perfective forms with -αρ/-ιρ/-ερ are also found.

- νὰ τὸν στουδιάρης (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.24) (< Ital. *studiare*)
 νὰ σοτοσκριβέρης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.7–8) (< Ven. *sotoscriver*); νὰ ἰντραβινίρης (*ibid.* 199, 199.9) (< Ven. *intravegnir*)
 νὰ πῶ καὶ ριμάρω LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 184 transcr. (Lendari) (< Occit. *rimar*, see HONNORAT, *Lex s.v.*)
 ἐτότες τοῦ ἤθελα ρεσποντάρει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.32) (< Ven. *responder*)
 μὴν μανκάρης νὰ μοῦ γράφεις (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.5) (< Ven. *mancàr*)
 νὰ τὸ ρεϊστράρω (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 84, 89.2) (< Ven. *registràr*)
 ἐπέμφθη νὰ σπιγιουνάρε *Bertoldos* 46.15 (< Ven. *spionàr*)
 νὰ φουρκίσουν ἢ νὰ στραγκουλάρουν *Bertoldin.* 110.16 (< Ven. *strangolàr*)
 τὸ ἐπιλοῖπο ... νὰν τὸ ἱνβαστίρη (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 116.25) (< Ven. *investir*)
 καὶ νὰ τὰ κονσολάρω (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 1, 25.4) (< Ven. *consolàr*)
 κι ἀμολάρασι στὰ κάτεργα μιὰ μπάλα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 214.4; ἐξεβαρκάρα τὸ λαὸ *ibid.* 312.3 (3 pl.) (< Ven. *amollàr* and ξε- + *imbarcàr*)
 σιγουράρετέ τον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 27.65 (< Ven. *sicurar*)
 νὰ κουμουδέρω (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4 [Δ], 256.14) (< Ital. *accomodare*)
 δὸ τση νὰ γείρη κι ὁ, τι σιγίρη PAPADOPOULI, *L'Occio* 120.4–5 (< Ital. *seguire*)
 ἐκουντονάρισην (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 39, 169.4) (< Ven. *condonàr*)
 ἐδεσφάρισε μας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.31–2) (< Ven. *desfàr*)
 ὁμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ συγύρει τίποτες ἄλλο KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 377.27–8
 ρετσιβίρισα τὴ γραφὴ σου (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 387.3) (author from Corfu) (< Ven. *ricever*)
 ἐσιγίρισαν ἀνάμεσόν τους (1590, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 15, 125.5–6)
 μὰ ἐκιάρισιά τουε καὶ ἴω (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.11) (< Ven. *chiarir*)
 κοπιάρισα τὸ παρὸν τεσταμέντο (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 313.79) (< Ital. *copiare*)
 ἢ Σούδα ἀμολάρισε λουμπάρδες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 419.1 (< Ven. *amollàr*)
 τὴν ἐσασσινάρισην καὶ αὐτὴ (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 181.63–4) (< Ven. *assassinàr*)
 κι ἐσὺ ἀτσετάρισε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.385; καπρίρισε τοῦτο ἀποῦ ἀναρωτῶ σου *ibid.* V.233 (< Ven. *acetàr* and *capir*)
 τοῦ ἐπουμπλικάρισα τὴ διαθήκη του (1692, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 2A, 162.3–4) (< Ven. *publicàr*)
 σέ παρακαλῶ, σιγουράρισε μι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.16–17) (μι = με, see I, 2.5.4) (< Ven. *sicurar*)

2.2.4.1.3 Passive Voice

For the formation of the passive the alternative perfective stem in -αρισ/-ιρισ/-ερισ is used, to which is added the aorist passive marker -θ-, usually in its dissimilated form -τ- (for which see I, 3.8.1):

- ἐκοπιαρίστη (1516–29, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 155, 204.22) (< Ven. *copiàr*)
 καθὼς ἐγὼ ὦδε ἐτεσταρίστηκα (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 112, 206.24) (< Ven. *testàr*)
 νὰ ἀποσατισφαριστεῖ (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 119, 214.29–30) (< Ven. *sodisfarse*)
 ποτὲ νὰ μὴν μοῦ λεμενταριστῆς (1549, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 300, 298.7) (< Ven. *lamentarse*)
 νὰ κουσομαριστῆ (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 131, 181.45) (< Ven. *consumàr*)
 μηδὲ ν' ἀλιεναριστοῦν (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 98.21) (< Ital. *alienare*)
 ὁμπλιγαρίστη (1594, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 21, 143.27) (< Ven. *obligàr*)
 δὲν ἐκοτενταρίστηκεν ὁ θεὸς Παῦλος MOREZINOS, *Logos* 468.13 (< Ven. *contentàr*)
 νὰ ζαμιναριστοῦσι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.50) (< Ven. *esaminàr*)
 νὰ σιγουραριστῆ (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 314, 299.8); νὰ κομονταριστῆ
 κιὰμια του δουλειὰ (1607, *ibid.* 431, 396.3) (< Ven. *sicurar* and *accomodàr*)
 νὰ ξεϊντριγαριστῶ (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.7) (ξε- + Ven. *intrigàr*)
 ἐρεντουριστῆκασι (1630, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 3, 335.8) (< Ven. *redùr*)
 ἀποφάσισαν νὰ ξεμπαρκαρισθοῦν *Bertoldin.* 114.24 (ξε- + Ven. *imbarcàr*)
 νὰ σιγουραρισθεῖ ὁ τάφος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 27.64
 νὰ μπαρκαριστοῦσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 352.10
 ἐσταμπιλιριστῆκανε (1682, Kefalonia, Moschopoulos 1976: 139, f.214r.14) (< Ven. *stabilir*)
 ἐκουτενταρίστηκα (1689, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 21, 55.12) (< Ven. *contentàr*)
 διὰ νὰ δοτοραρισθοῦσιν (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: 208.119) (< Ven. *dotoràr*)
 σὰν ἐξηβαρκαρίστησαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 209

2.2.4.2 -ιάζω

Loanwords from Occitan/French are usually adapted to -ιάζω, regardless of their original French ending (see MENARDOS 1900: 376–8; DENDIAS 1924: 142–50; CHATZIOANNOU 1936: 19–20; DAVY/PANAYOTOU 2000: 118–19):

- ὡς γοῖο ἀπαρτενιάζει (1468, Alyki, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 15, 10.4) (< Occit. *apartiner*)
 ἂν κορδιάζουν τὰ δύο εἰς λόγους (15th c., Cyprus?, TSANGALAS 1983: 132.21–2) (< Occit. *accordar*); ἐπροβιάστην πολλές φορές (*ibid.* 132.23) (< Occit. *prover*)
 νὰ τὸν ἀτενιάσουν με τοιοῦτες μαρτυρίας *Assizes A* 98.22 (< Occit. *ataindre*); νὰ μεντιάση *ibid.* 181.9 (< Occit. *amendar*)
 ἀσιγγιάσομεν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσου *Chron. Mor.* P 2702 (< OFr. *asseggiare*)
 διὰ ν' ἀβαντζιάσει ὁ ἄτυχος καβαλλάρης ὀνομίματα φ' MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 524.14 (< Occit. *avançar*); καὶ νάμαι σκουζιασμένος *ibid.* 380.5 (< Occit. *escusar*)
 εἶχεν πέψειν ἡ ρήγαινα τον Πατὴ Σαλάχαν, διὰ νὰ βιτουαλιάσει τὴν Κερυνεῖαν VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 280.4 (< Occit. *virtualhar*)
 τόσα σκληρὴν ἀν εἶχα σ' ἀγκατιάσει *Cypr. Canz.* 86.15 (< Occit. *agaitar*)

οι βερτούς ἀλεγριάζουν την καρδιάν *Fior* 78.16 (< Occit. *alegrar*); φερμιάζεται *ibid.* 78.22 (< Occit. *fermar*); νά παρτιτσιπιάση *ibid.* 78.36 (< Occit. *participar*); κουρουμπιάζεται *ibid.* 79.42 (< Occit. *courroumpre*); έκουμπατιάζασιν *ibid.* 93.6 (< Occit. *coumbatre*) και ήξευρε μοναῦτα εἰς τὰ δεσάστρε σου νά κονμφορτιαστῆς *Fior Suppl.* 269.8 (< Occit. *confortar*); ή άβεντούρα άμπαντουινιάζει συχνές φορές *ibid.* 272.31 (< Occit. *abandounar*) άγιτιάζονται και εύεργετούνται *Pist. kekoim.* 220 (< Occit. *ajudar* or Ital. *aiutare*) νά κουσεντιάση *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 764 (< Occit. *counsentir*)

2.2.4.3 -ιζω

Loanwords from Turkish are adapted to Greek morphology by adding -ιζω, as they are usually derived from the perfective past tense of the Turkish verb ending in <ι> (e.g. *dayandı* < *dayanmak*).⁷¹ Sometimes -ιζω is used for loanwords from Romance languages that are not directly derived from verbs:

έδιαγουμίσετέ την *Pol. Tr.* 1369 app. crit. (A) (15th-c. ms) (< διαγουμάς < Turk. *yağma*) νά τόν γιβεντίση έξω τῆς χώρας με δίκαιον *Assizes A* 186.17 (< Occit. (noun) *gibet*) πάραυτα τόν έσουνέτισαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §9.14 (< Turk. *sünnet* + -ιζω); άδέν την ώλάστιζεν, δέν έγίνονταν *ibid.* I §17.4 (< Turk. *ulaşmak*); πάλε τὰ καζαντίζεις *ibid.* IV §1.4 (< Turk. *kazanmak*) έπεζέριζαν όσο νά τὸ ποτίσουν (1676, Ioannina, *VAKATSAS* 1992: 4, 154.4–5) (< Turk. *bezmek*) άπό τόν σευδά αύτόνε βασγιστίζω *Diig. Vefa* 282 (< Turk. *vazgeçmek*) και μέσα να γερλετιστούν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 764 (< Turk. *yerleşmek* + -ιζω); οι Τούρκοι σάστισαν *ibid.* 4783 (< Turk. *şasmak*); μερεμετίστησαν *ibid.* 6259 (< μερεμέτι + -ιζω < Turk. *meremmet*) έβουρλουδιζουτουν *Bertoldin.* 146.4–5 (< βούρδουλος + -ιζω < Ven. (noun) *bordòn*/Ital. *bordone*) νά γκλομπίζιται (1692?, Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: A 26, f.56r.2) (< Rom. (noun) *gloabă*) εγλένδιζαν ενθυμούμενοι τες αγαπητικές τους *Don Kis.* 48.6 (< Turk. *eğlenmek*)

2.2.4.4 Other

The verbal affix -εύω is the oldest way to adapt loanwords, as it appears with several common verbs of Latin origin such as άππλικεύω, μισεύω, κουρσεύω (see *PSALTES* 1913: 316–21). In the period covered by this Grammar it is sometimes used to adapt Occitan, Venetian and Turkish verbs:

έκούστεψεν *Assizes B* 424.13 (< Occit. *coustar*) δταν έδω άππλικεύσαμεν *Pol. Tr.* 190 (< Lat. *applicare*) αν έτραϊτουρεύτηκα τόν μέγα βασιλέα *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 500 (< Ven. *tradir* with influence from the noun *traituria*) όπλιγεύεται (1513, Corfu, *KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1998: 41, 52.14–15) (< Ven. *obligar*) έχομε κουρσεμένον (1571, Mani, *CHASIOTIS* 1970: 6.1, 241.18) (< κοῦρσος + -εύω < Lat. *cursus*)

⁷¹ See the comprehensive glossary to *Ioakeim Kyprios* in *Kaplanis* 2012 and the extensive notes to *Papasynadinos* in *KARANASTASIS* 2010: 223–97 for multiple examples.

ανέ μισεύση (1596, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 1, 164.26) (< Lat. *missa* + -εύω) έφοβάτο μήπως και τραϊτορεύεται τον (post 1647, Crete?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 65.III–V, 506.25.6–7) έρχεται και κονεύει *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1176 (< Turk. *konmak*)

Sometimes loanwords are assimilated to Greek morphology in a different way, by association with existing Greek words, which do not necessarily have any semantic correlation with the verb that is being adapted, as in the case of Ven. *apartegnir*/Ital. *appartenere*, which becomes morphologically associated with παρθένος: άπαρθενεύω, άπαρθενίζω:

δσα του άπαρθενίζουν (1444, Peloponnese, *LAMBROS* 1930: [3], 18.2) βραβείον ... όπου άπαρθενεύει εἰς τόν Φιλόσοφον (1478, Lefkada, *MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER* 1860/90, vol. 3: 16, 260.4–5); άπαρθενεύουν (*ibid.* 260.14) τώρα παραλαμβάνει τον άλλος που παρθενίζει *Alex. Rim.* 1279 πλερωμήν όπου τούς έπαρθένευε νά λάβουν *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 58.36 τὸ μερτικό που του άπαρθενίζει (1682, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS* 1995: 1, 160.15–16) εἶντα μ' άπαρθενίζουσι *KATSAITIS, Ifig.* IV.221 μήτε τούς έπαρθένευαν *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 53.17

2.3 Participles

2.3.1 The Present Passive Participle

The present passive participle continues to be in use throughout the period covered by this Grammar.⁷² As in earlier stages of the language, in the period covered by this Grammar present passive participles in -μενος can be formed from verbs that can be passivized and from deponent verbs such as γίνομαι, έρχομαι, δέομαι, λυπούμαι, στέκομαι, φοβούμαι and χαίρομαι. It can be used adverbially, especially with deponent verbs, in which case the participle functions similarly to the gerund, e.g. ό στρατηγός χαιρόμενος υπά εἰς τὰ γονικά του *Dig.* E 1085; έντρεπόμενοι νά φανερωθούν *Vios Aisop.* K 159.18; but in the majority of cases, the participle functions as an adjective or noun: κ' εἰς τόν έρχόμενον καιρόν *Chron. Mor.* H 584; έστεκαν οι παραστεκάμενοι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1211.

In LMedG and EMG the participle is not restricted to passivizable and deponent verbs. Examples have been found of participles in -μενος derived from verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology, such as for instance άπομένω, ξεύρω, παγαίνω/πηγαίνω, πλέω,⁷³ πρέπει, τρέμω, τρέχω and χηρεύω (for variation in thematic vowels see below in this section). In the majority of these cases the participle is in fact used with active, not passive meaning (see also *CHATZIDAKIS* 1928: 643):

αν έγώ ... οὐδέν τόν παιδεύσω πρεπούμενως (1446, Adrianople, *BABINGER/DÖLGER* 1956: 272.12) εἰς τούς τόπους τούς πρεπάμενους *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 364.4–5; με άφέντην ξευράμενον *ibid.* 374.25; παγαινόμενος *id., Chron.* O 38.1–2

⁷² Cf. SMG, where its use is mainly restricted to deponent verbs (e.g. ερχόμενος, φοβούμενος) and certain lexicalized items used as nouns or adjectives, e.g. το κείμενο, τρεμάμενος, τρεχούμενος, καλοδεχούμενος.

⁷³ Only one other passive form of πλέω has been found in the texts examined: νά πλεντούν *Velis.* χ 249 app. crit. (N).

τὴν γλώσσαν τοῦ τὴν τρεχάμενην *Fior Suppl.* 276.19
 σάν ποταμὸς τρεχάμενος *Pist. kekoim.* 596
 πηγαινάμενη ἡ χήρα *DAM. STOUΔ., This., Logos* 8, 85v.22 (1561)
 παγαινάμενος (1572, Peloponnese, *VEIS* 1956: 448.12)
 πηγαινάμενοι *Vios Aisop.* D 217.20–1
 πᾶσα φύλλον | τρεμούμενον *Pist. voskos* IV 2.26–7; με καρδιὰν τρεμάμενην *ibid.* V 7.40
 τοὺς ἀπομενάμενους *Thrinis Konst. (Zoras)* 20
 καὶ ἦτον χηρευάμενος *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §17.5; πηγαινάμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐξουρίαν *ibid.* I §31.182
 πηγαινάμενοι (1670, Naxos, *RODOLAKIS* 1994: 2, 577.18)
 ἡ γλῶσσα μ' εἰ τρεμάμενη *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 99
 πρεπάμενα κτίσματα καὶ ἱερὰ ἀγγεῖα *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 64.8
 δὲν ἐχωρούσασι στὰ πλεούμενα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 17.16
 τρεχούμενα νερά *KATSAITIS, Ifig. Dedic.* 81

Moreover, forms in -μενος occur of verbs that can be passivized, but the participle clearly has active meaning. This is probably related to the fact that the active participles (ἀλέθων, κατοικῶν etc.) had developed into invariable gerunds (ἀλέθοντα(ς), κατοικῶντα(ς) etc., see 4.7.1), which cannot be used attributively, only predicatively. These verbs include ἀλέθω, ἀρέσ(κ)ω, κατέχω, κατοικῶ, κλαίω, περιπατῶ:

τὸν [μύλον] τὸν ἀλεθούμενον (1500, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 5, 6.5)
 μακάριος μοναχὸς κατοικούμενος εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους πάντας (1509, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 16, 30.53)
 κλαιάμενες, με φαίνεται *Theseid* II.26,4 (1529)
 κρασί μέτρα στ', ἤγουν ξὶ ἀρεσκούμενα (1544, Corfu, *RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI* 1996: 59, 257.37)
 ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπος, περιβλεπόμενος ἐδῶ καὶ ἐκεῖ *Vios Aisop.* D 213.12⁷⁴
 τὰ καλὰ τους, στεκούμενα καὶ περιπατούμενα (1574, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 15, 141.19)
 νὰ παίρνη τόσο ὑποστατικό ἀρεσούμενό της (1658, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 1, 114.70)
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατεχάμενοι ἔφοροί μας *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.620.

The participle *χρειαζόμενος*, derived from the deponent verb *χρειαζομαι* "to need", on the other hand, is usually used with its passive meaning "needed, necessary, necessity":⁷⁵ *χρειαζόμενο μαντάτο FALIEROS, Thrinis* 238; τὰ *χρειαζόμενα* τοῦ πολέμου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 120.17; καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοὺς ἦσαν *χρειαζόμενα RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 64.8–9; ὅλα τὰ *χρειαζόμενα BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 369.6. It is rarely used with the verb's deponent meaning "in need": τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ *χρειαζόμενους RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 66.19.

As the above examples demonstrate, the participle shows variation and innovation in the choice of thematic vowel. For barytone verbs the thematic vowel can be /o/, /u/ or /a/, and there is considerable variation and little rhyme or reason to it. The variation in thematic vowels precedes the period covered by this Grammar by many centuries, starting with the aorist participle; see e.g. *PSALTES* 1913: 211 for forms such as *γενάμενος* and *ὀφειλάμενος*

⁷⁴ This form is an innovative adaptation of the middle aorist, preserved in version K of the *Life of Aesop*: αὐτὸς περιβλεψάμενος τὴν μίαν μερέαν *Vios Aisop.* K 153.21.

⁷⁵ Cf. the use of SMG *χρειαζομαι* "I need" and 3 sg. and pl. *χρειαζεται/χρειαζονται* "it/they are needed, necessary".

(for *γενόμενος* and *ὀφειλόμενος*) in Malalas (6th c.) and other Byzantine authors, and for further bibliography.

For oxytone verbs the thematic vowel is /u/ (originally that of E- and O-stem verbs), and only sporadically /o/ (originally that of A-stem verbs). Certain verbs in this category show innovation in the formation of a new barytone stem used to form the participle. In the period covered by this Grammar, the participle is sometimes derived from the perfective stem rather than the imperfective stem (see *CHATZIDAKIS* 1928: 643–5 and see below), or even from other parts of speech. For the declension of these participles and the historical shift of the stress in certain forms see II, 3.2.1. For adverbs derived from participles see II, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.

2.3.1.1 Barytone Verbs

For barytone verbs the thematic vowel is inherited /o/, /u/ (originally that of oxytone E- and O-stem verbs) or /a/ (originally that of the middle aorist). Variants often occur side by side in the same text: *πετόμενα, μικρά τε καὶ μεγάλα DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1554; *πετούμενον δρεπάνι ibid.* 2526; *ἐκ τὰ πετάμενα πουλιά ibid.* 2616. There is no distinct geographical distribution to be detected, though texts from Cyprus display a slight preference for /a/, employing it where others do not (e.g. *πρεπάμενος* "fitting", "suitable"; *ξευράμενος* "capable", "familiar"; *χρηζόμενος* "useful").

Thematic Vowel /o/

ἐκ τὰς συκοφαντίας ... τὰς γινομένας παρὰ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου διαβόλου *NIKON, Logos* 4 206.25–6
βιαζόμενοι νὰ ἔβγουν Chron. Mor. H 4423
ἐγίνετο ὁ ἐνάγων ἐναγόμενος Paroim. F 72
ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος Dig. E 352
νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ ἐρχόμενον Achil. O 140
πουλάκιον φυλακίζόμενον Katal. 699
οἱ καθεζόμενοι MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 490.24; *ἐπονομαζόμενον Μάγκανα id., Chron.* O 682.26
τὰ λεγόμενα στάμενα (1529, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 114, 225.17)
ὑποσχόμενος νὰ τόνε διαφεντάρει (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.14–15); οὔτε ὑπὸ τινὸς βιαζόμενη (1581, ibid. 13, 27.4)
οὔλα του τὰ καλὰ πρεζέντε καὶ ἐρχόμενα (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 795, 691.21–2)
ὁ εὐρισκόμενος παντοῦ Thysia Avr. 722
φυλαττόμενα τὰ δικαιώματά τους (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 70, 80.13)
τους καθεζόμενους KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 14.9; *διαλογιζόμενοι ὅλοι μέσα τους ibid. Louk.* 3.15
ἐνας χωριάτης ὀνομαζόμενος Μπερτόλδος Bertoldos 4.28–9; μὴν σκιαζόμενος ὡσὰν ἐμέναν ibid. 61.24
ἐρχόμενοι EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 16.6; *γονατιστὰ καὶ δεόμενος ibid.* 26.17

Thematic Vowel /u/

ἐνι πετούμενα Assizes B 451.9
πετούμενα, συρνάμενα CHOUMNOS, Kosmog. 22
τοῦ λεγούμενου κυρ-Κωνσταντῆ (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.19)
κραζούμενου Δοξαρά (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.22–3)
εὐγαλούμενον (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 16.25)

τὸν κρᾶζούμενον Βαρσαβᾶν SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 18.56–7
 τὰ καλὰ τοὺς, στεκοῦμενα καὶ περιπατοῦμενα (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.19);
 εὕρισκόμενος αὐτὸς ὁ σερ-Νικολός (1577, *ibid.* 21, 155.4); εἰς τὸν ἐρχούμενον καιρὸν (1593,
ibid. 55, 77.11)
 κρᾶζόμενοι καὶ παρακαλετοὶ μάρτυρες (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 96, 128.15); διὰ
 κανένα καιρὸν ἐρχούμενον (1606, *ibid.* 84a, 115.7–8)
 καθούμενος ἄπάνω εἰς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον *Bertoldos* 9.27–8
 Μελλούμενον οἱ γλῶσσες ἄς με λέσι TROILOS, *Rodol. Prol. Mell.* 103
 νὰ βρῇ γαμπρὸ ἀρεσκούμενον FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.291
 σ' ἀφτούμενες φωτιές KONDAR., *Paidēs* 29
 ἦτον χρειζούμενο (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.6)

Thematic Vowel /a/

νὰ ἐνὶ πολλὰ χαϊράμενος *Chron. Mor.* H 8280
 δερνάμενη ἐκείνη *Pol. Tr.* 6686
 ἀποστερνάμενοι *Liv.* V 2691 (< ἀποστέλλω, see I, 3.8.6.2)
 ἵνα χέζης ὀρθοστεκάμενος *Spanos* B 107
 τὸν ἐρχάμενον τρύγον (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 1, 150.5)
 τετράποδα, συρνάμενα CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 241; τὴν στράταν παγαινάμενοι *ibid.* 2465
 ἐντεχάμενον ἐνὶ νὰ ... *Assizes* A 83.16 (< ἐνδέχεται)
 στὰ φερνάμενα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 12; ἀφείτις ἐν' μελλάμενο *id.*, *Erot. En.* 64
 τοὺς τόπους τοὺς χρειζάμενους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 364.9–10; με ἀφέντην ξευράμενον *ibid.*
 374.25; ὡς χρέος ἀγρωνιζάμενον *ibid.* 436.15
 κί' ὁ νοῦς μου ὁ φοβιζάμενος CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.10; στρατηγοὶ πεμπάμενοι *id.*, *Erof. Interm.*
 II tit.
 καὶ παίδευσε πρεπάμενα τὲς ε' αἰσθησες (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.1)
 ἐρχάμενη (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 37, 55.37)
 τὴν πρεπάμενην παρηγορίαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 66.4–5; οἱ πεμπάμενοι τοποτηρητάδες *ibid.*
 104.33
 καὶ τὸν ἐδέχθηκε χαϊράμενος KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Louk.* 19.6
 πέρδικα πετάμενη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1483

The participle is sometimes derived from the perfective rather than the imperfective stem, or even from other parts of speech:

ἐδιάβη πασαεῖς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ χαρούμενοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 94.3 (< perf. stem χαρ-,
 probably with influence from the noun χαρά)
 με χαρούμενην ψυχὴν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39
 κ' ἐγὼ πάντα 'μαι μοναχός, κλαμούμενος *Cypr. Canz.* 97.21 (< κλαίω + κλαμός/κλάμαν
 (KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. κλαίω); no evidence has been found for the existence of a verb κλαυθῶ/
 κλαθμῶ/κλαμῶ, but influence from Occit. *clamar se* may be suspected; see HONNORAT, *Lex.*
 s.v.)
 τοὺς ἀπομονάμενους *Thrinis Konst.* (P-K) 20 app. crit. (< ἀπομένω + ἀπομονή)
 ἀποκριζάμενος ὁ Καλοῖωάννης (1646, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 331, 251.9) (ἀποκρίνομαι +
 ἀπόκριση > new stem in -ιζ-; cf. oxytone verbs below)

2.3.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

For oxytone verbs the thematic vowel is inherited /u/ (originally that of oxytone E- and O-stem verbs); /o/ (originally that of A-stem verbs) is rare and limited to mixed-register texts:

Thematic Vowel /u/

τὸν βάδον τὸν περνούμενον τῆς δημοσίας (1007, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 1, 135.26) ("the
 crossable ford of the main road")
 οὐδὲ δακρύων ὀχετὸν κινούμενον εἰς μάτην GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 512
 λέγοντα καὶ ἄρνούμενοι *Chron. Mor.* H 5691
 ὁ ρήγας ἐνὶ κρατούμενος *Assizes* B 464.22
 ἤμπασιν θαρρούμενοι *Achil.* L 1086
 ὁ σταυρός ὁ Φανερούμενος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 38.9; ἐκόψαν τὲς κεφαλὰδες τοὺς κάτωθεν
 δηλούμενους *ibid.* 402.27 (for this genitive see II, 1.2)
 πῶς καὶ διατὶ λέγεται βουλκόλας τὸ ὀγκούμενον σῶμα (16th c., Serres?, LAMBROS 1904a:
 343.17)
 ὅσο ἐνε ἠμπορούμενον *Theseid* VI.31,2 (Olsen)
 ἦτον κι ἄλλος λυπούμενος *Alex. Rim.* 2717
 τ' ἀγαπούμενον DEFAR., *Log. did.* 377
 τὰ καλὰ τοὺς, στεκοῦμενα καὶ περιπατοῦμενα (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.19)
 διὰ τί ἀφορμὴν εἶσαι, ὦ αὐθέντη, στενοχωρούμενος *Vios Aisop.* D 233.13
 τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ χαλουμένην φύσιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.13–14
 διηγούμενος *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 39
 ἐγλένδιζαν ἐνθυμούμενοι τὲς αγαπητικές τοὺς *Don Kis.* 48.6

Thematic Vowel /o/

ὁ ἐγκαλόμενος *Assizes* A 54.17; ὁ νικώμενος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐγκλήματος *ibid.* 127.12
 τῶν πλανωμένων καβαλιέρων *Don Kis.* 47.11

For some oxytone verbs a new barytone stem is formed, derived from the actual perfective stem (μπορεσ- > μπορεζ-) or by adding -ιζ- (μποριζ-, πονιζ-), based on the dominant perfective stem in -ησ (ἐρώτησα > ἐρωτιζ-). The thematic vowel is /a/ or, less frequently, /o/. Examples come from insular areas and the Peloponnese:

πῶς ἔναι μπορεζάμενο FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 40
 δὲν ἔναι μπορεζάμενον CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2766
 ἐνὶ πονιζάμενη ἡ καρδιά μου *Fior* 125.34–5 (< πονῶ)
 ἀπού πονιζάμενες ἐννοῖες *Fior Suppl.* 269.3
 νὰ εἶνε ἄρωτιζάμενος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 215, 130.22)
 φοβιζάμενος τὸ κοινὸν ποτήριον (1583, Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.8)
 δὲν εἶναι μπορεζάμενο CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.233
 νὰ εἶναι ἐρωτιζάμενοι (1611, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 4, 651.22) (< ἐρωτῶ)
 ρωτιζάμενη (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 3, 116.8); ἄρωτιζάμενος (1672, *ibid.* IV,
 118.9)
 με τέτοιο μπορεζάμενο στρατιώτη TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.498
 πλούσους καὶ μπορεζάμενους FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 42
 δὲν ἦτον μποριζάμενον *Thrinis Kypr.* 901
 φοβιζάμενος κατάραν τῆς μητρός του PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 887
 φοβιζάμενος ὁ λαὸς SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 50.14
 κ' ἐκείνη φοβιζόμενη *Chron. Mor.* H 6055
 ἂν ἦτον μπορεζόμενον *Peri xen.* 23 app. crit. (A)
 κι ἂν ἐνε μποριζόμενον KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.210
 πᾶσαν εὐχαρίστησιν ἠμπορεζόμενην SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 38.36

2.3.2 The "Perfect" Passive Participle

After the decline and eventual disappearance of the monolectic perfect, existing perfect passive participles remained in use to form verbal periphrases (see Chapter 5), and as adjectives, usually in unreduplicated form. Loss of reduplication can be observed in Hellenistic times, when the reduplication is first replaced by an augment, and later suppressed altogether (see e.g. DIETERICH 1898: 214–16). Of course, augmented and reduplicated participles can be found in the period covered by this Grammar (see 4.9.3).

However, the awareness clearly remained that the affix -μένος could be used to form a verbal adjective with a passive perfect meaning, and hence new ways to form "perfect" passive participles were found (see also CHATZIDAKIS 1928: 637–43). They were generally derived from the perfective passive (aorist) stem (THUMB 1912: 148–50) by dropping -θ/-τ and adding -μένος. This principle was applied to inherited verbs as well as to new verbs: whenever verbs formed alternative stems by transferring from one paradigm to another, or from one perfective stem to another, the participle usually followed suit, e.g. καλῶ, κεκλημένος : ἐκαλέσθην⁷⁶ > καλεσμένος; παρακαλεσμένοι (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 71, 71.58); λανθάνω, λησμένος : ἐλανθασθην > λανθασμένος; κ' εὐρέθης λανθασμένος *Chron. Mor.* H 8422; κρατῶ, (κε)κρατημένος : κρατίζω, κρατισμένος; ἀπού εἶχα κρατισμένο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.90); πλανῶ, (πε)πλανημένος : πλανέσω > πλανεμένος; ἦτονε στὸν ἔρωταν τοῦ πόθου πλανεμένη *Rim. kor.* (V) 39 (Pernot); τιμωρῶ, (τε)τιμωρημένος : τιμωρίζω, τιμωρισμένος; τιμωρισμένος GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. tormentato*.

Similarly, new irregular participles were formed, e.g. σὰν ἔχομε ἴπωμένο CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.332: a new participle εἰπωμένος derived from the perfective passive stem εἰπωθ- (to replace AG εἰρημένος); νὰ εἶνεν καλὰ βλεπτημένος (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.11); νὰ στέκει βλεπτημένη CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.234, formed from the innovative aorist passive stem βλεπηθ- (for which see also 2.4); τίβοτας δὲν εἶχα φαγωμένα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.67; τίς ἔχει καὶ τόσα ἄσπρα φαγωμένα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 58.6), formed from the perfective stem φαγωθ- attached to τρώ(γ)ω. Participles could also be supplied for loanwords in -άρω, -ίρω and -έρω, formed from the alternative perfective stem in -ριστ (see 2.2.4.1): ὅλα φαριά διαλεκτά, ὅλα προβαρισμένα *Achil.* L 371 (< Ital. *provare*); ὁ,τι εἶνι σιγισμένα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 48, 46.20) (< Ital. *seguire*); ἔχει σκουδρισμένα (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 388.29) (< Ven. *scuoder*); ἀπρεπαρισμένου FORTIOS, *Strat. pragm.* 717 (< Ven. *preparar*).

Passive participles were likewise formed for verbs that did not previously have them, especially when these verbs acquired new meanings, e.g. περασμένος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.3 from περνῶ, περασ-θ-;⁷⁷ τῆς μαυρογελασμένης *Alosis* 195, from γελῶ, γελασ-θ-.⁷⁸

Even verbs that lacked a passive voice could obtain a participle/adjective in -μένος, usually with active meaning. Morphologically they were either modelled on existing ones, e.g.

⁷⁶ A participle κεκαλεσμένη has been recorded in the *Souda Lexicon* (10th c.), s.v. κλητή.

⁷⁷ περασθῆναι for περαθῆναι occurs in the 12th-c. *Basilica, Ecloga Basilicorum*; see the online *TLG*.

⁷⁸ Cf. οἷον γεγελασμένοι εἰσιν in *Choiroboskos, Commentary on the Canons of Theodosius*, 195.19 (9th c.).

ἄρρωστημένους *Chron. Mor.* H 1541 by analogy with participles such as ἡγαπημένος,⁷⁹ or formed from the (usually perfective) active stem by adding -μένος, e.g. πεινασμένος from πεινῶ, πεινασ-; ὡς φάλκονες πεινασμένοι *Achil.* L 384; πεσμένος from πέφτω, πεσ-; στήν πόρτα τῆς πεσμένος CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.527; καβαλλικευμένος from καβαλλικεύω; καβαλλικευμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 279.41; μαθημένος from μαθάνω/μαθαίνω (with an added /i/, for which see below): ἐνι μαθημένος νὰ πολομᾷ κακόν *Fior* 121.5; πιωμένος from πίνω, πι-; πιωμένος GERMANO, *Grammar* 85.10; πταισμένος ("guilty") from πταίω, πταισ-; εἵμεσθεν πταισμένοι *Thrinios Kypr.* 89 (see MANOLESSOU 2005: 251–2 for an overview and further bibliography).

In texts from Crete one finds παγομένος/παγωμένος from the perfective stem (ὕ)παγ- ("having) gone"; ἐρθομένος/ἐρθωμένος from ἐρθ- (< ἐρχομαι "having) come"; (ἐ)μπορεμένος from (ἐ)μπορῶ, (ἐ)μπορεσ- "possible, powerful"; and παθομένος/παθωμένος (< παθαίνω "having) suffered"):

ἦτονε πρωτύτερας παγομένος (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 392, 364.10)
ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ὅσαι παγομένη (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 3, 229.71)
ἦτονε στὴν Ρώμην παγωμένος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 578

ἔμας ἐδῶ ἐρθομένους *Pist. voskos* V 5.193
εἴστε ἐδεπὰ ἐρθωμένοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 134

ἂν ἦτον μπορεμένο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.431
περίσσα ἐμπορεμένος *Stathis Prol.* 14
ὅπου τοῦ ἦτονε μπορεμένο (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 612, 536.4)
νὰ κάμω τ' ἀνημπόρετα σήμερο μπορεμένα *Thysia Avr.* 92
σὲ τέτοια εὐγενικότατη καὶ μπορεμένη χώρα TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.344
νικητὴς ἐμπήκε μπορεμένος *Zinon* II.275

εἶχεν παθωμένα VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 136.39
πόσά ᾿χω παθωμένα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 459.13
εἰς τὰ ᾿χω παθωμένα KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.154

As many participles in -μένος were formed from stems ending in /s/, sometimes an /s/ is added to forms that did not originally have them, e.g.:

φορεσμένοι *Pol. Tr.* 249 app. crit. (E) (φορεμένοι in all other mss); συνδεσμένοι *ibid.* 9196 app. crit. (X) (συ(ν)δεμένοι in all other mss)
καὶ ἐγὼ χασμένος νὰ ἴσταται *Liv.* α 351 for χαμένος (< χλωμένος)
πολλά ἀθυμισμένος KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VI.50
ἐνι μαθισμένες *Fior* 124.36
κυρ-Καλογιάννη Μαθισμένου (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 254, 150.10–11) for μαθημένος; ὡς γοιόν νὰ ἦτον φοφισμένη *ibid.* 121.30
σοῦ εἶχεν δοσμένον (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 1, 41.7), now the SMG form, for δομένος (< δεδομένος)
συμφωνησμένοι (1570, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 4, 22.18)
ἔχω ἀφησμένο (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.20)

⁷⁹ Cf. ἡρρωστημένης in Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Capture of Thessaloniki* 3.2 (12th c.).

τους είχαν ακόμ' εκεί 'που τότες αφησμένους PALAMIDIS, *Ist. Mich. Voen.* 1218, for ἀφημένος⁸⁰ τὸ ἑμισὶ λυόφυτο ἀποῦ εἶχα κρατησμένο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.90) (καρύδια ...) μασισμένα LANDOS, *Geopon.* 216.13 εὐρίσκονταν πολιορκησμένοι (1697 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13, f.165 r.10–11)

In the following examples /s/ replaces the velar /y/ of the original form: τῶν σφασμένων *Irodis* I.25; φωνασμένοι *Thrinis Kypri.* 148.⁸¹

Other participles undergo spontaneous/analogical diphthongization (see I, 2.4.8.1 for details), e.g. ἀναπατημένος (for ἀναπα(υ)μένος; aor. pass. ἀνεπαύτην or ἀνεπάτην): ἤμου ἀναπατημένος *Anon. Naupl.* 5; καμημένος (for κα(υ)μένος, aor. pass. ἐκαύτην or ἐκάτην): καμημένος ὡς δι' ἀγάπη *Liv.* E 9. These in their turn may influence similar verbs such as κλαίω: κλαημένος for κλα(υ)μένος (aor. pass. ἐκλαύτην, not *ἐκλάτην): τὰ μάτια της κλαημένα KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.728; or θεραπεύω, which has a regional variant θαραπαύω: θαραπατημένος βρίσκομαι *Stathis* III.350. Sporadically, they even influence dissimilar verbs such as χάνω, χαμένος: τὴν εἶχα χαμημένη (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.31).

Some verbs whose stem ends in a consonant develop alternatives with an added thematic vowel /o/ or /i/, e.g. πεσομένος for πεσμένος, πληξημένος for πληγμένος: τὸν φράκτη ὅπου ἔναι πεσομένος (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 75.110–11); πεσομένοι *Pist. voskos* I 3.57 app. crit.; γέροντες μὲ τὰ βρέφη πεσωμένοι KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.312; τοῦ πληξημένου *Fior* 99.24.

Finally, the participle/adjective is sometimes derived from the present stem instead of the aorist stem:

ιστελμένον (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.24)
σε ἕναν κάστρον ... στελμένους PALAMIDIS, *Ist. Mich. Voen.* 1217
ἕνα χαρτί, στελμένο ἀπὸ τὸ Νησί τῆς Ζακύνθου *Chron. Theod.* 20.6
εἶναι ἀποστελιμένο (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 296, 233.6)
στελμένοι (1673, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 4, 221.8)
ριχνημένος GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. buttato*
νὰ τὸ ἔχει φερνημένο (1674, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 4, 176.9–10)

For the declension of these participles, see II, 3.2.1; for the use of these participles in periphrastic verb forms, see 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6.3.

2.4 Peculiarities in Single Verbs

This section deals with stem peculiarities and variations that occur in single verbs. Prefixed verbs are treated at the main verb (e.g. συνάγω under ἄγω), unless the verb shows a different development (e.g. ὑπάγω).

⁸⁰ The passive perfective stem of ἀφήνω is not very common in the period covered by this Grammar, but in vernacular texts it is ἀφηθ- rather than SMG αφεθ-, which is a reinvention of *katharevousa*: καὶ οὕτως ἀφήθη ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 90.4; ἀφήθησαν εἰς τὸ τρέξιμον *Alex. Fyll.* 13.27; εἴτι δὴ τοῦ ἔχω ἀφημένα (1521, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 62, 116.21); νὰ τοὺς εἶναι ἀφημένες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 398.29.

⁸¹ Cf. “participia φωνασμένους, non φωναγμένους, et φωνασμένα” ROMANOS, *Grammar* 110.8–9.

ἄγω

The verb ἄγω does not survive as an independent verb in the period covered by this Grammar, at least not in vernacular texts.⁸² It only left behind a lexicalized imperative ἄγωμε(ν) (sometimes spelled ἄγομε(ν)), originally the 1st pl. subjunctive (“let us go!”), which came to be interpreted as a 2nd sg. imperative (“go!”) (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 111). This subjunctive form had undergone a remarkable semantic change from transitive “bring, carry”, to intransitive “go” in the Hellenistic period, with multiple examples in the New Testament (see the online *TLG*), probably with influence from ἄγε (see LSJ) and ὑπάγω (for which see below). In the period covered by this Grammar, the imperative ἄγωμε is usually intransitive (“go!”), though there are several examples in which it retains its old transitive meaning. The majority of examples comes from literary texts, which is unsurprising, as direct speech is rare in most non-literary sources:

agome / ἄγωμε (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 64.27)
ἄγωμε εἰς τὸ πηγάδι *Ptoch.* IV 301 app. crit. (HV)
κι ἄγωμε εἰς τὸν τόπον σου *Chron. Mor.* H 3787
ἄγωμε εἰς τὴν Μαξιμού *Dig.* E 1352
ἄγωμε καὶ εἰπέ τον *Liv.* V 1392
ἄγωμε στὴν μητέρα σου *Achil.* L 783
ἄγωμε εἰς τὸν φόρον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1089)
ἄγωμε, βάλε, κηπουρέ, νερό [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1626
λέγει μου: ἄγωμε εἰς τὸ χωρίον SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 105 transcr. (Lendari)
ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Τουρκίας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 158.34
ἄγωμε καὶ κατήβα *Spanos* A 224
ἄγωμε, στρώσε γλήγορα τὸ βρομερό κρεβάτι *Kakop.* 100
ἄγωμε, γιε μου, στο καλὸ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.399
ἄγομε, νοικοκύρη μου *Thysia Avr.* 397

Addition of final /n/ is rare (cf. other imperatives, 4.5): ἄγωμεν *Pol. Tr.* 469 app. crit. (B) and 2392 app. crit. (V); κ' εἰς τὸ παλάτιν ἄγομεν *Apoll. Rim.* N 386.

A corresponding plural is formed by adding the 2nd pl. ending -τε. A second accent is placed on the penultimate, and the first accent is often omitted:

καὶ ἀπέκει ἄγωμετε τὰ τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην *Dig.* E 525 (transitive)
ἄγωμετε *Achil.* L 1045 app. crit.
λέγει ἄγωμετε καλῶς SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 99 transcr. P (Lendari)
ἐκεῖ ἄγωμετε *Pol. Tr.* 12398 app. crit. (CV)

Forms that are stressed as ἄγώμετε are editorial (e.g. ἄγώμετε, ἀδέλφια μου *Achil.* L 1045), introduced to accommodate the metre in verse texts.

A syncopated form ἄμε,⁸³ occurs from the 14th c. onwards:

⁸² Isolated examples can be found in texts that belong to a higher stylistic register, e.g. ἄγωμεν εἰς τὰ κάστρα σου, συνάγωμεν φουσσάτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 982.

⁸³ The form ἄμε in Sathas's edition of *Stathis*: μὰ ἄμε τὴν προξενήτρα μου νὰ βρῆς (I.49) is likely to be a simple writing mistake in ms V, triggered by the word order of the sentence. The app. crit. of the Martini edition offers ἄμε στην and she corrects to ἄμε τὴν.

κι ἄμε με τὴν εὐχίτσα μου *Chron. Mor.* H 1388
 ἄλλον φαγὶ ἄμε νὰ εὐρης *Pol. Tr.* 3433
 ἄμε, περισωρεύθητι *Dig.* E 1280
 καὶ ἄμε εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς κόρης τῆς Ροδάμνης *Liv.* V 621
 ἄμε καὶ σύ, ψυχούλα μου *Velth.* 1193
 θέλεις ἄμε, θέλεις ἔλα *Fior* 102.35
 ἄμε, παιδάκι, τὸ λοιπὸν *Alex. Rim.* 691
 ἄμε GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. partirsi*; portalo là ἄμε τὸ ἐκεῖ *ibid. s.v. portalo qua* (transitive)
 μόν' ἄμε, μὴν ἀργοπορῆς *KONDAR., Paides* 137

The corresponding plural is ἄμετε or ἄμέτε; the second appears to be more common than the first:

ἄμετέ μας ἐκέισε *Chron. Mor.* H 5310 (ἄμετέ ms)
 ἄμετε λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν δουλείαν σας *Bertoldos* 41.30
 ἄμετε τὸ λοιπὸν *Irodos* I.46
 ἄμετε ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐσᾶς *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 57.1
 ἄμέτε τον εἰς τὸ λουτρόν *Arm.* 187
 καὶ ἄμέτε, τὰ παιδιά μου *Liv.* V 2772
 ἄμέτε ἀναπαυθῆτε *Byz. II.* 276
 καὶ ἄμέτε νὰ τὸν εὐρεῖτε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.1
 ἄμέτε ἰδέτε ὁλλίγον *Pist. kekoim.* 71
 κι ἄμέτε νὰ καυκάστε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.401
 ἄμέτε ἐσεῖς *Pist. voskos* I 1.1
 ἄμέτε τοῦ τα (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 566, 792.17) (transitive)
 κι ἄμέτε σὲ παραχωστὸ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.514

In texts from Chios, addition of final /n/ is encountered, as well as a form ἄμέστε(v), for which there is no good explanation, though it is certainly not formed on the analogy of imperatives such as πέστε (*KRIARAS, Lex. s.v. ἄγωμε(v)*), which postdate the EMG period (see 4.5.2.4; and cf. ἐλάστε < ἐρχομαι, see below): κι ἄμέτεν ἔδα, διαβήτενε *KONDAR., Paides* 1112; ἄμέστ' ἀρπάξετέ την *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 185; ἄμέστεν εἰς τὰ σπῖτια σας *ibid.* 1422; ἄμέστεν, φύγετ' ἀπὸ ἔδω *KONDAR., Paides* 8; ἄμέστεν *ibid.* 757.

Prefixed derivatives of ἄγω include verbs such as ἀνάγω, διάγω, συνάγω and others. Some of these verbs, notably διάγω and συνάγω, develop alternative imperfective stems in -ζ: πλῆθος συνάζεται πολὺ *Liv.* V 2109; νὰ διάζεις τὰ διάζω *Thysia Avr.* 560; νὰ τοῦ συνάζει τὸ ἴσος (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.10).

These verbs tend to form their perfective stem regularly (active: -αξ-; passive -αχθ-/-αχτ-), rather than through the old extended stem -αγαγ-:

τὸ πῶς νὰ θέλουν διάξει *Chron. Mor.* H 3010
 τὸ τί καὶ πῶς νὰ διάξωσιν *Pol. Tr.* 2364
 νὰ συναχθοῦν *Diig. tetr.* 94
 ὅλα ἐπισυνάξέ τα *Liv.* S 2044 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 νὰ ἔχη περισυνάξει *Chron. Mor.* P 1291
 καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους τοὺς κατηφεῖς ν' ἀνάξω, νὰ ὑψηλώσω *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 139
 τὴ νύκτα πῶς ἐδιάξασιν *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1498

For ὑπάγω, which shows different developments, see below.

ἀναπαύω

The prefixed verb ἀναπαύω has an alternative imperfective stem in -ευ(γ) throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, in texts from both northern and south-western areas (cf. θεραπεύω, which has an alternative perfective stem θαρappaσ-/θαρappaψ-, see below):

ἤνεπευόμεν *NIKON, Logos* 4 206.13 app. crit. (S)
 ἀναπεύονται *Chron. Mor.* H 2634
 νὰ ἀναπεύσουν *Pol. Tr.* 3425 app. crit. (B); ἀναπεύετον *ibid.* 4333 app. crit. (V)
 ἀναπεύομεστε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 298
 νὰ μποῦσιν ν' ἀναπεύονται *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 272
 κάθεστε, ἀναπεύεστε *Alex. Rim.* 809
 ἀναπεύεστέν *Theseid* I.1,2 (Follieri)
 ἀναπεύοτον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 188.40
 ἐμορφα τ' ἀναπεύει *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 57.4
 ἀναπεύεσαι *Diig. Alex.* F 94.4 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἀναπεύου *Diig. Alex.* K 373.17
 ἀναπεύου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 139.23
 ἀναπεύεσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 26.45
 ἀναπεύετο *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2171; κι ἀναπεύουν το *ibid.* IV.709

ἀπαντῶ

In texts of the 16th and 17th c. from Crete the verb ἀπαντῶ and its prefixed derivatives can form an alternative barytone stem in -ηχν, based on their perfective stem in -ηξ (see 2.2.1.9.2). Other oxytone verbs that have alternative perfective stems in -ηξ (e.g. ἐρωτῶ, ζητῶ, κρατῶ) do not appear to follow this pattern:

ὁποῖος τον ἀπαντήχνη *Apoll. Rim.* V 739 (same in all versions)
 τοῦ ἀπαντήχνη ὁ δαίμων *MOREZINOS, Klini* 170.20
 ἐσυναπάντηχνα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.538
 ἀπαντήχνασι *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.642; συναπαντήχνουσι *ibid.* II. 1398
 μ' ἀπαντήχνη *Pist. voskos* IV 2.67
 ἀπαντήχνοντάς του (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 332.10)
 ἀπαντήχνασι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 240.30

A similar development, though with a broader geographical distribution, can be observed in barytone velar stems (for which see 2.1.1.1.4).

ἀποφαίνω

The verb ἀποφαίνω develops a new imperfective stem ἀποφην- based on the aorist indicative ἀπέφηνα (see also *KRIARAS, Lex. s.v. ἀποφαίνω*):

ἀποφῆνομεν ἐγράφως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 25.203-4)
 ὀρίζω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, λέγω καὶ ἀποφῆνω *Diig. tetr.* 984 app. crit. (CL)
 ἀλλ' ἀποφῆναι βέβαια *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VII.33
 ἀποφῆνουν οἱ θεοὶ πατέρες *Chron. Ps.-Dorothea* (1572) 247

ἀρχομαι/ἄρχω

The verb ἀρχίζω for ἀρχομαι/ἄρχω first appears in texts of the early 12th c.:

τὸ ρυακίον ὅπου ἀρχίσαμεν (1100, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 15, 203.23)
 ὅπου τὰ συνόρια ἀρχίσαμεν (1118, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 85, 112.26-7)

ἔπειτα νὰ ἀρχίῃ ὁ ὄρθρος (1197–9, Serbia, MEYER 1894: VII, 186.31)
ἀρχίζουν νὰ κάμνουν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 209; ἀρχίζουν εἰς τὸ μάλωμα *ibid.* 212
ἀρχίζει ἡ πανεξαίρετος ὥρα ἡ Μαργαρώνα *Imber.* 871

The verb shows great variation in its imperfective stem formation. There is an oxytone variant ἀρχινῶ with a broad geographical spread from the 14th c. onwards and a local variant in Chios καταχερνῶ (= καταρχινῶ with metathesis of /r/ and subsequent change of /i/ to /e/):

ὅπου ἀρχινοῦν καὶ κηλαδοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 3620
τότ' ἀρχινᾷ ὁ ἡμέριος νὰ λέγῃ *Imber.* 765
ἀρχινᾷ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.26)
ἀρχινοῦσαν καὶ ἔκαναν τὰ ἄζυμα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 362.28
νὰ ἀρχινᾷ (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 66.4)
καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρῶτους ἀρχινᾷ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 151
ἀν ἀρχινοῦσες *Don Kis.* 109.3
ἀρχινᾷ πλέον τ' Οὐζμπεγιστάνι VATATSI, *Periig.* II 420

καταχερνῶ, -ᾶς, ἐκαταχέρνουν GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. cominciare*
καταχερνᾷ νὰ λέγῃ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 806

Marginally, forms of ἀρχῶ can be found:

καὶ τότες Ἀπολλώνιος ἀρχεῖ ν' ἀναθιβάει *Apoll. Rim.* A 1822
ἐπίασεν ὁ πατέρας τῆς, καὶ ἀρχεῖ νὰ τ' ἀναγνώθῃ *Apoll. Rim.* E 585
καὶ το κακὸν τῇ ριζικὸν ἀρχεῖ νὰ τ' ἀτιμάζῃ *Apoll. Rim.* N 650
ἀρχεῖ κυρὰ καὶ λέγει τοὺς *Theseid* I.23,8 (Follieri)

Barytone variants include ἀρχινίζω (Crete, Cyprus, certain Aegean islands); *ἀρχιπίζω/*ἀρχερίζω, a Heptanesian variant of which only perfective forms have been found; ἀρχεύω, which occurs in texts of south-eastern provenance and of uncertain provenance; and, marginally, ἀρχάζω, ἀρχινέζω and ἀρχέζω:

καὶ κλάμμα ἀρχινίζει *Apoll. Rim.* A 865
κι ἀρχινίζει *Imb. Rim.* 1010
ἀρχινίζει ἡ βοσκή τῆς (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.18)
μὲ τὸ παῖξε-γέλασε ἀρχινίζει *Vosk.* 228
κι ἐκεῖνη ἀρχινίζει *Stathis* II.53
τώρα ἀρχινίζω νὰ γρικῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.192
τὸ κλάμαν ἀρχινίζει MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 198
μὲ γέλοιο ἀρχινίζει PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1465
τὸ αἶμαν τοὺς ἀρχινίζει νὰ φεύγῃ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 266
κι ἀπόκεις ἀρχινίζει KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.899

θελουν ἀρχιρίσου νὰ φεύγουν *Diig. Alex.* F 246.11 (Lolos)
ἀρχέρισε νὰ παρακαλῇ *Diig. Alex.* V 81.22–3

ὅταν ἀρχεύῃ ἡ νύκτα *Liv.* V 1908 (hapax; in all versions but E)
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν στρέφεται ὁ λογισμὸς καὶ ἀρχεύει LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 468
ἀρχεύου νὰ πάρουν βετέττα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 628.13–14
καὶ πρῶτον ἦδη ἀρχεύει *Pist. kekoim.* tit.

ἐνταῦτα ἀρχάζουν οἱ ἅπαντες *Chron. Mor.* H 7889

ἀρχασε νὰ τοῦ λέγῃ *Liv.* E 81 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἀρχέζει, κτίζει, πολεμεῖ μετὰ ἐξόμπλου πύργον *Byz. Il.* 102

ἀρχίνεζεν νὰ φεύγῃ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 266.

Forms of AG ἀρχομαι are also in use in a variety of texts, though not usually in Cretan and Cypriot literature:

ἀνδραγαθία ἀρχονται ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ Ἀκρίτου *Dig.* G IV.1
εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέξων ἤρχομουν *Ptoch.* III 47; ἀρχομαι *ibid.* 51
ἀρχεται νὰ τοὺς λέγῃ *Pol. Tr.* 2312
λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἀρχομαι τῆς ἀγάπης *Liv.* V 27
ἀρχομαι, ἐρωτῶ τον *Liv.* α 3188 app. crit (P)
ἀρχεται διηγῆσεται *Byz. Il.* 70
ἀρχομαι ἀπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Βενετίας KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 421.17
ἀρχόμεθα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 506 tit.

For residual middle forms see 4.9.1–3 and 4.9.2.

βαίνω

As discussed above (see 2.2.1.10), the verb βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives made use of passive-looking endings for the aorist indicative (-ην, -ης, etc., later -ηκα, -ηκες, etc., see 4.4.2) and the infinitive (-ῆναι, later -εῖν, see 4.6.2.3), and developed passive-looking oxytone endings for the aorist subjunctive (-ῶ, εῖς, etc., see 4.2.3). On the other hand, there is a tendency for some of these verbs to move over to an active rather than passive paradigm. The verbs (ἐ)μπαίνω (< ἐμβαίνω) and (ἐ)βγαίνω (< ἐκβαίνω) develop new aorist indicatives ἤμπα and ἤβγα, adopting the /i/ augment by analogy with certain other verbs with monosyllabic perfective stems (see 3.1.2.1 for details):

ἤβγεν *Dig.* A 2930
ἤμπασιν *Dig.* E 416
ἤμπες *Velth.* 951
ἤμπαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 851
σὰν συγγενεῖς μοῦ ἤμπετον μέσαν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν KONDAR., *Paides* 286; κ' ἤβγεν ἀφ' τὰ μυαλά του *ibid.* 950
ἤβγενε εἰς τὸ κυνήγι φῖνος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1356 (with addition of -(ν)ε, for which see I, 2.6.3.3)
ἤμπασι (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.12).

βάλλω

The verb βάλλω and some of its prefixed derivatives (e.g. ἀμφιβάλλω, ἀναβάλλω) develop an alternative imperfective stem in -βαν: καὶ τὸν οἶνον διαβάνει ERMON., *Ilias* 14.45; μ' ἀμφιβάνει SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* L3v; ἐπρόβανε ζητήματα φυσικά VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 43.29–30 (for more examples see 2.1.1.1.6).

These verbs tend to retain the inherited perfective stem βαλ- for the active voice (see also 2.2.2.1.2), e.g. τῖς γερόντοι ὅπου θέλομε βάλει (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.13) (for τῖς γερόντοι see II, 1.3 and II, 2.2.5); cf. pres. κι ὅποτε δὲ μᾶς ἀρέσουσι ... νὰ βάνομε ἄλλους (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 19.11–12). As the pronunciation

of single and double consonants is identical in most of the Greek-speaking regions (for exceptions see I, 3.4), /n/ may be added to the imperfective stem in order to distinguish it from the perfective stem (see also 2.1.1.6): ὅτι τὸν διαβάλλουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 344.16.

The non-prefixed variant βάζω and prefixed (ἐ)βγάζω (< ἐκβάλλω) may have come into being under the influence of prefixed forms derived from βιβάζω (e.g. ἀνεβάζω, ἐμβάζω, κατεβάζω, σεβάζω), but βάζω itself is unlikely to have been derived from βιβάζω (ANDRIOTIS, *Lex.* s.v.), since the perfective stem would then be expected to be sigmatic (βασ-), which it is not; βάζω and (ἐ)βγάζω retain the perfective stem βαλ- of βάλλω. Forms with -ζ- can be found in a variety of texts from at least the 15th c. onwards:

ὁποῦ τοὺς ἐβγάζουν *Ptoch.* IV 248.36 app. crit. (K)
ἐκβάζω τὸ δοξάριον *Liv.* α 140 app. crit. (P)
νὰ τὸ ἀπέβγαζαν *Pol. Tr.* 1167 app. crit. (A)
ποῦ βγάζουν μυρωδία *Theseid* XI.24,2 (1529)
εὐγάζω ... ἐκβάνω ... ἐκβάζω GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *cavare*
βγάζοντας PALAMIDIS, *Ist. Mich. Voev.* 184
ἐβγαζεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I § 36.32
σκολεῖο τὸν βάζουν *Dig.* O 1251
βγάζο<ν>τας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.5).

For the passive voice this verb retains its inherited perfective stem βληθ-, but also develops an innovative alternative βαλθ-,⁸⁴ e.g. ἐμετεβλήθη ἡ θλίψις τοὺς *Achil.* N 76; ἐβάλθηκε νὰ σπουδάξει RODINOS, *Martyr. Neof.* 321.38–9. The innovative stem has a phonetic variant in which /l/ is replaced by /t/ (see I, 3.8.6.2 for details): ἐβάρτησαν νὰ ἔλθουν ἀππῶδε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 144.15–16; διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀποβαρθῇ τὸ παιδί ἀπὸ τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρός LANDOS, *Geopon.* 266.1.

βαστῶ

The verb βαστῶ (< βαστάζω) can form an alternative imperfective stem in -άνω in texts of southern provenance (Cyprus, Crete) (often -άννω in Cypriot, reflecting gemination, see I, 3.4) or in -αίνω in texts from various regions (Constantinople, Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese):

κοντάρια ἐβάσταιναν *Chron. Mor.* H 1042; ἡ νὰ βαστάνουν ἄρματα *ibid.* 3890
τὸν πόνον οὐ βασταίνει *Pol. Tr.* 5696 (ms X, 15th c.) (βαστάνει ms C 15th c., βαστάζει ms V 16th c.); θαύμασμα πῶς βασταίνει *ibid.* 10079; βασταίνομεν *ibid.* 10984 app. crit. (BC)
μαγνήτην νὰ βασταίνει *Poulol.* 542 app. crit. (V)
τὸ στέμμαν τὸ βαστάνω *Imb. Rim.* 63; νὰ βασταίνης *ibid.* 253; βασταίνει *ibid.* 417
ὁποῦ βασταίνει τὸ κλειδί FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 322
οἱ πτωχοὶ οἱ Κυπριῶτες, ὅπου βαστάνουν πολλά MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 540.11
γυμνὸν βαστάνει τὸ σπαθὶν *Diig. Apoll.* 727
Λέξανδρος τὸν βασταίνει *Alex. Rim.* 1401
ἐβάσταινε ἓνα μαχαίρι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 366.17; νὰ τὸν βασταίνει *ibid.* 380.33
βασταίνοντας τὰ σκεύη *Vios Aisop.* K 154.29

⁸⁴ The SMG semantic difference between the stems βληθ- (SMG 'to be cast') and βαλθ- (SMG 'to apply oneself'), begins to manifest itself in the period covered by this Grammar.

σοῦ τάσσω ἀπάνω στὸ χροῦσὸ στέμμαν ἀποῦ βασταίνω FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* II 170
Χριστέ, πῶς τὸ βασταίνεις DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 790
νὰ βασταίνει *Zinon* III.369; but also: αὐτὰ τὰ γένια ὁποῦ βαστᾶς *ibid.* I.113

βλέπω

The verb βλέπω has a rather unusual imperative singular βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε, either derived from periphrastic νὰ βλέπεσαι with omission of νὰ, or, perhaps a little less likely, modelled on the passive aorist imperative in -ησε (XANTHOUDIDIS 1915: 391; KRIARAS 1932):

καὶ βλέπεσαι μὴ πλανηθῇς *Dig.* G VIII.139
βλέπεσαι, θυγατέρα μου *Fyll. gadar.* 159
βλέπεσε, μὴν τις κάμης πλιό CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.30
dicono ancora βλέπεσαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.5
βλέπεσαι μὴν ἀγγίξης *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1143

The peculiar form βλέπουσαι in one ms of CHORTATIS, *Panor.* (II.251), appears to be a conflation of βλέπεσαι and regular βλέπου (for which see 4.5.1.1.2).

This verb continues to make use of the inherited thematic aorist stem ἰδ- to form its perfective tenses (ind. εἶδα, subj. ἴδω/ἰδῶ etc., see 4.4.1 and 4.2.3). It presents a regional (mostly northern) peculiarity in the formation of its perfective stem, through metathesis (JANNARIS 1897: 83; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 308–9; KRETSCHMER 1905: 124ff.; PERNOT 1913: 263; see also I, 3.9.1): the subjunctive (ἰ)δῶ may become διῶ, e.g. νὰ διγεῖς (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.23); νὰ διγιούμι (1698, *ibid.* 9, 73.33) (= νὰ διοῦμε with raising of /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4), the added <γι> indicating palatalization; see I, 3.8.2.3); στα μάτια νὰ τις διούμιν (*ibid.* 12, 82.29) (= διοῦμεν, see I, 2.5.4); μ' ὅς διοῦμεν *Diig. Vefa* 1052; ὅπου διοῦν τὰ μάτια του *ibid.* 1069. Furthermore, the infinitive (ἰ)δεῖν(ν) may become διεῖν(ν), e.g. θέλω σε διγεῖ (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 53.2), and the imperative ἰδέ has a rare variant διέ: διέ ἐγὼ διδω ὁμπροστέ σας ... εὐλογία *Pent. Deut.* 11.26. Several examples of the aorist indicative have also been found: καὶ εἶδιεν ὁ Θεὸς *Pent. Gen.* 1.4; εἶδια *ibid.* 33.10; εἶδιαμεν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 12, 29.7).

Furthermore, βλέπω has an alternative perfective stem βλεπτησ-, which follows the paradigm of oxytone verbs for both the active and the passive voice. See 2.2.1.7 for details.

γίνομαι

In earlier stages of the language, the verb γι(γ)νομαι made use of the stem γι(γ)ν- for imperfective tenses and moods and γεν- for the perfective ones, with medio-passive endings. In the Koine the middle voice had started to fall into disuse, and to be replaced with passive or active morphology (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 193–4; JANNARIS 1897: 362–4). Thus, the verb γίνομαι had developed a passive alternative ἐγενήθην (probably with influence from ἐγεννήθην) for the AG aorist middle ἐγενόμην, later simplified to ἐγένην (possibly to distinguish it from ἐγεννήθην): λίθος ἐγένην, μάννα μου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1179. In the period covered by this Grammar, both stems remain in use, but the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect appears to be blurred (cf. ἐρχομαι and εὐρίσκομαι). The stem γιν- starts to be used for the aorist alongside γεν-, both with passive and active endings:

νά γένη καλοπαιδεύτον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 275
 ἀφότου γάρ ἐγένετον τοῦ δημηγέρτη ἡ κρίσις *Chron. Mor.* H 903; νά γενῶ *ibid.* 956; ἀφότου
 ἐγίνη βασιλέας *ibid.* 1008 (cf. ἀφότου ἐγένετον ἐκεῖνο τὸ πασσάτζο *ibid.* 123)
 ἐνεθράφην τὸ παιδὶν καὶ ἐγίνη χρόνων τεσσάρων *Achil.* L 12; ἐγάπησεν καὶ θέλησεν καὶ
 ἐγένετον στρατιώτης *ibid.* 20
 πολλά ἐγίνηκα φρόνιμος *Pol. Tr.* 6885
 καὶ ξενοδόχισσα ἐγινεν *Liv.* V 2735
 τὸ εἶντα θέλω ἀπογενεῖν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 3134
 θέλει γινεῖν μεγάλη μάχη *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 182.36–7
 πότε τὸ βλέπω ἐγένετο; πῶς τὸ θωρῶ ἐσυνέβη *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 389 (cf. καὶ τ' ἄλλον τότε
 τοῦ λαοῦ οὐκ εἶδαμεν τί ἐγένη *ibid.* 365)
 στὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὅπου καὶ ἐγενέθη καὶ χατζῆς *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 64.9–10

Similarly, imperfective forms can be found formed from the perfective stem γεν-: τὰ
 χλωρά χόρτα γέγονται ἀποκάτω του νερού *Anthos Ch.* G 231.14; πότε γένηται εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον σύγχυσις μεγάλη *Vios Aisop.* I 261.27; καὶ ἐγένιτι καὶ εἰς τὴν λογιότη σου κάτρι
 (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.32–3) (= ἐγένεται, see I, 2.5.4).

In Cypriot Greek the stem γιν-, and sporadically γεν-, may be extended with the infix
 -ισκ- (see 2.1.1.3.2 for details) to form a new imperfective stem:

νά γενίσκονται *Assizes B* 252.3–4; δλα τὰ ἀδικα τὰ γινίσκονται *ibid.* 458.4
 σκάνταλον ἐγινίσκετον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 46.30
 ἐγινίσκετον *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 242.14
 γινίσκεται *Fior Suppl.* 269.19
 ὅπου γινίσκονται κουμερκιάρηδες *Pist. kekoim.* 627

For barytone and oxytone variant forms in the aorist subjunctive and infinitive see 4.2.3,
 4.6.2.3.

For residual aorist middle forms and their conflation with the imperfect see 4.9.1–3 and
 4.9.2.

δίδω/δίνω

The verb δίδω (< δίδωμι) remains in general use throughout the period covered by this
 Grammar:

καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα *Paroim.* H 10
 τοῦ τὸ δίδουε (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1)
 εἰς σου δίδω μια ραβδὲ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.85
 νά δίδουε (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.40)
 παρηγοριά τσ' ἔδιδε *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.11.

The alternative δίνω, now SMG, has not been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*).
 It occurs mainly, though not exclusively, in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean:

τάς χεῖρας δίνουσι *Pol. Tr.* 1914 app. crit. (A)
 τίποτε οὐδὲν τῆς δίνει *Chron. Mor.* P 7335 (hapax)
 δίνει του καὶ πιτάκι *Alex. Rim.* 2712
 νά δίνου καὶ νά πλερώνου (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.28)
 νά δίνονται (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.13)
 τί μερτικὸ δῖναν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.8–9)
 νά τοῦ δίνουε χαράτζι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 94.23

νά τὸ δίνω δτινος θέλω (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.38)
 δίνετε, καὶ θέλουν σας δώσει *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 6.38
 ἔδιναν πόλεμο φρικτὸ *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 247
 θε νά δίνει (1677, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 452.7–8)
 νά τοῦ δίνου βουτσά (1677, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 24, 92.11)
 τὰ δῖνασι (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.29)

Furthermore, the verb has three local variants for the imperfective stem: δίδῶ, δούδω and
 δώνω.

Oxytone δίδῶ occurs in texts from Cyprus throughout the period covered by this
 Grammar (see also 2.1.3.1):

διδεῖ του (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 29.46)
 καὶ διδοῦσαν του *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 86.22–3
 δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν *Pist. kekoim.* 499–500
 δὲν τοὺς διοῦν ψωμὶν νά φᾶν *Thrinos Kypr.* 505 (with deletion of intervocalic fricative; see I,
 3.6.1.1)

Three examples of the verb δίδω with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been
 found in ms B of *Fior de Vertù*: διδέται *Fior* 111.10, 118.41 and 119.1. This form is unu-
 usual, since the oxytone variant of δίδῶ normally adopts the endings of the oxytone E-stem
 paradigm (cf. διδεῖται *ibid.* 111.10 app. crit. (I) and 118.41 app. crit. (I)); see also 2.1.3.1.
 However, for comparable forms of barytone vowel stems resulting from synizesis (e.g.
 σιεῖται), see 2.1.1.2.

A variant δούδω can be found in texts from Crete (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1934/77: A 33–4)
 and the Heptanese (Ithaca):

καὶ δούδει σου καὶ ραβδακιές *Diig. tetr.* 688 (reading of ms P; scribe probably Cretan)
 δούδουσί μας (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.11)
 νά τῶς δούδουν (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 148.26); τοὺς ἐδούδαμε
 (*ibid.* 148.10)
 δύνεται νά σου δούδει *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.160
 νά σοῦ δούδει *Zinon* II.28
 παραδούδου (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 85, 90.5–6)

Finally, δώνω has been found in texts from the Aegean. It is likely to have been formed on
 the basis of the aorist ἔδωσα (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 408), perhaps with some influence from
 Italian *dono* (JANNARIS 1897: 218):

δώνει ἡγουν καὶ παραδώνει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 25, 163.3); καὶ δώνει τῆς τοῦτο
 (1599, *ibid.* 92, 123.8)
 καὶ δώνου (1634, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 18, 321.7)
 δώνομέν του τα (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.6–7)
 τῆνε δώνει *KONDAR., Paidēs* 687–8
 τῆς δώνου καὶ παραδώνου (1676, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 6, 18.9)
 μίαν ραβδιά τοῦ δώνει *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2883
 δώνομε τὸ χωράφι μας (1685, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1918a: 129.17–18)
 δὲν μας ἤδωνε *Epist. Nax.* 471.27
 τοῦ δῶνασιν ψωμί καὶ ἡτρωγεν (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 604, 834.3)
 νά δώνη (1719, Patmos, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 2, 16.10)
 οἱ χάρες ποῦ μοῦ δώνεις *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.49

The perfective stem is δωσ- or δωκ- (for which see 2.2.1.10), though sometimes δουσ- and δουκ- can be found, not only as a phonetic variant (unstressed /o/ > /u/, see I, 2.8.3), but sporadically also in forms where /u/ is stressed, perhaps based on δούδω, although it cannot be excluded that the last example represents a simple writing mistake:

- ἔδουκα (1101, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 69, 86.2)
 τὰ ἔδουκε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.13)
 ἦδουκα τό παρόν τεσκερέ μου (1625, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 2000: 1, 14.8)
 ἔδουσα (1713, Lesvos?, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1884: 7, 27.4)
 θάνατον, κατὰ πῶς θαρῶ, βούλεσαι νὰ μοῦ δούσης *Alfan.* 11 31 app. crit.

The imperative is δῶσε, δῶσ' / δός, or δό, pl. δώστε / δόστε or δώτε / δότε:

- δός τα δλα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.23
 δῶσ' με ἔδῶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.8
 τὸ σκύλο μου μοῦ δόσε *Pist. voskos* II 2.193
 δό μου *Diig. Alex.* F 174.4 (Konstantinopulos)
 δό με νερό (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2438)
 δώστε της *Cypr. Canz.* 4.7
 δώτε μου τόπο ν' ἀνεβῶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.25

The participle is δομένος or δοσμένος:

- δομένα 'ς τοὺς κάτωθεν (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3)
 τὰ ἔχω δομένα (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 116, 165.51-2)
 τῶς ἔχουσι οἱ μερίδες δοσμένη (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 51.48)
 τοῦ ἔχω δοσμένα (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.19).

δύναμαι / δύνομαι

The verb δύναμαι began to adopt the thematic vowels /o/ and /e/ in the last centuries BC (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 59; JANNARIS 1897: 258), resulting in δύνομαι, δύνεσαι, etc. for δύναμαι, δύνασαι, etc. (cf. κάθομαι for κάθημαι). The verb retains its inherited perfective stem δυνηθ-, for which see 2.2.1.7.

ἐγείρω

The verb ἐγείρω develops an innovative imperfective stem γερν- in order to distinguish it from the identical perfective stem (see also 1.1.1): e.g. ἐγέρνεται ἡ Τροία *Pol. Tr.* 1228 app. crit. (X); νὰ γέρνεσαι *Poulol.* 147 app. crit. (CPVL); ἦγερνεν (1697, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 48, 143.9).

The verb is quite unique in that for the passive aorist subjunctive it has alternative barytone forms, possibly built on a morphological analogy with verbs that display both stress patterns such as ἔρθω / ἔρθῶ, εὔρω / εὔρῶ: (ἐ)γέρθω instead of (ἐ)γερθῶ (e.g. νὰ γερθῶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.513). In these barytone forms the endings of the active paradigm are used with the passive perfective stem:⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Interestingly, ἐγέρθω is mentioned by various grammarians from Antiquity onwards as having been derived from the adjective ἐγερός (see the online *TLG*); however, these grammarians treat it as a present indicative, not an aorist subjunctive.

- πολλάκις με ἐπαρώργισεν ὁ λογισμὸς νὰ ἐγέρθω *Ptoch.* IV 193
 ἐκείνη ἀπὲ τὰγκάλια του δὲν ἤθελε νὰ γέρθη *Achil.* L 938
 ἂν οὐκ ἐγέρθης τὸ γουργὸν *Poulol.* 37 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ὅταν ἐγέρθω νὰ σταθῶ *SACHLIKIS, Peri fylakis* 37
 κι ὁποῦ πέση μὴ γέρθη *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 40; καὶ ξύστερα ὡς ἐγέρθουν *ibid.* 284
 νὰ γέρθη σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴ *Defi. Par.* 2; νὰ φᾶν, νὰ πιοῦν, νὰ γέρθουν *ibid.* 208
 καὶ δὲν μποροῦν νὰ γέρθουν *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 334
 νὰ γέρθη δὲν ἐδύνετο *Fyll. gadar.* 252
 νὰ γέρθη νὰ μισέψει *Apoll. Rim.* V 149 (same in EN)
 νὰ γέρθῃς νὰ μισέψῃς *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.242

(ἐ)θέλω

For the present indicative and subjunctive the verb (ἐ)θέλω can produce syncopated forms, for 2 sg. (θές), 3 sg. (θέ(ν)) and all persons of the plural (θέμε(ν), θέτε(ν) / θέλτε, θέν(ε) or θέσι). These forms are found in texts from southern areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, Cyprus, Rhodes) from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms dates of the *Oracles of Leo the Wise* and of *Pol. Tr.*), as well as in later texts from other areas, such as Chios, certain Cycladic islands and the northern regions:⁸⁶

- καὶ ἂν ἔν' καὶ θές νὰ μάθῃς *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 96
 θές νὰ κτίσῃς *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 451
 θές γῆ στανικῶς (1491, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: οδ', fn. 143)
 θές πάλι νὰ στὸ λέγω; *Alex. Rim.* 141
 φύσ', ἀνεμε, ὅπου καὶ ἂ θές *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 250
 τὸ θές μοῦ πτεῖ *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.122; θές ζωντανὸ νὰ μὴν ἀφήσω φλάρο; *id., Katz.* III.456
 θέλω, θές, θέ. θέμεν, θέτε, θένε, vel θέσι *GERMANO, Grammar* 95.12-13
 μὰ παρεκάλια θές κι' ἐσύ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 464
 θές, Γιάννη, νὰ τὰ βόσκωμε μαζιν; (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 578, 803.8)
 τί θές ἔδῶ *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 51

- τίς θέ καλὸν *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 53; (κάμε τῆς γυναικὸς σου ...) ὁ, τι θέ *ibid.* 1218
 τίς θεν ν' ἀκούει ἀσματὰ *Diig. Apoll.* 614
 μὰ θέ κουτάλες δυνατές *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 435 (3 sg., impers.)
 καὶ θέ νὰ μὲ φιλήσῃ *Fyll. gadar.* 180; θέ νὰ μολογήσῃ *ibid.* 139A
 θέ νὰ πῇ ὄχι, σπολλάτε *Pist. kekoim.* 585
 φαίνεται ὅτι θέ νὰ φεύγει ἀπὸ τὸ δίκαιον (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.28)
 νὰ μὴ θέ νὰ προβάλῃ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.318
 καὶ ἄλλους τόπους, ὅπου θε, ας πάγει καὶ ας χαλάσει *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voen.* 538 (Pidonia)
 ὄντα θέ νὰ φτιάσῃ τὸ δῶμα του ... κι ὄντα θέ νὰ πλύνει τὰ βουτσά του (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 39.41-3)

- θέμεν νὰ μᾶς ποτίζῃς *KONDAR., Paidēs* 320
 δὲν θέμεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 884
 τοὺς παιζομεν ὡς θέμεν (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 134.16)
 ἂν θέμε νὰ χαιρόμεστα *Leilasia Par.* 324 app. crit.

- ἂν θέλτε νὰ βρομεν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 147

⁸⁶ STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.*, whose author was from Epirus, was written in Transylvania; NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* was written in 1692 in Bucharest; the provenance of Neofytos, however, is unknown.

ἂ θέτε νά γροικῆσετε KONDAR., *Paides* 3
θέτεν νά γελάτεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 177

νά τὸ κάνου ὡς θέσι καὶ βούλονται (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 4, 25.16)

In the same area the shortened form θέ(ν) + νά is also used for the other persons of the singular, and even the plural, from about the 15th c. onwards. The use of this shortened form is not uncommon in periphrastic future formations, for which see 5.1.4.6, but it can also be found with volitive meaning:

εἰς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μου ὅπου καὶ θέν νά μᾶς χαλάσουν *Pol. Tr.* 6601 app. crit. (A)
ἄλλον θέ νά πτωχάνη SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 126
μέ δαῦτον θέ νά μείνω *Alex. Rim.* 110
οἱ κορασίες που θε νά παντρευτεῖτε *Kakop.* 3
α θε νά σας αφοκραστώ CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.223 (2 pl.)
ἐκεῖνο ὅπου θέ νά κάμουνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.1
καὶ Τούρκος θεν νά γένει IOAKEIM KYPR. *Pali* 371
ξελησμονῶ τὸ θέ νά πῶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 581.2
θέ νά μοιράσωσιν οἱ κληρονόμοι με τὸ ζωντανὸν μέρος (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.46)
δέν θέ νά πολεμοῦσιν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.790

A past-tense shortened form ἦθε(ν) has been found in texts from southern areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Crete, Cyprus) and from certain islands in the Aegean (Chios, Naxos).⁸⁷ It is usually used to form conditionals (+ subjunctive), for which see 5.2.3.6. Sporadically it can also have volitive meaning, in which case it is followed by νά: κ' ἦθε' νά πορεύεται με νόμον ἐδικόν του *Apoll. Rim.* A 54; δέν ἦθε νά κάμη ἀγάπη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 60.17; κι ἦθεν νά καταντήσει *Thrinis Kypr.* 245 (facs.; ed.: ἦθεννὰ).

A shortened form θά with volitive and deontic meanings appears mainly in Cretan texts from the 16th c./17th c. onwards; there is also one attestation in the *Tale of Vefas and Michri* (late 17th c., 18th-c. ms), which is of northern provenance. For a discussion of this particle and its use to express the future tense, see 5.1.5. Some examples of volitive/deontic θά are:

ὁ Κάης τότες ἐζήλεψε, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θά μοιάση *P&N Diath.* 1270
δο σο κι' ἂ θά τῇ χώνη | τὴν δρεξή τζη CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.96-7
μὰ δντας δῆς καλὴ γουλιὰ στὸ πιάτο | νά θά τὴν πιάσω, τὸ ζημιό μου λέγεις' ἄς τὴν κάτω!
Stathis I.121-2
γιά ποιά ῥορμή μακρὰ νά θά γυρεύς | θεριά *Pist. voskos* I 1.79-80
καὶ ἀποῦ θά μάθη ἄς πιάση | ... τὸ σοφὸ Πλούταρχο νά διαβάση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.80-2; ἄς
ἔρθη ὀγλήγορα, γιατί θά τση μιλήσω *ibid.* I.315
τόσον τὸν ἀρέσει | κι αὐτὴ διὰ γυναῖκά του εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς θά νά 'χη *Diig. Vefa* 1098-9

The verb θέλω continues to make use of its inherited perfective stem θελησ-, for which see 2.2.1.7. This verb lacks passive morphology.

⁸⁷ For the shortened form ἦθε(ν) in the following example: ἀμμ' ἦθεν νά πιντώνουν τὸ λαμπρόν μου *Cypr. Canz.* 100.7, we should probably read ἀμμέ θε νά.

ἐξεύρω

The verb ἐξεύρω emerged shortly before the LMedG period from the aorist ἐξεῦρον⁸⁸ of the verb ἐξευρίσκω, most probably to replace οἶδα, which, because of the sound change from [y] to [i] had become homophonous with εἶδα (for details see I, 2.4.6.1). An early attestation can be found in a letter of the late 11th c.: καθὼς ἐξεύρεις ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.7-8. Deletion of the fricative [v] resulted in the variant (ἐ)ξέρω (cf. SMG ξέρω): καὶ καλὰ νά ἡξέρετε *Assizes* B 483.26; καὶ ξέρε, βασιλέα μου KONDAR., *Paides* 629. This verb lacks perfective morphology.

ἐπαίρω

The verb αἶρω is not normally found in vernacular texts, but it does survive in the prefixed verb ἐπαίρω. In its imperfective stem ἐπαίρω shows a strong tendency towards addition of an "intrusive" /n/, a phenomenon that predates the period covered by this Grammar (see also 1.1.1): νά ἐπαρναν *Ptoch.* III 194; θέλουν παίρνειν (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 147.18); ἐτοῦτος παίρνει τὴν ὥραϊαν *Achil.* N 1322. The active perfective stem is normally -αρ-, and the passive perfective stem -αρθ-/αρτ- (see I, 3.8.1): ὅπου θέλουν ἐπαρθῇ (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 273.15); ἐπάρτην (16th c., Lesbos?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.III, 548.42.1); ἐπάρθηκε (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.70). The aorist indicative usually retains its inherited internal augment, e.g. ἐπήρε το χρυσάφι ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 54.4; for details and more examples, see 3.3.1.2.

ἐρχομαι

The deponent verb ἐρχομαι, which has a phonetic variant ἔρκομαι in texts from Cyprus (see I, 3.8.1.1), shows quite a bit of morphological variation. It retains its inherited perfective stem ἐλθ-, with phonetic variants ἐρθ- and ἐρτ-, which continue to be used with active endings to form the perfective tenses (see 4.4.1, 4.2.3, 4.6.2.3). Similarly to γίνομαι (see above) and εὐρίσκομαι (see below), the distinction between the imperfective and perfective stems appears to be blurred. Thus we find perfective forms with present (passive) endings: νά ἐλθεστε (15th c., Adrianople, LAMBROS 1908b: A, 58.4); and a present gerund that makes use of the active ending -ντα(ς) (instead of part. ἐρχόμενος; for examples with other verbs see 4.7): ἐρχοντα ὁ καιρὸς *Assizes* A 44.13; ἐρκοντα τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουῆλ τοῦ Βουτουμήτη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.21; ἐρχοντας FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.202; ἐρχοντας (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.22). Finally, the aorist gerund ἐλθόντας (< part. ἐλθών) may adopt the stress of the present gerund: δέν ἐρθοντας ὁ υἱὸς τῆς (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.25-6). Locally, the reverse may also occur. In EMG Cycladic texts, perfective forms (with active endings) are derived from the imperfective stem ἐρχ- (cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 504 for the distribution in modern dialects): ἐμεῖς ὁμπρὸς ἤρχαμε μέσα *Leilasia Par.* 343; νά ἐρχουν (1735, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 37, 65.13). An example also occurs in *Florios* L: πόθεν ἐρχεις; *Flor.* L 1380, in which it is probably an adaptation of AG ἐρχει, which is the reading of *Florios* 1407.

⁸⁸ In EMedG texts, the aorist without the augment (ἐξεῦρον for ἐξηῦρον) is the more commonly used form.

The imperative has a very common alternative for *ἔλθε/ἔλθέ*, namely *ἔλα*, plural *ἐλάτε* (see 4.5.2.3 for examples). The plural has a regional alternative (Aegean, Crete) *ἐλάστε* (cf. *ἀμέστε* < *ἄγω* above; and THUMB 1912: 155).

καὶ ἐλάστε με τὸ Γεώργην (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.52)

ἐλάστε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.324

ἔλα, vieni, ἐλάτε, altri però dicono ἐλάστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.25–6

ἐλάστ' ἀρχόντισσές μου VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1604; καὶ αὐριο ἐλάσταν πάλι *ibid.* 1605

ἐλάστενε ἀντάμα μου PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1870 (with addition of *-(ν)ε*, see I, 2.6.3.3)

εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω

The verb *εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω* has a local variant *εὔρεσκω/ἡύρεσκω/βρέσκω* (Heptanese, Epirus, Peloponnese, Cyclades):⁸⁹

εὔρεσκεσαι *Chron. Mor.* P 2502

νὰ εὔρεσκει ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀρβανίτην (1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.4–5)
(author probably from Epirus)

παρόμοια δὲν εὔρεσκετον TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 56; παρόμοιον δὲν εὔρεσκουσι *ibid.* 86
ἡβρεσκουμαστικὴ (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.16–17) (stress notation lacking;
author from the Peloponnese)

καὶ βρέσκει τὸν Νον. I 156.5

τὸ βρέσκει SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A3r.8

ἡβρέσκειται (1659, Zakynthos, AVOURIS 1973: 220.3)

κρένω δὲν βρέσκειται ἔλλη MONTSEL., *Evgena* 788

βρεσκόμενοι (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.5)

For non-past forms in *ἡύρ-/ἡβρ-* see also the introduction to Chapter 3.

For the passive voice this verb has imperfective variant forms derived from the passive perfective stem *εὔρεθ-/βρεθ-* (cf. *γίνομαι* and *ἐρχομαι* for similar developments), which occur in texts from Cyprus: *βρέθουμουν* (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 41.24); καὶ με τοὺς δρυάδες ὅσους ἡύρεθονται (1684, *ibid.* 19, 51.20); *βρέθετ'* ἕνας παπ' Ἀντριᾶς KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 119; *βρέθονται* με τὸν Μαρκουλῆν *ibid.* 121.

This stem may also be extended with the infix *-ισκ-* (> *βρεθίσκομαι*; see also 2.1.1.3.2), in the same area: *βρεθίσκονται* (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 2, 7.5).

θεραπεύω

The verb *θεραπεύω* has an alternative perfective stem *θαραπαυσ-/θαραπαψ-* (though no alternative imperfective stem in *-αυ* was found; cf. *ἀναπαύω*, above, which has an alternative imperfective stem in *-ευ*):

νὰ θαραπαύσουν τὰς πληγὰς *Chron. Mor.* H 4195 app. crit.

γιατὶ ὅλους ἐθαράπαψες FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 210

διὰ νὰ τοὺς θαραπαύσει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 375.29

νὰ σὲ θαραπαύσω MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.34

νὰν σὲ θαραπάψη (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.27)

⁸⁹ A single instance of *εὐρίκω* in *Assizes* A 229.8 is likely to be a writing mistake for *εὐρίσκω*.

θέτω

For the irregular AG verb *τίθημι*⁹⁰ a new imperfective stem *θετ(τ)-* (cf. SMG *θέτω*) is attested from the very beginning of the LMedG period (see also LBG s.v. *θέτω*): *ἵνα θέττωσιν* (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 7, 520.15); *θέττουν* (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.87); *θέττω* (1303, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 334, 502.35) καὶ *θέτουν* με ἀγιοζούμιν *Ptoch.* IV 380. It has a rare alternative *θηττ-* in the late 11th-c. writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain: οὐ κατ' ἐντολὴν ἢ παράδοσιν θήττομεν ταῦτα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 146.34–5. The form *θέτ(τ)ω* acquired its */e/* probably because many words derived from *τίθημι* have */e/* (e.g. imp. *θές*, noun *θέσις*, compounds such as *τοποθετῶ*), and because the trend exists in other verbs as well (e.g. *στήκω* > *στέκω*) (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 315). Chiot texts may offer nasal variants for the imperfective stem of the verb *θέτω* and its compounds:⁹¹ *συνθένω* GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. componere*; as well as an innovative present indicative with */k/*: *καλοθέκω* *ibid.* s.v. *collocare*.⁹²

There is much variation in the formation of the perfective stem of this verb.⁹³ A new perfective stem *θησ-*, borrowed from the future *θήσω*, replaced the old subjunctive *θῶ* (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 312). A new sigmatic aorist indicative (*ἔθησα* for *ἔθηκα*, for which see 2.2.1.10) could be formed from the same stem: καὶ πᾶσαν δολιότητα ἔθησε στὸν σκοπὸν του *Pol. Tr.* 36. A stem *θεκ-* for *θηκ-* (aorist indicative only), can already be found in the EMedG period,⁹⁴ and continues to be in use in the period covered by this Grammar. Some examples are:

ἔθηκεν φύλαξες καλές *Chron. Mor.* H 1236

ἔθέκα τὸν μάστρε Ἀντώνη τὸν γιατρὸ (1389, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 3, 89.2)

ἔθέκαν *Dig.* E 480

πεῖσμαν ἀπλῶς ἔθέκεν *Log. parig.* L 30

ἐπροσέθεκα καὶ ἰδικό μου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1134–5)

ἤθεκα στὸ κρεβάτιν μου BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 2

ἀπόθεκάν τον *Diig. Alex.* F 298.20 (Lolos)

ἔθεκαν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 291

For the passive voice *θέτω* continues to use the inherited perfective stem *τεθ-*: *κ' ἐτέθη* καπετάνος *Chron. Mor.* H 1852; καὶ ἐτέθη ἡ βασίλισσα *Dig.* E 1671; ὡς ἐγὼ ἐδιατέθηκα

⁹⁰ Earlier innovative forms include *τίθω* and *τιθῶ* (JANNARIS 1897: 234), e.g. pres. imp. *τίθε* in Vettius Valens (2nd c. AD), *τιθοῦσιν* in Cassius Dio (2nd–3rd c.), in the *Life of St Symeon Stylites* (5th c.) and in Tzetzes (12th c.), *τιθων* in the *Life of St John the Almsgiver* (7th c.), *τιθοῦσι* in Mauropus and the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (both 11th c.) (see the online TLG); *διατίθειν* (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46, 92.7–8). Such forms can still sporadically be found in the period under review: *δλα ἐπαρτίθει τα Byz. Il.* 813; *εἰς εἰς ριζικόν το τίθει Anthos Ch.* V 46.10; *ὅτι την πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα μου εἰς Σε, ἀνασσα, ἀνατίθω ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 10231.

⁹¹ A similar form also in Korais's *Atakta*: *τοποθένω* (KORAIS 1828/35: IV 605 s.v. *τοποθέκω*).

⁹² In his *Atakta* Korais, who had a Chiot connection, mentions indicatives *ἀποθέκω* KORAIS 1828/35: IV 28 s.v.; *θέκω*, *τοποθέκω* and *καλοθέκω* *ibid.* 605 s.v. *τοποθέκω*. In the modern period *θέκω* is attested in Pontos and Cappadocia, see *ILNE* archive; DAWKINS 1916: 603 s.v. *θέτω* and PAPADOPOULOS 1958 s.v. *θήκω*.

⁹³ However, a form *ἐθεύμαν* in *Assizes* A 25.29, interpreted by KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. *θέτω* as a 3 pl. aor. ind. should be viewed as a textual corruption. Morphologically it cannot possibly have been derived from this verb and in addition the context requires 3 sg. (cf. *ἐν θεοπισμένους* in the corresponding passage in *Assizes* B 274.10–11).

⁹⁴ An aorist *ἔθεκε* occurs in the 7th/8th-c. poet Andrew of Crete (*Canon for Palm Sunday*, l. 435, ed. Maisano).

(1529, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 128, 235.28). Confusion of τεθ- and τιθ- occurs occasionally: διὰ νὰ γένουν καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐδιατρίθηκα (1528, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 125, 229.43).

καθαίρω

The verb (ἐκ)καθαίρω may adopt an "intrusive" /n/ in its imperfective stem. For this verb this is a regional phenomenon, occurring in texts from the Aegean and in the *Theseid*, which is of uncertain provenance:

τὰ ἄρματα τοῦ κάθαιρνε *Theseid* VII.35,2 (1529)

νὰ τοὺς ἐξεκαθαίρνουν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 127.16); νὰ τὸ ἐξεκαθαίρνει (1586, *ibid.* 30, 171.11–12)

νὰ ξεκαθαίρνει (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 31, 45.14)

In the Aegean (Naxos, Chios) the verb ξεκαθαίρνω has an oxytone variant ξεκαθαίρνῳ: ξεκαθαίρνῃ καὶ λέγει (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 138, 99.34); καθαιρνῶ ... [καθαίρ] νοῦμαι GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. mondare and purgare*; ξεκαθαίρνωντας (1633, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 9, 144.13).

κάθημαι/κάθομαι

The AG verb κάθημαι had adopted the dominant thematic vowels /o/ and /e/ of the present long before the period covered by this Grammar (cf. δύνομαι for δύναμαι).⁹⁵ From the early centuries AD it began to supplement its lacking perfective morphology by adopting the future stem καθησ-⁹⁶ and substituting active endings for the middle ones of the future. Just as in the case of its transitive counterpart καθίζω (see next), perfective forms have a syncopated alternative stem κατσ-:

νὰ κάτσωμεν νὰ φῶμεν *Ptoch.* I 243

κ' ἐκάτσε στὸ πλευρόν του *Chron. Mor.* H 4104

εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἀπέσωθεν ἑκάτσε τὸ κοντάριν *Pol. Tr.* 4152

ἐκάτσειν *Log. parig.* L 490

θῆλει κάτσει *Velis.* χ 191

μαννίτζα, κάτζει [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1091

Ἀλέξανδρος κοντά του ἑκατζειν *Diig. Alex.* F 40.14–15 (Konstantinopulos)

ἑκάτσε ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην μερέαν *Vios Aisop.* K 184.14

καὶ τ' ἄλλα σου καμώματα θὰ κάτσω νὰ στουντιάρω *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.295

ἡκάτσα νὰ ξεκουραστῶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.899

καθίζω

The verb καθίζω has a syncopated perfective stem κατσ- (< καθισ-) (in manuscripts and chapbooks spelled with <τζ> rather than <τσ>). This syncopated stem is also used as a perfective stem of the deponent verb κάθημαι/κάθομαι (for which see above). The syncopation initially led to paroxytone forms for the aorist indicative: ἐκάθισα > ἐκάτσα, but following reanalysis the stress moved back to the antepenultimate: ἐκάτσα > ἑκάτσα.

⁹⁵ A 3 sg. form κάθεται can for instance be found in the *Life of St Artemios* (7th c.) and in Romanos the Melode, *Kontakion* 48 (see the online TLG).

⁹⁶ Aorists ἐκάθησεν in Ephraem the Syrian (4th c.) and Cyril of Alexandria (4th/5th c.); an infinitive καθήσκειν in Didymus Caecus (4th c.); an aorist subjunctive καθήσῃ in Romanos the Melode (see the online TLG).

ἐκάτσε τὴν *Dig.* E 961

καὶ ἐπικάτζει τὸ ἀκάνθιν *Vulgärorakel* I.219

καὶ ὄλον τοῦ τὸ κέρατον εὐθύς ἐκάτζειν μέσα *Diig. tetr.* 1021

νὰ σ' ἐκάτσαν *Spanos* A 408

καὶ κάτζειτέ μου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 267 app. crit.

καὶ ἐκάτζειν τοὺς καθόρδιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 230.18

στην σέλλαν τὴν ἐκάτσαν *Diig. Apoll.* 455

γὴ νὰ σὲ κάτσου μέσα *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.335

καὶ ἑκατσε τοὺς *Vios Aisop.* K 149.18–19

καίω

The verb καίω forms an alternative imperfective stem καυτ- (also spelled καφτ-). It is not very common, but does occur in a variety of texts from various areas, from around the 15th c. onwards. This stem is possibly derived from the perfective stem καψ- (see 2.2.1.1.1), by analogy with labial stems in -φτ such as ἀφτω (for which see 2.1.1.1.1; cf. also παύτω in Cretan/Heptanesian, below):

καταπατοῦν καὶ καύτουν τες *Achil.* L 103

ἑκαυτεν τὸ χαρτί *Hist. Imp.* Πb 1337

καὶ κάφτει με ἡ ἀγάπη σου *Katal.* 214

καὶ ἑκαυτές τὴν *Poulol.* 432

καὶ καύτει καμμίαν οἰκίαν *Assizes* A 222.29

κάφτουν τὸν στόλον ὄλον *Velis.* N² 180

φέρνουνσιν ἰστιά καὶ κάφτουνσιν *Velis.* χ 178 app. crit. (V)

καὶ καύτουν τὴν γλώσσαν τοῦ *Diig. Alex.* E 217.17–218.1 (Lolos)

ὅτι τὸν καύτει ἡ φλόγινη ρομφαία *Diig. Alex.* K 368.29–30

This [ft] may "reassimilate" to -πτ- in texts from southern areas (cf. 2.2.1.2.2):⁹⁷ κάπτουν *Pol. Tr.* 8287 app. crit. (V); ὡσάν κερὶν τὸ κάπτει *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 63; κι' ὄλα τὰ ξύλα 'κάπταν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 506.26 (Xirouchakis) (καῦτα in ed. Alexiou/Aposkiti).

In texts of south-eastern provenance (Cyprus, Rhodes) and other Aegean islands (Chios, Ikaria) καίω can form an alternative imperfective stem καυ(γ)- (also spelled καβ(γ)-). This stem is probably formed by analogy with other verbs in -β(γ)ω such as ἀνάβ(γ)ω, κόβ(γ)ω (for which see 2.1.1.1.1):

καύγει τὸ ἡτζου κακὰ *Assizes* B 433.29

νὰ τες κάβουν (1449, Chios, LAIOU 1982: 4, 124.16)

ἑκαυγα *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 260

σποράν ἐκαῦγαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 356.18

δὲν κάβγιεσαι *Cypr. Canz.* 89.9; κάβγοντά *ibid.* 100.27

ἑκαυγά τοὺς (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)

παρὰ 'καυγεν τοὺς χριστιανοὺς *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 250

νὰ κάβγου τὸ κερὶ (1659, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 24, 31.12)

ἑκαυγεν τὴν καρδιά τοῦ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2209

καύγουν τὸν Τιμίον Σταυρόν *Thrinos Kypr.* 171

⁹⁷ The following example is from an anonymous 14th-c. metaphor of Anna Komnene, *Alexiad.* αὐτὰ μὲν ὀρίζει κάπτειν *Metaphr. Alexiad* 306.5.

In AG *καίω* had two alternative passive perfective stems, namely *καυθ-* (*ἐκαύθην*) and *κά-* (*ἐκάην*) (see LSJ s.v. *καίω*). In the LMedG and EMG periods *ἐκάην* has prevailed, and passive examples with *καυθ-* are quite rare: *ἐκαύθησαν* [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1274 (ed. *ἐκάφθησαν*); *καί ταῦτα ὀρίζει παρευθὺς Κροῖσον κατακαυθῆναι* DELLAP., *Erot apokr.* 594; *να μηδὲν καυθούν τα ρούχα του Anthos Ch. A 239.1–2 and V 238.2*. Sometimes an “intrusive” /s/ is added (see 2.2.3 for details): *ἐκαύσθησαν Dig. E 300*. Forms derived from the stem *κα-*, often with an added /γ/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.1), are more common:

- ἔλα κάγου, λυγερὲ, στὸν πόθον Του SULT. WALAD, *Poem I 21*
 νά 'κάηκα *Katal.* 487
 ἐκάην (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.6)
 νά 'χε καῖ *Alosis* 49
 διὰ νά μὴν καγεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 133.13
 κι ἐκαγήκα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.249
 ἐκάηκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.11
 ἐκαγήκανε τὰ δεντρά (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 512.42.2)
 ἡκάηκε (1655, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 277, 193.1)
 πρέπει νά καί *Don Kis.* 31.32
 ἐκάγηκε *Leilasia Par.* 556

The following form is the result of an analogy with other labial stem verbs (e.g. *κρύβω*: *κρυφθῶ* and *κρυβῶ*, see 2.2.1.2.2): *να μηδὲν καφούν τα ρούχα του Anthos Ch. G 239.1–2*.

καταρῶμαι

For the deponent verb *καταρῶμαι*, the Koine perfective passive stem *καταραθ-* is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar. A new perfective stem in *-ασθ/-αστ* with an “intrusive” /s/ that can be found in other passive forms as well (for which see 2.2.3), occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards (date of ms E of *Poulologos*):

- ἔπῃγε νά τὴν καταραθῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 642.7
 τὸν ὄφιν ἐκατηράθη ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 512 app. crit. (V)
 ἐκατηράθη μεγάλως τὴν Στάφυλον *Porikol.* I 122 (residual middle aorist ἐκατηράσατο in versions II and III)
 ὁ Θεὸς τὴν κατηράθη *Synax. gyn.* 117
 ὁποῖους χριστιανοὺς ἐκαταράθηκα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.2)
 καὶ ἐκαταράθη τοῦ Αἰτοῦ ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth. Epim.* (a) 1
 ἐκατηράσθη σου πολλὰ *Poulol.* 564
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκαταράσθη τὸν δάσκαλον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 345.3
 τότε ἐκατηράσθη ὁ θεὸς τὸν ὄφιν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 24, ω7v.31 (1561)
 ἡ συκὴ ὅπου ἐκαταράσθη KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Mark.* 11.21
 ἡ Ἦρα τῆς ἐκατηράσθη ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, *Ioust.* 425.41
 τὸν ἐκαταράσθη (1708, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 23, 99.90)

Sporadically, forms with *-ισθ/-ιστ-* instead of *-ασθ/-αστ-* appear, perhaps formed on the basis of an analogically created present *καταρίζω*, which is, however, unattested in LMedG/EMG: *καὶ τὸν ἐκαταρίστηκεν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 107.8; *τοῦ ὄφιν ἐκαταρίσθη VEST., Prol. Theot.* 79.

κερδαίνω/κερδένω

In two texts from the Peloponnese and one of unknown provenance (*Alfav.* 14), the verb *κερδένω/κερδαίνω* has an alternative imperfective stem *κερδεζ-*, modelled on the perfective stem *κερδεσ-*, for which see 2.2.1.5.1: *καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νὰ κερδέζουσιν Chron. Mor.* H 1992; *τὸ τέλος οὐ κερδέζεις Alfav.* 14 5 app. crit. (M); *ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.12.

κρύπτω/κρύβω

The verb *κρύπτω/κρύβω* shows an interesting peculiarity in that it developed another alternative perfective passive stem *κρυβήθ-*, alongside *κρυφτ-* and *κρυβ-* (for which see 2.2.1.2.2), from at least the 9th c.⁹⁸ This stem is said to derive from an oxytone variant *κρυβῶμαι*, but it is, in fact, the other way around.⁹⁹ Forms derived from this stem are quite frequent, and can be found in various texts from various areas throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199
 ὁ σκλάβος ἐκρυβήθην *Assizes* B 404.3
 ἐκρυβήθ' εἰς τὰς καμάρας *Pol. Tr.* 9968 app. crit. (X)
 νὰ κρυβηθῇ ἐγύρευσε *Poulol.* 319
 τὸ πράγμα θέλει κρυβηθῆν *Diig. Apoll.* 29
 ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης *Alosis* 824
 ντρέποντα ἐκρυβήθησαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 490
 στὸν τράφο ἐκρυβήθη ΖΙΝΟΣ, *Vatr.* 408
 ὁ κυνηγὸς κρυβήθηκε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 45.9
 εἰς πόλιν ... κάστρον νὰ κρυβηθούμεν; STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 849 (Pidonia)
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκρυβήθη KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Ioann.* 8.59
 ἐκρυβήθηκαν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 7960
 οὐδὲ νὰ κρυβηθῇτε ΒΟΥΝΙΑΛΙΣ Μ., *Diig. Pol.* 535.4

Sporadically the /v/ of *κρύβω* may become /f/: *ἐκρυφήθηκε Byz. Il.* 223; *νὰ μὲν κρύφουσιν ὄνομαν KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 264. For anaptyxis of /y/ in forms such as *κρύβγω* see 2.1.1.1.1 and I, 3.5.2.2. For *κρυβ-* instead of *κρυβ-* see I, 2.8.3.

λέγω

The verb *λέγω* has an imperfective vowel-stem variant *λέω*. In all persons but 1 sg. deletion of the vowel in the ending may take place, for which see 2.1.1.2.

To form its perfective moods and tenses it continues to make use of the inherited stem *εἶπ-* (see 2.2.2.2), which had attached itself to *λέγω* on semantic grounds already in

⁹⁸ First attestations are found in the 9th-c. *Life of Peter of Atroa* (ed. V. Laurent), an aorist participle *κρυβηθέντος* 64.22, and in the work of Symeon the New Theologian (ed. J. Koder; 10th–11th c.; oldest ms D 13th c.): an aorist participle *κρυβηθέν* 55.129 (all mss) and an imperative *κρυβήθησε* 21.418 app. crit. (D). A similar form of the verb *γράφω* has been found in a document from S. Italy: *οἱ ἀνωτέρω γραφηθέντες* (1162, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 31, 171.14); but as this is an isolated instance, no secure conclusions can be drawn regarding the verb *γράφω*.

⁹⁹ The supposition that this perfective stem is derived from an oxytone verb *κρυβῶμαι* (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 393) is incorrect, since imperfective forms are much rarer and appear much later than the perfective forms (imperfective forms in *Poulol.*, *Phys.* and *Byz. Il.*, *Vulgärorakel*; see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. *κρυβῶμαι* ? / *κρυβούμαι* ?, who rightly states that the present is derived from the aorist).

Antiquity. The regular perfective stem *λεξ-* is uncommon for the independent verb, occurring in mixed- and higher-register texts only, e.g.:

- εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέξων ἤρχομουν *Ptoch.* III 47
καὶ πῶς νὰ ζήσω, λέξον μοι *Ptoch.* IV 131
ὕμιν λέξομεν τάδε *Dig.* G VII.158
οὐδὲν ἡξεύρω τί νὰ πῶ, οὐδέ τὸ τί νὰ λέξω *Alosis* 346

It is, however, the norm for its prefixed derivatives such as *διαλέγω*, *ἐκλέγω*, *ἐπιλέγω*:

- ἀλλ' ἐπὶλεξον ἄφ' ἡμῶν ἓνα οἶον κελεύεις *Dig.* G VI.213
νὰ ἐκλέξουν βασιλέα *Chron. Mor.* H 924
ὅτι ἐκείνους τοὺς ἐδιάλεξα *Achil.* L 119
ἀμφοτέρως τοὺς ἐκδιέλεξαν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 235, 139.9)
θέλει διαλέξωμεν τὸ καλύτερον (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 244.25–6)

The exception to this are a few verbs, in which *λέγω* has the meaning “to say”:

- μάγειρος τοῦ ἀντεῖπε *Dig.* A 2326
ἐπροεῖπα (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.74)
ἐξανάπα ργο ἐξαναεῖπα GERMANO, *Vocab.* s.v. *replicare*
ἐπροεῖπαμεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 102.25; καθὼς προεῖπα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9598

For some verbs both forms are found, usually with different meaning (*ἐκλέγω*: *ἐκλέξω* “to choose”; *ἐξεῖπω* “to speak”; *καταλέγω*: *καταλέξω* “to tell”, *κατεῖπω* “to accuse”):

- τούτου δὲ τοῦνομα λοιπόν, ἵνα σαφῶς ἐξεῖπω *Dig.* A 21
ἐκλεξεν διὰ στιμαδόρον του (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.14)
ἂν μόνον καταλέξης με καὶ κατὰ μέρος εἴπης [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1135
πολλὰ μὲ ἐκατεῖπες *Diig. tetr.* 741

The “perfect” passive participle is either the old – usually unreduplicated – *λεγμένος*: τὸ λεγμένον *Ptoch.* IV 342; στρατιώτας ἐκλεγμένους *Pol. Tr.* 2617; ὄλους διαλεγμένους *Chron. Toc.* 1062; or innovative *εἰπωμένος*, for which see 2.3.2.

ὁμνύω

The verb *ὁμνύω* is the only one of the barytone vowel-stem verbs that can change the stem vowel, producing a regional variant in *-όω*, as well as one in *-έω*.

The variant in *-όω*, with a perfective stem in *-οο* or *-οξ*, occurs mainly in texts from Crete: *ἔμνοξέ μου* TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.598 (*ὁμνύω* > *ὁμνόω* > *ὁμνόγω*: *ὁμνόξω*). It can also be found with an intervocalic /y/ (see I, 3.5.2.1 for details): *ἡμνογεν* MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.24.

The variant in *-έω* appears in texts from various regions and behaves in ways similar to other verbs with a stem in /e/ (for which see 2.1.1.2):

- καὶ μὲ ὄρκον τὴν ὁμνέει *Dig.* E 901
ὁμνέουν *Pol. Tr.* 12005 app. crit. (CV)
ὁμνέω σας (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17)
ὁμνέω σας *Alosis* 462 and 688
ὁμνέω σε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 411; ὁμνέει σου *ibid.* 535
ὁμνέω σας ἀλήθεια *Fyll. gadar.* 23B
μακάρι καὶ ἀν ὁμνέει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 52; ὁμνεεν *ibid.* 250; τῶς ὁμνέουν *ibid.* 4343

It can sometimes be found with an intervocalic /y/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.1):

- τ' ἄστρον τὴν γῆν ὁμνέγει *Apoll. Rim.* E 1404
μνέγω *Alex. Rim.* 142
σοῦ ὁμνέγω *Fyll. gadar.* 281B
καὶ ὄρκους τόνε μνέγουν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 793 (Pidonia)
ἄρχισεν νὰ ὁμνέγη VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 48

In texts from south-eastern areas deletion of the vowel of the ending after that of the stem may occur in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms: *ὁμνέ* *Assizes* B 285.16 and 285.22; *ὁμνές* *ibid.* 214.14, 466.24 and 466.29; *ὁμνέ κ' εἰς τὸ σπαθὶν του* *Alosis* 496 app. crit.

παύω

In Cretan and Heptanesian texts of the 16th/17th c., the verb *παύω* (though not its prefixed derivatives such as *ἀναπαύω*) has a variant imperfective stem *παυτ-*, probably modelled on verbs in *-φτω* such as *βλάφτω*, *σκάφτω* (for which see 2.1.1.1.1) via the perfective stem: *βλάφτω*, *ἔβλαψα*: *παύω*, *ἔπαψα* > *παύτω*:

- ἔπαυτεν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 64.10
παύτου τα κλάμητά σας CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.361; παύτου καὶ κατατάσσου *id.*, *Erof.* V.324
ἀποῦ ποτὲ δὲν παύτου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.225
λουμπάρδες δὲν ἔπαυτανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 154.9
καὶ τσ' ὄχθηρτές τους παύτω ZINON *Prol.* 14

πίπτω

The verb *πίπτω* developed into *πέφτω* by first adopting the vowel /e/ of its perfective stem *πεσ-*, leading to *πέπτω*:

- ὅσοι ἐπροσπέπταν *Chron. Mor.* H 5684 app. crit.
συχνὰ τοὺς ἐπιπέπταν *Pol. Tr.* 13784; πέπτει ἐκεῖνος κάτω *ibid.* 4753 app. crit. (B)
ἐὰν πέπτῃ ὁ σταλαγμός *Liv.* V 1500; εἰς τοῦτο σὲ προσπέπτω *ibid.* 3108
ἔπεπτα εἰς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς αὐτό *Liv.* α 692
πέπτει ὁ κύνας εἰς τὴν γῆν *Flor.* L 385
νὰ πέπτῃ, νὰ ἀποθνήσκῃ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 337 transcr. (Lendari)
πέπτει ὁ καρπός DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 902
ἐπέπταν οἱ σαῖτες *Diig. Alex.* E 169.14 (Lolos); καὶ ἔπεπταν εἰς τὴν γῆν *ibid.* 191.19
καὶ πέπτουσιν εἰς δουλείαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 55.8
ἐπῆρα καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ ρέσμιν ὅπου μοῦ ἐμπέπτεν (1687, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 20, 53.13–14)

This then evolved into *πέφτω*, now SMG, through manner dissimilation (for which see I, 3.8.1):

- ἔπεφτεν εἰς τὰ ἄνθη *Achil.* L 525
καὶ δὲν ἤπεφτε (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.5)
πέφτει μετὰ τῆς παρὰ φύσης *Assizes* A 227.12
νὰ πέφτουν Spanos B 110
νὰ πέφτει (1503, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 224, 189.14)
πέφτου (1603, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: I, 26.5)
ἐπέφτανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 52.29
νὰ πέφτει ἀπὸ τὸ μπενεφίτο (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 165.28)
καὶ πέφτουν καὶ φοφάουν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1956

καὶ ἡπεφτες σὲ ζάλη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 416
καὶ πέφτω καὶ βαρίσκω KORAROS, *Erot.* I.342

In his grammar Romanos Nikiforou gives a rare alternative form with /n/ replacing /t/:
ξεπέφνω ROMANOS, *Grammar* 126.7.

The verb also has a rare alternative perfective stem in -κ, for which see 2.2.1.10. For its innovative "perfect" passive participle πεσομένος, see 2.3.2.

πλάθω

The verb πλάθω (< πλάσσω/πλάττω), although not used very frequently, shows some variation in the imperfective stem; both πλάθω and πλάττω are used in the period covered by this Grammar:

πλάττεται KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 152.24
ὅλα τα μεταπλάττουσι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4918
εμεταπλάττουνταν KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 20.20

γὴ ἐπλάθε γὴ ἐκοσκίνιζε CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* II.94
πλάθεται νὰ εἶναι ὁρρωστη Bertoldos 51.30-1

An alternative stem πλάσκ- occurs in a text from Cyprus: πλάσκεται *Fior* 76.17; while πλάζω has been found only in *Liv. E*: καὶ μόνος μεταπλάζεται καὶ γίνεται γυναῖκα *Liv. E* 649.

ποιῶ

Before and throughout the period under investigation and in texts from all areas the verb ποιῶ produces forms in which the two consecutive [i] sounds are reduced to one: ἐποίησα > ἐποίσα; ποιήσει > ποίσει. In the aorist indicative the stress may be shifted to the antepenultimate (ἐποίησα for ἐποίσα):

νὰ ποίσω θέαμα μέγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 287
τοῦ νὰ τοῦ ἔχη ποίσει *Chron. Mor.* H 2559
ἐδάρε καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἂν μὲ ἐποίησαν τεχνίτην *Ptoch.* III 89
καὶ ὦραν πολλήν ἐποίησιν *Dig.* E 75
ποίησε τίποτα *Liv.* V 2702
πηδηματίτζιν ἐποίησεν *Diig. tetr.* 660 app. crit. (CA)
θέλω ποίσει (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.11)
καὶ ποίσετε νὰ τὸ βάλετε εἰς ἔργο (1468, Alyki, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 15, 10.3)
νὰ μοῦ ποίση (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 179.14) (ποι<ή>ση in the ed.)
ἂν τις βενέτικος ποίση χρέος (1478/9, Constantinople, GILLILAND WRIGHT/MACKAY 2007: 270.19)
θάλασσα, ποῖσε μουγκρισμόν DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 400
ποῖσε τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.27
ἐποίησε VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 34
δὲν ἤμπορῶ νὰ ποίσω *Thrinos Kypr.* 144

Sometimes a conservative spelling is maintained, but especially in verse texts it is usually quite clear when forms of ποιῶ should be read with one [i], e.g. τὸ τί σὲ ποιήσει οὐδὲν ἔχω *Chron. Mor.* H 462 (1st hemistich; read: οὐδὲν ἔχω).

For alternative perfective forms of the verb ποιῶ with -κ-, see 2.2.1.10.

τρώω

The verb τρώω has an imperfective vowel-stem variant τρώω, in which vowel deletion may occur (see 2.1.1.2). The perfective stem associated with τρώω is inherited φαγ-:

ἐφάγασιν (1067, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 27, 207.30)
ἀκρόστιχον οὐκ ἔφαγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
νὰ ἔφαγα *Ptoch.* IV 180
φάγε (post 1461-ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 101.4d)
αφόν ἐφάγαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.9
ἤφαγεν (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.6)
τὰ φάγανε (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 232, 189.46-7)
τὴν ὥρα ποὺ θὲ φάγω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 33

The /y/ in these forms may be omitted, after which deletion of one of the two consecutive vowels may occur; see 2.2.2.3 for details. For the innovative participle φαγωμένος, see 2.3.2.

ὕπαγω

The verb ὕπαγω originally had an irregular perfective stem ὕπαγαγ-. However, this stem fell into disuse, and the imperfective stem started to express both the imperfective and the perfective verbal aspect.¹⁰⁰ In order to distinguish this new perfective stem from the old imperfective one, for the latter ὕπαγ- was then extended with the affix -αιν- (for which see also 2.1.1.3), resulting in ὕπαγαίνω/παγαίνω, which occurs in texts from the very beginning of the LMedG period, e.g.:

ὕπαγαίνω *Spaneas* V 23
νὰ ἔχω ὕπαγαίνει *Chron. Mor.* H 2414
νὰ παγαίνουν (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.22)
ὕπαγαίνοντας εἰς τὲς γράβες (1501, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 65, 99.13)

The verb tends to retain its internal augment in the imperfect: εἰ μὲν ὕπηγαίνεν (app. crit.) (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 2, 692.3), which led to a reanalysis of the stem as (ὕ)πηγαίν- (cf. SMG πηγαίνω):

ὕπηένω *Dig.* E 792
νὰ πηγαίνου εἰς τοὺς πλέα πρόξιμους (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 225.1-2)
πηγαινάμενοι ἀνταμῶς οἱ δύο (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 161, 102.30)
θὲ νὰ πηαίνη *Vosk.* 118

The /y/ in (ὕ)πάγω may be omitted, after which vowel deletion may occur. See 2.1.1.2 for details.

In texts of northern provenance a new imperfective stem occurs in which /n/ has been added to (ὕ)πάω, e.g. καὶ πάνεις εἰς τὸ ὄρος *Poulol.* 117 app. crit. (Z); καρβαλλικεύω μάβρον μου, πάνω νὰ τὸν ποτίσω *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 6. For more examples see 2.1.1.2.

¹⁰⁰ Examples of ὕπαγω used as a perfective form can already be found e.g. in John Chrysostom (4th/5th c.): δταν ἀναδέξη μικρόν τι τοῦ νόμου, καὶ ὕπαγῃς σεαυτὸν τῷ ζυγῷ, ὅλην ἐφειλύσω τὴν δεσποτείαν (see the online TLG).

In late EMG texts from northern areas,¹⁰¹ the verb has an alternative perfective stem *πάγησ-*, which appears to be modelled on the paradigm of oxytone verbs (cf. other barytone verbs, 2.2.1.7):

καὶ μοῦ ἴπάγησαν παραμικρὸν ἔξοδον (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.8)
ἐπάγησεν ὁ παναγιώτατος δεσπότης (1698, Albania, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2067, f.80v.1)
κέπέρασα κέπάγησα VATATSI, *Periig.* I 132; στὸ Ἀστραχάνι πάγησα id., *Periig.* II 41
ἐπάγησε πρὸς τὴν οσταρίαν *Don Kiz.* 6.24–5; ἐπάησαν εἰς τὸ ταξίδι τους ibid. 95.6; ἐβγήκεν
καὶ ἐπάγησεν ibid. 443.11

One instance has been found of a rare imperative, again in a text of northern provenance: *πάινε δώσέ τα Diig. Vefa* 903, probably *πάγαινε* > *πάαινε* > *πάινε* (with mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4).

A shortened form *πά* (sometimes accented with a circumflex like the 3 sg. form, for which see 2.2.2.3) can be found for all persons singular and plural from about the 15th c. onwards, mainly in texts from insular areas, among which Crete, the Heptanese, the Cyclades, Cyprus and Chios. It is used for the present indicative as well as the aorist subjunctive, e.g. *καὶ τὸ νερόν ποῦ πᾶ νὰ πιῶ Peri xen.* 243; *ἐνὶ κρατημένοι νὰ πᾶ νὰ δοῦν Assizes A* 108.30. For details see 5.1.7 and 5.7.4.

Even though the verb, in its intransitive meaning “to go”, lacks passive morphology, it is possible to form present and “perfect” passive participles with active meaning, for which see 2.3.

ὑπόσχομαι

The deponent verb *ὑπόσχομαι* (< AG *ὑπισχνέομαι*) was formed from the middle aorist *ὑπεσχόμην*, subj. *ὑπόσχωμαι* (JANNARIS 1897: 553). As the middle voice had ceased to be a living category before the period under review, innovative *ὑπόσχομαι* must predate it.¹⁰² The passive aorist *ὑπεσχέθη* (“it was promised”) started to serve as the aorist indicative, with an active, transitive meaning (*ὑπεσχέθην*, “I promised”), before the LMedG period.¹⁰³

The *Chronicle of Morea* shows unique variation where this verb is concerned, with forms such as *ὑποσχιέται*, *ὑποσχιόμεθεν*, *ὑπησχίθη*, *ὑπισκήθη*, and even *ἐπισχεθῆ* and *ἐπισχίθης*, which point to oxytone variants *ὑποσχωμαι* and *ἐπισχωμαι*. See AERTS/HOKWERDA 2002 s.v. *ἐπίσχομαι* and *ὑπόσχομαι*. For confusion between prefixes see also 3.3.

φθάνω/φτάνω

The verb *φθάνω/φτάνω* forms an alternative perfective stem *φταξ-*, mainly in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards; this stem is possibly derived from a variant *φτάζω*, which can be found in a document from Sicily (provenance of author unknown): *φθάζει ἕως τῆς μείξεως τῶν δύο ρυάκιων* (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 5, 18.19).

¹⁰¹ Cf. CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88, who mentions (ἐ)πάγησα, (ἐ)πάγησάμε in the modern northern dialects and in Pontic.

¹⁰² *ὑπόσχομαι* occurs in the Apocalypse of Sedrach (2nd–5th c.) and in recensio λ of the Alexander Romance (7th/8th c.), with the caveat that both texts have been transmitted in LMedG manuscripts.

¹⁰³ E.g. in Justinian's *Novels* (6th c.): *Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις αὐτοῖς ὑπεσχέθη ἢ ὑποσχεθείη θεραπεία διὰ γραμμάτων* (see the online TLG).

ἔφταξεν εἰς τὸ κάτεργον *Apoll. Rim.* V 1495

ἔφτάξασιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 47.35

μ' ἀπείτις ἔφταξα ἔδεπά CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.11

να ἴχα τη φτάξει ζωντανή *Vosk.* 423

ἦφταξα, Ἀρέτα *Stathis* III.75

τὸ φτάξη δώδεκα χρόνῳ KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1587 (read φτάξει)

καὶ τὸ μαντάτο γλήγορα τσῆ μάνας σου νὰ φτάξει *Thysia Avr.* 1014

τέσσερεις χρόνους λείπομαι νὰ φτάξω τσι πενήντα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.163

ἔφταξε TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.286

νὰ πᾶ νὰ τοὺ φτάξω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1870 (rhymes with πράξω)

ἔφτάξανε στὴ Ντῖα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 519.3

ὥστε νὰ φθάσουν εἰς ἀκοήν BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 68; ἄς προφθάξη ibid. 70

ἔφθαξάμεν VATATSI, *Periig.* I 169; φθάσαμε ibid. 521

3 The Augment

The augment is a prefix that marks a verb form for past tense. Traditionally the augment is called syllabic when the verb begins with a consonant, and temporal, or quantitative, when the verb begins with a vowel. The temporal augment was the result of contraction of the syllabic augment with the initial vowel of the verb, which led to lengthening of that vowel.

In LMedG and EMG the augment is used with the aorist and imperfect indicative, active and passive. The syllabic augment may be /e/ or, mostly regionally, /i/. The temporal augment may be employed when the verb starts in /a/ or /e/, whereby /a/ becomes /i/, traditionally spelled <η>, and /e/ becomes /i/, traditionally spelled <η> or <ει>, depending on the verb. As the temporal augment had ceased to be a functional process before LMedG due to the reorganization of the vowel system that took place in the Koine, in which vowel length distinction was eliminated overall (HORROCKS 2010: 168, 319), its use is mostly limited to inherited verbs (e.g. ἀκούω, ἐλέγχω). When the verbs start in /i/, /o/ or /u/, the temporal augment is absent, again as a result of the loss of the above-mentioned vowel length distinction: the historical spellings <ω> and <η> for past-tense forms of verbs starting in /o/ and <α> respectively are entirely graphematic, as in the Medieval period there is no distinction in the pronunciation of <ο> and <ω>, and the iota (subscript) in <η> had already been lost in pronunciation (HORROCKS 2010: 175); the spelling <ω> for past-tense forms of verbs starting in <οι> (pronounced /i/ since ca. AD 1000) is indefensible, as <ω> could never represent the sound /i/. The /e/ augment frequently replaces the initial vowel of the verb, against the vowel hierarchy, in which /e/ is one of the weakest vowels (see I, 2.9.2), indicating that the need for morphological explicitness may overrule the laws of phonology (cf. 2.1.1.2).

A distinction needs to be made between verbs compounded with a nominal, adjectival, pronominal or adverbial modifier and dvandva compounds ("compound verbs", see 3.2), and verbs prefixed with a preposition ("prefixed verbs", see 3.3). Compound verbs, including dvandvas (verb + verb compounds such as μπαينوβγαίνω, πηγαينوέρχομαι, περνοδιαβαίνω and φαγοποτίζω), beginning in a consonant have external augment in principle, and only rarely internal augment or double augment, whereas verbs that are prefixed with a preposition may have the syllabic or temporal augment placed between the preposition and the verb, as in AG (e.g. κατέλαβα, παρήκουσα), the syllabic augment before the preposition (e.g. ἐκατάλαβα, ἐπαράκουσα), or double augment, before and after the preposition (e.g. ἐκατέλαβα, ἐπαρήκουσα). When the prefix starts in a vowel and the form has external augment, the syllabic augment is usually employed, replacing the initial vowel of the prefix (e.g. ἐπόθανα < ἀποθαίνω); the temporal augment is much rarer with these verbs (e.g. ἠποφάσισα < ἀποφασίζω). For a preliminary study of the

augment in prefixed verbs, see MANOLESSOU/NIFADOPOULOS 2000. Some verbs that are prefixed in origin, such as ἀνοίγω (< ἀνοίγνυμι), ἀφώνω (< ἀφίω < ἀφίημι) ἐξεύρω/ξεύρω (< ἐξευρίσκω), καθίζω, πανδρεύω/παντρεύω (< ὑπανδρεύω) and περπατῶ/πορπατῶ (< περιπατῶ), are clearly viewed as simple verbs, taking external augment only.

The LMedG and EMG situation is roughly a continuation of previous stages of the language (see e.g. DIETERICH 1898: 212; PSALTES 1913: 200–6), which from Late Antiquity onwards had shown an increased tendency to omit the augment with verbs starting in a vowel and to use external augment with prefixed verbs. Throughout the period covered by this Grammar, omission of the augment may occur in prefixed and compound verbs and in simple verbs that start in a vowel. However, it should be emphasized that the omission of the augment in simple verbs that begin with a consonant is far less frequent, and that the SMG rule that the augment only appears when stressed does not apply to LMed and EMG texts, which almost always have the augment, whether it is stressed or not (for an overview of the use of the augment in MG dialects see TRIANDAFYLLIDIS 1936).

In fact, the presence of the augment is so strong that it may cross over to other tenses and even to other word classes (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 70–1). Thus new verb forms may arise incorporating the augment in all tenses; to give just a few of many examples:

- δίχως νά ἡξεύρη (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 226.24)
 καὶ ἂν ἡμπορεῖς, υἱοῦτζίκε *Spaneas* Z 4; εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἡκούεται *ibid.* 145; ἔναν θεὸν ἐγνώριζε
 τῶν πάντων βασιλέαν *ibid.* 67 (imp.); ὅσον τὴν ἐνεμπιστεύεσαι *ibid.* 357 app. crit.
 ἡξεύρω σε *Poulol.* 430
 καλὰ ἡγνώριζετε *Assizes* B 284.31
 ἂν οὐκ ἔδω τὸ κάλλος σου *Achil.* L 748 (= 18ῶ)
 ἀνεβοκατηβαίνει *Diig. tetr.* 1070 app. crit. (V)
 νά ἐμπορήσουν (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 210.8.15)
 ἡπαίρνει *Achil.* N 506
 διότι μὲ ἡγλέπουν ἐπτωχὸν καλογεράκι (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.6) (= ἡβλέπουν)
 οὐκ ἡξεύρουν *Peri xen.* 53 app. crit. (A)
 παρεκαλῶ σε *Synax. gyn.* 445
 διὰ νά ἡβλέπει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 132.27
 δὲν θέλω σου ἀπεκριθεῖ *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 210
 ἐνεφανίζεται (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 54, 117.8)
 παρεκαλῶ σε *Nov. II* 162.29
 ἡβλέποντας ἐγὼ αὐτὰ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.80
 δὲν ἡθελαν ἡμπορέσει *Don Kis.* 48.9

Regionally (Heptanese and nearby mainland) a strong presence of ἡύρίσκω, ἡμοιράζω and ἡλιώνω (< λιώνω) can be observed:

- ἡθελαν ἡύρίσκονται (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 5: 3, 68.21) (ed. ἡύρίσκοντας)
 νά τὸ ἡμοιράζουν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.8)
 νά τὸν ἡύρουν *Chron. Tōc.* 307
 νά μηδὲν ἔχετε ἄδειαν ... ἡμοιράσαι αὐτὸ (1480, Methoni, GERLAND 1903: 27, 237.11–12)
 θέλω ἡμοιράσει *Diig. Alex.* E 187.13 (Konstantinopolos)
 τῶν πτωχῶν ἐποῦ ἡύρίσκονται (1509, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 1, 144.14)

- ἂν ἤθελε ἡύρηθεϊ πλεώτερον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 32, 44.13)
 οὐδὲν ἡύρσκεϊς ἄλλον *Alex. Rim.* 594
 ἔστωσαν ἡλιωμένες καὶ ἀνίσχυρες ὥσαν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν γενοῦσι (1531, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 148, 268.48–9)
 τὸ ἀντίκρυ Ἰνστρουμέντο ἔστω ἡλιωμένο καὶ καταλυμένο (1550, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 54a, 53.5–6)
 καθὼς ἡύρσκειται (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.11)
 νὰ εἶναι κομμένες καὶ ἡλιωμένες, ὥσαν καὶ νὰ μὴν τὲς ἤθελε κάμει (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 38, 98.13–14)
 κόπτουν καὶ ἡλιώνουν (1579, Corfu, KARYDIS 1994: 6, 107.24)
 ἡύρσκονται (1597, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 2, 212.59)
 ἡμεράζουνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 40, 57.9); ποὺ ἡύρσκομαι (ibid. 84, 87.7)
 τὸ σπιτότοπον ὁποῦ ἡύρσκομαι νὰ ἔχω (1658, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 1, 114.37)
 νὰ τὰ ἡμοιράζουν (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 8, 7.3)
 κόβοντας καὶ ἡλιώνοντας (1723, Lefkada, KONDOMICHIS 1957: 309.27–8)

Similarly, augmented verb forms may even influence other word classes, e.g. ἀνετολήν *Chron. Mor.* T 59; παρεκάλια MONTSEL., *Evgena* 464.

In some cases the internal augment of a prefixed verb has led to the development of a new simple verb, e.g. ἀποθνήσκω, ἀπέθανον > πεθαίνω; ἐπιθυμῶ, ἐπεθύμησα > πεθυμῶ; καταβαίνω, κατέβην > κατεβαίνω; εἰσβαίνω, εἰσέβην > σεβαίνω; ὑπάγω, ὑπῆγα > πηγαίνω; συμβάλλω, συνήβαλα > συνηβάζω; συμφέρω, συνήφερα/συνέφερα > συνηφέρω/συνεφέρω. In the case of verbs prefixed with ἐκ-, forms with internal augment (e.g. ἐκφωνῶ, ἐξεφώνησα) gave rise to a new prefix (ἐ)ξε- (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 64), which became rather productive, not only with verbs that originally had ἐκ-, e.g. ξεπέφτω, ξεριζώνω, ξετελειώνω, ξετρέχω or ξεφωνῶ, but also with new verbs, such as ξεκάμνω, ξελησμονῶ, ξεμπαρκάρωμαι, ξεμπερδεύω and ξεσπαθώνω; it is also used to reinforce the meaning of verbs prefixed with another preposition, e.g. ξεδιαγέρνω, ξεδιαλύνω (for a full analysis of the prefix see MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1997: 587–94).

In various areas a similar prefix ξη- emerges. It probably originates from verbs with internal /i/ augment (e.g. ἐξαλείφω, ἐξήλειψα; ἐξευθειάζω, ἐξήφτειασα; ἐξαρματώνω, ἐξηρμάτωσα), but then spreads to other verbs as well (see MENARDOS 1969: 70 on Cypriot). Thus in Machairas we find νὰ σὲ ξηλείψουν, νὰ τοὺς ξηφτιάση, ξηλοθρεύεις μας (< ἐξολοθρεύω), ξηκληρώννω, νὰ τοὺς ξητζιπώση, and even nouns and adverbs such as ὁ ξηγορευτής, ὁ ξηλοθρεμμός, ξήκαμπα, ξηστοματίς. Similar forms can be found in *Assizes*, Voustronios and other Cypriot texts, e.g. νὰ δείξη καμίαν ξηκαθάρισιν (1578, Cyprus, TSELIKAS 1977: 1, 254.23); νὰ ξηφορτωθῆς (17th c.?, Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.10). We also find πριχοῦ ξητελεύσω in *Alosis* 936; and in Heptanesian texts: νὰ ξηβοῦν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* XIII.215; ξήσκεπο (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 74.6); ξηκαθαροσύνη (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 161, 102.30); ξηκαθαρίζοντας (1599, Zakynthos, PLOUMIDIS 1995/98: 87.10); ξηφορτώνο<ν>τας ibid. 87.11; μὲ ξηκαθαροσύνην ibid. 87.16. In varieties of the language that display mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4 for details), the change of /e/ to [i] is likely to be phonological. Thus we find: ἀπεξιβαλμένος (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 2,

480.8); νὰ ἔιτάζη (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3); τὰ ξιπεταχτά (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: A, 42.8); νὰ ξιμακρύνει *Don Kis.* 115.24.

The texts written in the period covered by this Grammar are seldom systematic in their employment of the augment, and thus forms with /e/ augment, /i/ augment and unaugmented forms may appear side by side in the same text, e.g. ἐπροσέταξε (1225, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 31, 450.1) and ἐπρόστασεν (ibid. 450.17); τινάν οὐκ ἔφηκαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1783 and τὸν ἔφηκαν ibid. 2330; καὶ δὲν ἀρμάστην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.19 and ἐρμάστην μὲ τὸν Ρεῖμουν ibid. 40.15; κ' ἤφερεν ξυλαράκια *Apoll. Rim.* V 337 and που μ' ἔφερεν ἐκ το πουργόν ibid. 350; ἀπέτυχε (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.14) and ἀπότυχε (ibid. 266.46); ἤκαμεν (1697, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 50, 39.23) and ἔκαμε (ibid. 39.25).

For past-tense verb forms with prothetic /a/, e.g. φεῖτιφάς αβγήκε MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.16–19; ἀλησμόνησε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 164, see I, 2.6.1.2. For crasis of /u/ and /e/, e.g. τὸ χωράφι ὁπόκράτει (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 36, 77.27) (= ὁποῦ ἐκράτει) see I, 2.9.5.

3.1 Simple Verbs

3.1.1 Consonant-initial Verbs: Syllabic /e/ Augment

The syllabic augment is employed when a simple verb begins with a consonant. It bears the stress in active forms when both the verb stem and the ending are monosyllabic, e.g. ἔ-γραψ-α, ἔ-γραφ-α (unless a shift of the stress occurs, for which see I, 4.2.4.2); in all other cases the syllabic augment is unstressed. Whether stressed or unstressed, the syllabic augment is nearly always present, appearing also with new verbs and with Italian, French and Turkish loanwords. Most frequently employed is /e/, which can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar, in texts from all regions:

Stressed

- καθὼς μας ἔγραψες NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.6
 ἔδωκα ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς μου σωτηρίας (ca. 1245, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 16, 7.1)
 ἀκρόστιχον οὐκ ἔφαγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
 ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφη *Chron. Mor.* H 8320
 ἔτρεχα ὡς κύριος καὶ αὐθέντης *Liv.* V 2249; ἔφερα εἰς γῆν τὸν οὐρανόν ibid. 2565
 καὶ ἐγὼ ἔμαθα ὅτι ἔκαμες ὥσαν ἤθελες (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.8–9)
 ἔδωκαν οἱ ὅλοι τὸν λόγον τῶς (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.11)
 ἔμαθα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2); ἔπιασέν τον (1487, Rhodes, ibid. 10, 66.6)
 ἔθελεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 26.8
 ἀγελάδες δύο ὁποῦ ἔφεραν (1566, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 280, 382.7)
 ἔδωκα (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 9, 131.13)
 διὰ τοὺς δυὸ μύλους ὁποῦ ἔκτισεν (1588, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 5, 2.2)
 τίποτις δὲν τὸν ἔκοφτεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 62.13
 ἔλεγαν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.7)
 ἔκλεψε τὲς γαδάρε<ς> τοῦ Γεώργη (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.7)

Unstressed

ἐπολεμοῦσαν NIKON, *Logos* 31 812.12
 ἐκρυβήθη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199; ἐχάσες την ibid. 206; οὐκ ἔκαυχοῦ, ψυχὴ μου ibid. 302
 τὸ τοπίον ἐδῶκα σε (1280, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 82, 48.6)
 ἐδυνέτον Dig. E 486
 ἀπαπα κ' ἡ πίττα ἐχάθη *Vulgärorakel* I.100
 μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρηκεν Pol. Tr. 75; τίποτε οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν ibid. 351
 ἐπιάσστησαν καὶ ἐφούρκισαν τους (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.6)
 δεν εμοβιάσαν τίποτε VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.12–13 (< Occit. *mover*)
 ἐπληρώθη (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 241, 337.1); ἐδῶκασί του (ibid. 277, 380.2)
 κατὰ πῶς ἐταιριάσασι (1577, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 21, 156.23)
 ἐπρεζεντάρισεν καὶ μία γραφή (1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 130, 144.28) (< Ital. *presentare*)
 ἐμποροῦμαν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.21)
 ἐδῶσαμε εἰς πᾶσα μοναστήρι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.27; ἐβούλομουν ibid. I §31.83
 διότις ἐχιαστίασιν ἀπὸ τας δυσκολίας IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5459 (= σαστίζω < Turk. *şastı*)
 ἐστέκουντονε (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 674, 921.17)

3.1.2 Consonant-initial Verbs: Syllabic /i/ Augment

3.1.2.1 Stressed and Unstressed – Broad Geographical Spread

The /i/ augment is used routinely with certain verbs, but is geographically restricted for others. Some verbs had obtained alternative forms with an /i/ augment already in Antiquity, such as βούλομαι and δύναμαι (JANNARIS 1897: 188).¹ The /i/ augment, both stressed and unstressed, also appears with certain verbs that originally started in /e/ or /i/ but had undergone deletion of the initial vowel, such as θέλω (< ἐθέλω), στήκω/στέκω (< ἰστήκω/ἐστήκω < AG perf. ἔστηκα)² and πορῶ/μπορῶ (< εὐπορῶ).³ All of the above-mentioned verbs can also be found with the /e/ augment (for examples see above).

ἡβουλῆθην (1059, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 7, 169.45)
 ἡβουλῆθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 93a
 ἡβουλῆθη ὁ πατριάρχης ὅτι νὰ ἀπεστείλῃ *Chron. Ps.-Dorothei* (1572) 1
 οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν Pol. Tr. 351 app. crit. (VX)
 ἡδύνονταν *Chron. Toc.* 93
 ἀνέβειν ἡδυνήθηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOIOL.], *Kallim.* 1269

¹ Jannaris also mentions the verb μέλλω in this context, but in the period under review μέλλω appears with (stressed) /i/ augment only in specific areas that generally use the stressed /i/ augment (E. Crete, Aegean; see 3.1.2.2); the only example from another area is the following: ἄν ἡμελλε νὰ τὸ στείλῃς (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.14–15), which appears in a mixed-register letter and could therefore be viewed as an archaism. However, the provenance of the author is also unknown.

² In the case of ἵστηκα, it may be observed that in areas in which the /i/ augment is normally used only when stressed (E. Crete, Aegean, see 3.1.2.2), the /e/ augment tends to be used when it is unstressed (ἐστέκαμε); however, ἵστηκα does appear in a broader geographical area, both when the augment is stressed and when it is unstressed.

³ In all likelihood the verb εὐπορῶ developed into μπορῶ through the intermediate stages ἐπορῶ > πορῶ, in which the /i/ augment of ἡπόρησα lingered. As this verb was mostly used in negative contexts (οὐκ εὐπορῶ), the combination οὐδὲν πορῶ produced voiced μπορῶ. Non-past forms such as ἡμπορῶ and ἐμπορῶ (see introduction to this Chapter) are therefore later reanalyses from past-tense forms (JANNARIS 1897: 80).

ἡδυνήθηκα Alosis 1002
 ἡδυνήθηκα Diig. Alex. E 265.1 (Lolos)

ἡθελες δοξασθῇ Dig. G II.81
 ἡθέλαν οὐκ ἡθέλασιν Pol. Tr. 224
 ἄν ἡθελεν εἶσται καύχα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.12)
 ὅλοι τοῦ ἡθέλαν κακὸν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.9
 ἡθέλαμεν κράξει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.31)
 εἴ τις ἡθελεν εὐρεθεῖν (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.16); ἡθέλασιν (1574, ibid. 15, 141.23)
 ἡθελεν σηκωθῇ (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.7)
 τί ἡθελα κάμει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §7.5
 ἡθέλαμεν τῆς τὸ πέμψει (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.8)
 δεν ηθέλησε νὰ το κάμει Don Kis. 48.6

ἥστεκεν Log. parig. L 603 (Lambros)
 ἥστέκονταν δεμένα τὰ φαρία Dig. E 429
 ἥστέκετον ὁ ἀνάγων Liv. E 373
 καὶ μόνον ἥστηκεν ἐκεῖ *Chron. Toc.* 2264; τόσον ἥστέκασιν καλὰ ibid. 3358
 ἥστεκες νὰ μισέψης (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.6)
 ἥστέκετο Diig. Alex. E 105.5 (Konstantinopulos)
 ὅλοι ἥστεκαν ἀντάμα SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 17.33
 ὁ Χάρος ἥστεκε P&N Diath. 262
 ἥστεκεν καὶ ἐφαίνονταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §12.4
 ἥστεκεν ὁ Ρωτόκριτος KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.247
 ἡμπόρε Assizes A 79.10; ἡμπορήσαν ibid. 128.15
 τινὰς οὐδὲν ἡπόρεσεν Achil. O 87
 ὅσον ἡπόρει πλεότερον *Theseid* VI.66,5 (Olsen)
 δὲν ἡμπόρησεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.28
 δὲν ἡπόρεσε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3
 δὲν ἡπόρεσεν νὰ τὸν πάρῃ (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 564.27.2)
 δὲν ἡμπόρεσεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §13.4
 δὲν ἡμπόρουνα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 165
 δὲν ἡμπόρειε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1409
 ἡμπορούσαμεν Don Kis. 61.18

Certain verbs with monosyllabic perfective stems acquire an /i/ augment in the aorist by analogy with aorists such as εἶπα, εἶδα, ἤλθα and ἤρξα; e.g. the verb πίνω develops ἤπια alongside ἔπια when ἔπια becomes disyllabic through synizesis. Similarly, two verbs that originally consisted of preposition + βαίνω, namely (ἐ)μπαίνω (< ἐμβαίνω) and (ἐ)βγαίνω (< ἐκβαίνω), developed monosyllabic perfective stems, (ἐ)μπ-, (ἐ)βγ-, which could make use of the -ηκα ending (see 4.4.2), but also developed an alternative paradigm with active past endings: ἤμπια, ἤβγια (see also 2.4). These forms have mainly been found in texts written or copied in southern islands (Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Santorini) and islands in the Aegean (Naxos, Chios):⁴

⁴ Sporadically the aorist indicative of μπαίνω occurs with an /e/ augment. Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus and Chios: ἐμπης εἰς συναγωγὴν Ἐβραίου; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 403.211) (= ἐνέβης); ἐμπεν μέσα στὸ σπῆτι μας VEST., *Pathi* 460.

- ἐφάγαν κ' ἥπιασιν CHOUNNOS, *Kosmog.* 1571
 ἥπιεν το καὶ ἀπέθανεν *Assizes A* 184.14
 ἥπια *Pent. Gen.* 24.46, 25.34 and 26.30
 ἥπια vel ἔπια GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. bereve*
 ἥπιασι καὶ κρασί μίστατα τέσσερα (1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 16.23)
 κ' ἥπιανε ὅσο θέλασι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 409.12
 ἥπιεν ἡ γῆ ὅσον ἦτον καὶ πρῶτα πιωμένη (1713, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 351, 209.7)
 εἰς τὸ κουβούκλιν ἥμπασιν *Dig. E* 416
 ἥμπασιν μέσα εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι *Achil. L* 183
 ἥμπεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς LIMEN., *Velis. (A)* 385
 ἥμπαν εἰς τὴν χώραν *Diig. Apoll.* 95
 ἥμπαν μέσα *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 851
 ἥμπε καὶ Δικέβριος *Rim. Sant.* 143
 ἥμπανε μέσα (1646–7, Patmos?/Crete?, LAMBROS 1910: 266, 190.11); ἥμπε ὁ δεσπότης (*ibid.* 190.21)
 ἐμᾶς ποῦ ἥμπαμεν σ' αὐτοὺς PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 2666
 ὡς ἥμπασι (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.12)
 ὅλες οἱ βάργες ἥβγασιν *Achil. L* 831
 καὶ ἥβγεν κατὰ κόσμου *Diig. Apoll.* 78
 ἥβγανε *Rim. Sant.* 135
 ὅσο νᾶμπη νᾶβγη ἡ νύφη, ἥβγαν τοῦ γαμπροῦ τὰ μάτια *Paroim. (Warner)* 92.6
 ἥβγενε εἰς τὸ κυνήγι PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1356 (= ἥβγε)

By analogy with the above forms, the /i/ augment is also employed with the imperfect of μπαίνω and βγαίνω, and with other verbs that originally consisted of preposition + verb, but had come to be reinterpreted as simple verbs, namely βγάζω/βγάνω (< ἐκβάζω < ἐκβιβάζω) and by analogy also with its simplex βάζω/βάνω (< βάλλω); and παίρνω (< ἐπαίρνω < ἐπαίρω), probably reinforced by the use of the /i/ augment in the aorist ἥπτηρα (see 3.3.3.4.2). With these verbs the /i/ augment has been found in texts from various regions:⁵

- νὰ ἥπαιρναν *Ptoch. III* 194 app. crit. (G)
 ὁ Θεὸς ἥπαιρε τὸ μου *Spaneas Z* 494 app. crit.
 ἥπαιρε τὰς λαμπρίδας *Byz. II.* 28
 καὶ ἥπαιρνε κάθε εἷς (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.9)
 ἀπὸ γάλι γάλι τὰ ἥπαιρνε *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §24.18
 πλιά ἥπαιρνα τὰ ζάλα *Stathis II.* 79
 ἥπαιρνες ἀπὸ αὐτὸν τὴν τιμωρία PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 414
 ἥπαιρνε τὸ λαγοῦτο του KORNAROS, *Erot. I.* 391
 καὶ κόπον ἥβαλε πολὺν *Alosis* 69
 ἥβανα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου *Diig. Alex. F* 308.14 (Lolos)

⁵ As before, it may be observed that in areas in which the /i/ augment is normally used only when stressed (E. Crete, Aegean; see 3.1.2.2), with these verbs, too, the /e/ augment tends to be used when it is unstressed; however, the forms with /i/ do appear in a broader geographical area, both when the augment is stressed and when it is unstressed.

- καὶ τότες ἔργον ἥβαναν τὸ τί ἔχαν στὴν βουλὴν τους ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 320 (read τότε σ' ἔργον)
 ἥβαλέν τονε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.3)
 τὸ φαμέγιο του ἥβαλε CHORTATIS, *Katz. III.* 371
 ἥβαλα ὅς τὸ λογισμὸ *Fallidos* 263
 ἥβαλα (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 89.57)
 ἥβαλε τὰ κοπέλια του (1686, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1999: 6, 51.6)
 τὸ δακτυλίδιν ἥβγαλεν *Dig. E* 475
 ἐκ τὴν πρέσσαν τὸν ἥβγαλαν *Pol. Tr.* 9715 app. crit. (C)
 ἄν τὸν ἥβγαλες *Katal.* 677
 τὸ παιδί ἥβγαναν *Diig. Alex. F* 106.22 (Lolos)
 κι ἥβγαλές το *Stathis I.* 260
 κ' ἥβγαζεν τὴν κορώναν του PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 603
 ἥβγαλεν τὸν καρακύρη (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 25.5); ἥβγαναν (*ibid.* 11, 25.27)
 ἥβγαλε τὸ ἀσῆμι (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 514.3)
 ἥμπαινεν ἐμπροσθέν τους *Achil. L* 440
 στὸ σπῖτι μου ἥμπαινε *Stathis II.* 300
 ἄλλο νερόν δὲ ἥβγαινε *Achil. L* 498
 ἥβγαινα δίχως πρίκα *P&N Diath.* 319

Certain other verbs often adopt the /i/ augment for no apparent morphological reason: φέρω/φέρνω (aor. and imperf.), λέγω (imperf.), βλέπω (imperf.), ξεύρω/ξέρω (< ξεύρον, aor. of ξευρίσκω) appear with the /i/ augment, both stressed and unstressed, in texts from north to south and east to west. In fact ἥφερα had come into being long before the period covered by this Grammar and can already be found in an Attic inscription of the 3rd/4th c. AD (ἥφεραν, quoted in DIETERICH 1898: 212;⁶ for a 4th/5th-c. example see GIGNAC 1981: 231); the /i/ augment is likely to have been borrowed from its predecessor ἥνεγκον (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 33). In the case of βλέπω and λέγω influence from the /i/ augment of the associated aorists (εἶδα, εἶπα) may be suspected. There is, however, no satisfactory explanation for ἥξευρα.⁷ Given the broad geographical spread it must be stressed that the /i/ augment with these four verbs cannot serve as proof for the provenance of a text:

- ἥφερεν τοπικοὺς γέροντας (13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 117, 87.2)
 κ' ἥφέρνασιν σωτάρχισιν *Chron. Mor. H* 2769
 τὸ ἥφέρασιν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.20)

⁶ See inscription IG IP 8395 (= C.I.A. III 2, 1379), at <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>. Cf. the following example from the apocryphal Acts of John, in direct speech: τίς σε ἥφερεν ὧδε μάγε; *Acta Apocr. Ioann.* 171.19 (12th/13th-c. ms (V); ed. Bonnet); cf. also: εἶπε τοῦ δαυλὸς ὅς ἥφερον τὸν Ἰησοῦν *Gospel of Nicodemus* 3, 1.4 (version M2, 12th–14th c.; ed. Gounelle).

⁷ It is unclear when the form ξεύρω is first used as a present meaning "to know". An early example appears to be the following (11th/12th c.): καθὼς ξεύρεις ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.7–8. However, forms with the /i/ augment have not been found before the 14th c., and it is therefore very unlikely to be a new temporal /i/ augment. The fact that non-past forms with prothetic /i/ paradoxically appear in writing before past-tense forms (ca. 1300, see the introduction to Chapter 3), indicates that ἥξευρα will have been in existence before that time.

τὸ λιγάτον ὅποιον ἤφευεν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.16)
 ἤφευεν (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 21.6)
 καὶ ἤφευαν τοὺς γέροντας (1474, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 32, 166.2–3)
 ἤφευε (1502, Kalymnos, ΚΟΥΤΕΛΑΚΗΣ 1981: 1, 28.4)
 ἤφευα τοὺς μάρτυρές μου MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 221.4
 τὰ ἤφευαν ὅλα εἰς τὸ μέσος (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.124)
 τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τὸ ἤφευεν (17th c.?, Amorgos?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2167, f.2.1)
 ἤφευεν στὸ σπῖτι (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 718, 820.3)
 καὶ τὸν ἤφευα τὸν Λάζο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.47
 ἤφευαν τὴν κράλεσσαν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.12) (author from Athens)
 ἤφευε ὁ Πεχλιβὰν ρεῖζης μιὰ παῖζα (1670, Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.1, 72.5–6)

* ὡς ἀέραν ἤλεγες το *Liv.* V 1568; καὶ τίτοια με ἤλεγασιν *ibid.* 3065
 μία πρὸς ἄλλην ἤλεγεν *Florios* 849 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ἤλεγαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους *Achil.* N 1517
 καὶ ἤλεγεν διὰ τὴ νέαν *Achil.* O 422
 διαταῦτο, Μάρκο, σὲ ἤλεγα *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 249
 ἤλεγε ἡ γυνὴ *Synax. gyn.* 210
 καὶ ἤλεγεν ὅτι *Diig. Alex.* F 134.15 (Lolos); ἤλεγα νὰ ἐγλυτώσω *ibid.* 202.6 (Konstantinopulos)
 μὰ ἤλεγεν ἀπὸ λόγου, ὡς λέσι (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 213, 218.3)
 πάντα ἤλεγεν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.21)
 πλέον δὲν τὸν ἤλεγεν δοῦλον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.82; ἐκεῖνα ὅπου τὸν ἤλεγα *ibid.* IV §7.6
 κ' ἤλεγε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 262.26

καὶ ἤβλεπαν *Dig.* E 1467
 τῆς ἤβλεπες τὴν ἰσκία σου *Liv.* V 2226; κρεμνὸν ἀπέδω ἤβλέπαμεν *ibid.* 2514
 ἤβλεπε τὰ ἀμπέλια *Chron. Toc.* 1659
 τὰ κύμα<τα> ἤβλεπα PAPASYNAD., *Machi Varnas* 443
 ἐστάθην καὶ ἤβλεπα *Spanos* A 28
 ἤβλέποσιν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 241.13; δὲν ἤβλεπαν *ibid.* 329.24–5
 γυναῖκα στὸ στενὸ δὲν ἤβλεπες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.304
 οὐδὲν ἤβλεπεν ὁ ἀνθρώπος νὰ ὀδεύει (1624, Skopje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 564.24.1–2)
 καλὸν δὲν ἤβλεπαν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 938
 οἱ Τούρκοι δὲν ἤβλεπασιν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1081
 κ' ἤβλεπες BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 272.24
 ἤβλεπα καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ σημεῖα *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 69

τοσαῦτα ἤξευρεν νὰ εἰπῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 997
 οὐκ ἤξευρα *Liv.* V 128
 ἂν ἤξευρα, κυράτσα μου *Katal.* 1
 ἔαν ἤξευρα *Achil.* N 1766
 δὲν ἤξευραν τὸν τόπον *Theseid* I.70,3 (Follieri)
 τόσον ἤξευραν νὰ ποῖσιν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.3
 ἤξευρες *Alex. Rim.* 267
 ἤξευρε καλύτερον ἀπὸ τοὺς τέσσαρους *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 77.10
 ὅσοι ἤξέρανε καὶ ἐπλέανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 52.30
 τὸ ἤξευρα καλὰ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.85
 δὲν ἤξευρα (1661, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 26, 112.15–16)
 αὐτὸς γονεῖς δὲν ἤξευρεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 165

3.1.2.2 Stressed /i/ Augment – Geographically Restricted

For other verbs a distinction needs to be made between stressed and unstressed /i/ augments, as they generally have a different geographical distribution. From texts that can be securely localized it becomes clear that the stressed /i/ augment appears with various verbs in texts written or copied in Crete and the Aegean (Cyclades, Chios, Rhodes, Patmos; cf. ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1926 for the modern situation), while isolated instances have been found in documents from Venice/Corfu, Mani⁸ and Proikonnisos.⁹ There is also indirect evidence for stressed /i/ augment in Athens, an area for which textual evidence is scarce. Literary texts from both eastern and western Crete tend to make use of the stressed /i/ augment, but from non-literary sources it becomes quite clear that, as in the modern period, the stressed /i/ augment with verbs other than those mentioned in 3.1.2.1 is a feature of eastern rather than western Cretan.¹⁰ As our sources are written texts, it cannot be established whether the /e/ augment in areas that also make extensive use of the /i/ augment – e.g. ἔδειξε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.510 and ἔδειξεν *ibid.* IV.818; τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἔκαμα, μὰ τὰσπρα δὲν ἔλαβα (1708, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 86, 96.15–16) – is simply a feature belonging to the literary or written language, or whether there was such variation in the spoken language as well:¹¹

τὴν ἤκρυβα *Dig.* E 168; τραπέζιν ἤστεσαν *ibid.* 679; ἤκρουγα *ibid.* 1175
 μοῦ 'παν ὅτι ἤκαμες (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.13); ἤμαθα (*ibid.* 1, 7.20)
 γύρου γύρου ἤστεσεν χροῦσὸν *Achil.* L 281; καὶ ἤστρεφέν τοὺς ὀπίσω *ibid.* 450
 ὅπου μᾶς ἤκαμεν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.31)
 ἤφεγγαν τὴν νύκταν ὡσὰν λαμπάδες *Diig. Alex.* E 275.7 (Lolos)
 καὶ ἤκαμὲν το (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.7); ἀληθῶς δὲ ἤβανε (*ibid.* 4, 53.8)
 σοῦ ἤγραφα (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.4); τὰ ἤδεσε (*ibid.* 2, 296.66); ἔλαβα (*ibid.* 3, 302.4) (author born in Venice, Corfiot background)
 ἤδωσεν (1576, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 1, 1.2); ἔλαβα (1578–83, *ibid.* 2, 1.2)
 ἔλαχα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.4; ἂν ἔβαλε κ' ἄλλον *ibid.* III.399; ἔδιδέ μου *id.*, *Erof.* III.26
 transcr. X (Legrand)
 ἔκαμα (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.27)
 ἤστειλεμ με τὸ Νικόλα (1638, Patmos, STEFANIDOU 1996/97: 6, 403.11)

⁸ There is indirect evidence for stressed /i/ augment in the central Peloponnese, to be found in *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, an early-15th-c. satirical text in learned Greek, in which the author ridicules the Peloponnesians and their "barbarous" language, mentioning, among other things, a form ἤμενον (ed. BARRY et al. 1975: 64.14; see also PANDELIDIS 2010: 469).

⁹ A single instance in the *Pentateuch* (printed in Constantinople, provenance of author unknown) is dubious, as the difference between /e/ and /i/ in the vocalized Hebrew script is but one dot: ἤκλινεν *Pent. Gen.* 49.15.

¹⁰ In many documents from eastern Crete, e.g. those of Gialeas, Oloklos and Patsidiotis, the /i/ augment is used frequently (BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 16; MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31; ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 35), whereas the extensive archive of Varouchas (Rethymno) has only one form with /i/ (not counting instances of ἤφερα, ἤθελα and ἤλεγα): ἤδωκεν (BAKKER 1988/89: 292). Maras and Grigoropoulos (Herakleion) on the other hand clearly favour forms with /e/, at least in writing. For a comparison between Oloklos and Varouchas see also KARANTZOLA 2005a.

¹¹ Though it is noteworthy that while the notary Miniatis (Naxos) tends to avoid the /i/ augment, his archive holds a document (no. 23) not written by himself but by a local merchant, which has only /i/ augments. Also, witnesses who sign documents often write "ἤγραφα" (see e.g. docs 47 and 54).

ἡσφαλα *Rim. Sant.* 92; ἡφριξε *ibid.* 849
 δὲν ἤδωκε ἄλλο τίβεις (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 32.44)
 τὸ ἡπιασεν ὁ Ζαννῆς (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.4–5); ἤδωσεν τὰ ἄσπρα
 του (*ibid.* 19.16)
 ἡμελλεν νὰ τοῦ σύρη PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 289
 ἡλαβεν (1670, Paros, ALIPRANDIS/SYMEONIDIS 1985: 129.13)
 τὸ γράμμα ὅπου ἡκαμε (1675, Amorgos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 33, 26.20)
 μοῦ ἡκαμεν μία πατέντε (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.8–9) (author from Mani)
 ἤδωσεν διὰ ἀρραβώναν (1688, Prokonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 16, 201.7)
 ἡμελλε νὰ σκοτωθῆς KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1927

3.1.2.3 Unstressed /i/ Augment – Geographically Restricted

In texts that display mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] elsewhere (even sporadically, as the phenomenon seldom appears systematically, especially not in literature; for details see I, 2.5.4), the unstressed /i/ augment is likely to be phonological, and it would perhaps be preferable to spell these forms with <ι> rather than <η>.¹² Such examples have been found in texts from northern areas, from Skiathos and Chios, from certain Heptanesian islands and in texts of uncertain provenance:

ἡσκέπασε τὸ ἄγιον ποτήριον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 517); οὐδὲν ἡκάθισαν (*ibid.* 33.551) (cf. πιπόνια (*ibid.* 49.933); ἄγιοι πατέρις (*ibid.* 99.2270))
 ἡβρυχίστηκεν *Achil.* O 525 (cf. περιπέσουσιν *ibid.* 228 app. crit. and κινδοξήσης for κενδοξήσης *ibid.* 347 app. crit.)
 ἡσκόλασεν νὰ κλαίει *Synax. gyn.* 403 (cf. Γρηκῶν for Γραικῶν *ibid.* 342 (Krumbacher))
 και τεσ δύο με ἡνίκησεν *Diig. Alex.* K 363.30 (cf. της Μακιδονίας *ibid.* 363.24)
 ἰσύβασαν (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 59, 65.9) (cf. τοῦ κιλάρου (1513, *ibid.* 43, 53.8))
 ἡκουτιάρησα (1537, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 41.24) (<κοπιάρω> (cf. τοῦ ἱπισκόπου (1546/1551, *ibid.* 26, 64.8))
 ἡκρίθηκαν (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.3–4); καθὼς ἡφούνησαν (*ibid.* 15, f.44v.8); ἡμαρτύρησεν (*ibid.* 15, f.44v.11) (cf. τοὺς πραγματιφτάδης (1691, *ibid.* 4, f.40r.13))
 ἡδῶθη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἀνουθεν γιγραμμένου Γιωργίου (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.11–12)

However, unstressed /i/ augments have also been found in texts and documents that do not otherwise display mid-vowel raising, frequently in documents from Mykonos, but much less systematically elsewhere:

¹² Cf. the same phenomenon in other word classes: ἡπεῖν ἡ ἀφεντία του τὸ Δεσποτᾶτο εἶναι *Chron. Toc.* 2170 (= ἔπει); Δέφαντες *Peri pragm.* 21 (= ἑλέφαντες); εἰς ἰσένα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 889 (= ἑσένα); τὴν ἡμοιξίαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §28.22 (= αἰμοιξίαν). However, it is striking that texts that do display raising of /e/ to [i] elsewhere tend to retain the unstressed /e/ augment, at least in writing, as the following examples demonstrate: ἐγύριψαν *Chron. Toc.* 2100 (= ἐγύρεψαν); ποῦ ἐπεριπάτησις (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 29.439) (= ἐπεριπάτησις); διὰ τοῦτο ἐζήτησιν καὶ τὸ παρὸν (1676, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 87, 211.4) (= ἐζήτησιν); τοὺς ἐλογάργισάμι (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.4) (= ἐλογάργισάμι; for the stress pattern see 4.4.1.1).

ἡκοιμήθη (13th c., Asia Minor?, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [15], 35.15)
 ἡγυρεύετο *Ptoch. III* 161 app. crit. (C)
 ἡγένεαμε σασμένοι (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.5)
 οὐκ ἡδειλιάσαν τους *Achil.* N 551; οὐκ ἡδειλιάσεν ποσῶς *ibid.* 1580
 ἡχρυσώσαν τα διάστελα (1602, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 7, 3.3)
 ἡκάμασιν (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.7) (hapax; otherwise unstressed /e/)
 ὅταν ἡκάηκε (1655, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 277, 193.1)
 ἡμετρηθήκασιν (1663, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 14, 21.9)
 ἡπούλησεν (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.3); ἡπλέρωνε (*ibid.* 2, 19.10);
 ἂν ἡχρεωστοῦσαν (*ibid.* 3, 20.14); ἡνομινάριζεν (1665, *ibid.* 5, 21.15); τὰ ριάλια 5 ποῦ
 ἡδῶσανε ὀφέτος (1708, *ibid.* 86, 96.21)
 ἡσκεπάσατε *Irodis* III.236 (written in Syros)
 ἡλάβαμεν (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 5, 26.14)

Finally, there are several verbs that can appear with the unstressed /i/ augment, some in specific areas, others in texts/manuscripts of unknown provenance.¹³ Examples of μοιράζω appear in texts from the Heptanese and the western mainland, a region in which this verb often takes on prothetic /i/ in non-past forms as well,¹⁴ but which, on the other hand, also occasionally, though hardly systematically, shows signs of mid-vowel raising. The verb λιώνω, too, is found with the /i/ augment in texts from the Heptanese.¹⁵ Examples of the verb γνωρίζω have been found in a document from Arta, in one manuscript of the *War of Troy*, in two versions of *Livistros*, and in *Velthandros*,¹⁶ whereas ἡλησμόνησα appears to be exclusive to one manuscript of the *War of Troy*:

ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἡμοίρασεν *Pol. Tr.* 2468 app. crit. (V)
 ἡμοιράσασιν *Chron. Toc.* 1307
 ἡμοιράσαν καὶ τὰ ἀμπέλια τους (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 43, 53.8)
 ὁ,τι ἡμοίρασαν (1537, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 4, 41.6); ἡμοιράσαμέ τα (1550, *ibid.* 35, 76.5)
 ὅλον τὸ μάλαμαν ἡμοίρασεν *Diig. Alex.* E 309.22 (Lolos)
 ἡλιώθη τὸ παρὸν ἱστρουμέντον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 49, 173.10);
 ἡλιώθη τ' ἄνωθεν ἱστρουμέντον (*ibid.* 66, 182.7–8; and *ibid.* 69, 183.6–7)
 ἡλιώθη τὸ παρὸν ἱστρουμέντο (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 7, 45.21)

¹³ For verbs that can appear with prothetic /e/ or /a/, e.g. λησμονῶ > ἄλησμονῶ/ἑλησμονῶ, γνωρίζω > ἀγνωρίζω/ἑγνωρίζω, one could maintain that it is, in fact, the temporal /i/ augment (see 3.1.4.1); however, there does not appear to be a general tendency for the /i/ augment to appear with verbs with prothetic /a/ or /e/ (e.g. no instances have been found with the rather common verbs ἀπετῶ, ἀπερινῶ, ἀπηδῶ, ἀσηκῶν).

¹⁴ For examples see the introduction to this section. The appearance of /i/ with μοιράζω may be due to semantically related words such as ἡμισυ, ἡμισεία, with which it often appears in collocation: ἡμοιράζουσι ἐφ' ἡμισείας (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 84, 189.7).

¹⁵ With the verb λιώνω, the /i/ augment is likely to appear in texts from Crete as well, given that a participle ἡλιωμένος can be found in Cretan documents (see the introduction to this section). Forms are often spelled ἡλλοιω- as if they were derived from the verb ἄλλοιῶνω, but in the contexts in which these forms appear, the verb quite obviously does not mean "to alter", but "to annul", e.g. νὰ εἶναι κομμένες καὶ ἡλιωμένες, ὥσαν καὶ νὰ μὴν τὲς ἤθελε κάμει (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 38, 98.13–14).

¹⁶ Non-past forms with prothetic /i/ have also been found in *Spaneas* Z (Epirus/Kefalonia) and frequently in *Assizes* (Cyprus): πρὶν νὰ τοὺς ἡγνωρίσουσιν *Spaneas* Z 300 app. crit.; καλὰ ἡγνωρίζετε ὅλοι *Assizes* B 284.31; νὰ ἡγνωρίζετε *Assizes* A 116.22.

(ἡ εἰκόνα ...) ἤτονε ... παγωμένη, πλὴν δὲ δὲν ἡλιώνετον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.38 (ed. ἡλλοιώνετον)

δσα μοι δι' αὐτοῦ ἔγραφας ἡγνώρισα (1237, Arta, BARIŠIĆ 1966: [1], 2.3 and 2.4) (/i/ only with this verb; otherwise /e/)

ἡγνώρισαν *Metaphr. Alexiad* 330.4 and 330.5

οὐκ ἡλησμόνησα *Pol. Tr.* 215 app. crit. (X); τίποτε οὐκ ἡλησμόνησε *ibid.* 1456 app. crit. (X);

τοὺς ἡγνώρισεν *ibid.* 266 app. crit. (EV); ἡγνώριζε *ibid.* 335 app. crit. (X)

βλέπει, ἡγνώρισέν την *Liv. S* 374 (Lambert-van der Kolf); καὶ ἔπει οὐδὲν μὲ ἡγνώριζες *ibid.* 490

ἡκουσεν καὶ ἡγνώρισεν *Liv. α* 2394 app. crit. (P); βλέπουν, ἡγνώρισάν με *ibid.* 2687 app. crit. (P)

ὁ κόμης οὐκ ἡγνώρισε *Velth.* 1232

In the following example from Kos the scribe appears to consider the verb φθάνω to be compounded with εὐ-, which allows for a temporal augment /i/ to be employed (see below, 3.2.2.1): ηὐφθάσαμεν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.9 and 228.21) (cf. οὐκ εὐφθάστη *ibid.* 227.13).

3.1.3 Absence of the Syllabic Augment

Absence of the syllabic augment is not very common. When the preceding word ends in a vowel and the following verb starts in an unstressed augment, the augment is apparently omitted. However, this does not mean that the form is unaugmented, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is deleted by aphaeresis. When the preceding vowel is /e/ it is mainly a matter of modern editorial choice whether the vowel is considered to belong to the preceding word (καὶ μαρτύρουν, σὲ ᾔγραψαμε) or to the verb (κι ἐμαρτύρουν, σ' ἔγραψαμε), and whether to write an apostrophe or not:

καὶ μαρτύρουν (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7)

τὴν μύτην του τσακίσαν *Poulol.* 321 app. crit. (AZ)

ἡ γλώσσα μου ᾔηράνθη *Krasop.* AO 42; ὅπου γέννησεν *ibid.* 98

ἐκεῖνο ὅπου σὲ ᾔγραψαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.5)

νὰ γύριζες *Spanos D* 409

δὲν τὸ ᾔηλησεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.12; ἀμὲ ᾔηνῦσεν του *ibid.* 26.12–13

καὶ τώρα γίνηκα κούτσουρας *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 467 app. crit.

καὶ ᾔβάλασέ με (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.22)

τὸ τι μερτικό ᾔδιναν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.9)

σάν νὰ μὴν τὰ θέλασιν ἔχει ποτὲ (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.14)

τὰ χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.7)

καὶ ξυρίσθη *Bertoldos* 28.9

μόνον αὐτὸ πιγιούρτισα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6285 (< Turk. *buyurdum*)

When the stressed /e/ or /i/ augment is deleted after a word ending in a vowel, its stress shifts to the last syllable of the preceding word, e.g. μοῦ ᾔπαν (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.13); ἐκεῖ ᾔλαχεν *Anak. Konst.* 20; ᾔλογά ᾔστειλε *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ); τοῦρθε μὲ τεσταμέντο (1587, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 1, 343.9); τὸ ᾔκουσα (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.22) (for details and more examples see I, 4.2.1). In these cases it is difficult to establish whether the augment was /e/ or /i/, as here the functioning

of the vowel hierarchy is rather obscure, especially when the augment was stressed (see I, 2.9.2 for details).

A relatively modest number of examples has been found of unaugmented forms after words ending in a consonant or in sentence-initial position. They appear in both non-literary and literary texts (often verse-texts) from various geographical areas. The first examples date to the 15th c.:

τὴν ᾔμηνυσεν *Pol. Tr.* 279 app. crit. (A)

τί μᾶς θέλαν δώσει; (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 72, 56.6–7)

δταν ζοῦσαν *Epain. gyn.* 699; τοὺς ἄνδρες των γελοῦσα *ibid.* 706; τοὺς σκοτῶναν *ibid.* 713

ὡς φαγῶθη ὁ ἄθλιος *Spanos D* 1522

δντεν ἔσεῖς βαλθήκετε *CHOUNMNOS, Kosmog.* 226 app. crit. (B)

ᾠρες σκοπόμουν *Love poems V* 314

ἔκαμα ὅσον μπόρεσα (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.8)

καθεῖς ᾔβάλθη νὰ παίξει *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* VII.190; δὲν πόρε νὰ ᾔπομένει *ibid.* XV.11

δμως στεῖλαν ἡμᾶς (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.46)

ὁπόταν βαπτίστηκα (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 38.48–9)

χωρὶς φόβον περπάτειεν *Diig. Alex. F* 126.20 (Konstantinopulos)

ὁ Ερμῆς στοχάζουντον *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 91.17

διπλώθη καὶ ἐκάθισεν *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 1136

πάρτη ᾔπ' ἑμᾶς διφούσασι *Rim. Sant.* 240; μιὰν στράταν περπατοῦμαν *ibid.* 455

δὲν μπόρουνα νὰ τὸ δουλέψω (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 137, 123.11)

στην θάλασσαν τους ρίκταν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2424; τους Τούρκους ᾔγινητε συντρόφοι

ibid. 6526

γράφτη εἰς τὴν ᾔγιαν Πρόθεσι (1672, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 71, 319.1)

ᾔσηκώθηνε κι ὁ τταχρικῆς *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 563 (verse-initial)

μὴ γράφεις πὼς χάθηκιν ὁ κόζουμος (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 8, 70.33–4) (=

χάθηκεν, see I, 2.5.4; for κόζουμος = κόσμος, see I, 2.6.2)

3.1.4 Vowel-initial Verbs

When the verb starts in /a/ or /e/, this vowel may be replaced by /i/ (usually spelled <η>) for historical reasons (temporal/quantitative augment); however, when the verb starts in /o/, /i/ or /u/ the forms are, in fact, unaugmented. The initial vowel of the verb may also be replaced by the syllabic /e/ augment, and verbs starting in /a/ or /e/ may also be unaugmented.

3.1.4.1 Temporal /i/ Augment

Verbs starting in /a/ and /e/ may adopt the /i/ augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar with inherited verbs¹⁷ and their innovative variants (e.g. ᾔμαρτεύω, ᾔρχεύω), but not usually with new verbs.¹⁸ In certain regions, such as eastern Crete and certain islands in

¹⁷ The temporal augment with verbs that were originally prefixed but were later reanalysed as simple verbs, such as ᾔφλω (< ἀφ-ἴημι) and ᾔμφιάζω (< ἀμφι-έννυμι), predates the period covered by this Grammar (cf. e.g. JAN-NARIS 1897: 187).

¹⁸ Loanwords such as for instance ᾔρριβάρω, ᾔμολάρω, but also new derivations such as ᾔντρεϊέω and verbs with prosthetic /a/, such as ᾔπερνῶ, ᾔσηκῶνω, do not normally take the /i/ augment. They are either unaugmented or augmented with the syllabic /e/ or /i/ augment (see below).

the Aegean, the /i/ augment with verbs starting in /a/ or /e/ is used only when it is stressed (ήκουσα, ήλπιζα) but not when it is unstressed (άκουσαν, έλπίζαμε) (cf. consonant-initial verbs, 3.1.2.2):

Initial /a/ > /i/

τόν κήπον ... όπερ ήφησεν (1176, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 4, 374.1)
οὐκ ήμέλησα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 38.17; ώς ήγάπουν id. *Logos* 4 206.13–14
ή ήκουσες το; (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.148)
τά μάρμαρα ήφάνισθησαν *Ptoch.* I 76; καί άς ήφηνες έμέναν ibid. 105
ήκούστηκεν (14th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [33], 37.1)
αὐτό νά σέ ήρκει μόνον *Liv.* α 2082
ήπλωσεν *Vulgärorakel* I.130
ηὐξήνθη *Spanos* A 174; ήφριζεν ibid. 270
άφέντης οὐκ ήκούστηκεν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 75
ήγωνίστηκα (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 48, 57.15)
ήξιωσαν (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.7)
δέν ήλλασσε γνώμην MOREZINOS, *Klini* 44.16
κ' ήκουσα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.5)
ήφάνισε τές χώρες (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 507.27.4); ήρχισε νά
βρέξη (ibid. 508.34.1)
πού τοῦ ήφήκε ό πατέρας του (1672, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 7, 299.2)
ήψασιν (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.13)

Initial /e/ > /i/

ηῦραν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.16; πρὸς τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα ήρχετον id., *Logos* 31 816.11–12
όκάπου ηῦρηκα τὸ ταρτερόν *Ptoch.* III 149
ήγέρθηκεν *Pol. Tr.* 450
δέν ηῦρα (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.2)
ήρχονταν κυνηγώντας *Synax. gadar.* 10
ήρχουντα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 449
ήχμαλωτισθήκαν *Alosis* 379
ήλθασιν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 5, 25.4)
ήρώτησαν *Diig. Alex.* E 285.12 (Lolos)
ηῦραμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.17)
άν ήρχονταν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.8)
ρηγάδων παιδία οὐκ ήρχονταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 305
ήλευθέρωσες (1612, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 1, 307.9)
άν ήρχονταν ξένος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.19
μέ ήρώτησεν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.14–15)
ήλθασι (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/92: 3, 49.10)
ήρχούντονε (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 525.2)

3.1.4.2 Syllabic /e/ Augment

The /e/ augment may replace the initial /a/, /i/ or /o/ of the verb stem. As the number of verbs beginning with /i/ and /o/ is limited, most examples are of verbs starting in /a/. Examples have been found from LMedG and throughout the period under review, in texts from Pontos to Crete and from the Heptanese to Cyprus, though the majority of examples come from southern areas (Crete, Cyprus) and the Aegean:

Initial /a/ > /e/

έγόρασα τὸν τόπον (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 18, 8.1)
έρμάστηκε (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.2) (< άρμάζομαι)
έκούσαν *Dig.* E 74; τὸ έρπαξες ibid. 130
έκούμπησα τοῦ πύργου *Liv.* V 1943; ώς μ' έκουσεν ibid. 2861; έγάπα νά τὸν έχη ibid. 3891
καί άλλον έγόρασαν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 253); έφηκεν (ibid. 2009)
ότι έρνίστηκές με *Katal.* 608
έστένησα (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.4) (< άσθενῶ)
άν έτιμάσαμεν τὸν έπί γῆς αὐθέντην BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 341 app. crit. (< άτιμάζω)
έμπιτάρισεν CHEILAS, *Chron.* 349.31 (< Ital. *abitare*)
εφεντεύασιν *Theseid* VI.4.4 (Olsen)
έξιζε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.33)
καί έγόρασαν (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 9, 132.13)
τά πράγματα όπου έφηκεν (1634, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 16, 11.2)
ό άδελφός<> σου έρρώστηκε (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.16)
έρχινίσα *Rim. Sant.* 175; έρχίσασι ibid. 204; ένταμωθήκαμε ibid. 455
έφηνεν (1679, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 18, 33.11)
τὸ μιτάτον όπου τοῦ έφησεν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 2, 145.1)
έλλάκτη (1688, Rhodes, PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1976: 11, 9.1) (< άλλάζω)
έφησεν (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 76.3)

Initial /i/ > /e/

έπερηφάνεσαν το *Pol. Tr.* 1656 app. crit. (V) (< ύπερηφανεύω)
έσιάσθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 3294 (< ισάζω < ισιάζω)¹⁹
δέν έσαστήκαν *Assizes* A 46.26
ύστερον έσιάσθησαν *Chron. Mor.* P 1197
εσιάστη να τηνε γιάνει ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 19.2
έστορίστη (1559, Lesvos, KLEOMVROTOS 1970: 23, 163.3) (< ιστορῶ)
έσιάχτηκα μέ τὸν κατή (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.31)
έσαστήκαμε (1614, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 1, 331.15)
(τὴν εἰκόνα ...) όπου έστόρισεν ό Άγιος Λουκάς (17th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 187, f.172v.2)
έσιαζούντονε (1673, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 10, 172.16)
εις ποῖον έτος έκιώθη τὸ νησίον (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 512.2) (< οἰκιώνω)

Initial /o/ > /e/

έμόσαμεν *Dig.* E 851 (< όμόνω)
τά έρισαν *Assizes* B 284.15 (< όρίζω)
ό πλοῦτος οὐδέν μάς έφέλεσεν *Achil.* L 1270
καί έμοσεν ή αὐθεντία μου (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 119.62)
καί έρισεν ό κυβερνούρης MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.2; άλλίγον έφελέθησαν ibid. 322.40–1
καί έμοσάν του *Diig. Alex.* V 56.14
έρδίνιασε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 43.8; έρέκτηκεν ibid. 153.28 (< όρέγομαι)
έμπλιγαρίστη νά το φυλάη (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 17, 71.14) (< Ven. *obligar*)
έρέγουμου *Thysia Avr.* 422
έμοσες ποττέ άδικα; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 403.193)
έμνοξέ μου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.598 (< όμνόγω)

¹⁹ As the verb *ισιάζω* by the 15th c. had developed an alternative form *σιάζω*, the examples could be viewed as having syllabic /e/ augment.

νά ἐμπλιγαριστήκασι (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.4)
 ἔλιγανε ἡ πνοή του KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.939 (< ὀλιγαίνω); ἐρέχτηκες *ibid.* III.1193

No examples have been found of the /e/ augment replacing the initial /u/ of verbs. Sporadically the /e/ augment is used, placed before the initial /u/ of the verb, and an inter-vocalic /y/ is added for euphonic reasons (see I, 3.5.2.1):²⁰

διὰ τὴν ἀρσενικοκίτιαν, ὅτι πολλὰ τὴν ἐγουζιάζαν εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 464.32–3 (οὐζιάζω < Fr. *user*); οἱ σκύλλοι ἐγουριάζαν ... οἱ κωρῶνες ἐγουργιάζαν, οἱ κουκκουφιάδες ... ἐγουργιάζαν *ibid.* 668.19–22 (< οὐριάζω)
 ὁποῦ ἔκλαιαν καὶ ἐγούργιαζαν πολλὰ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 5.38

3.1.4.3 Syllabic /i/ Augment

Regionally and lexically, the /i/ augment is also employed with the verb ὀρίζω and with innovative variants of δυνύω (δμόνω/ἀμόνω, δυνόγω/ἀμνόγω). Examples have been found in EMG texts from Crete, Cythera and the Aegean (Mykonos). As these verbs may lose their initial vowel in the present (ρίζω, μόνω, μνόγω),²¹ they may simply have been viewed as consonant-initial verbs:

ὁ Κύριος ἤρισε τοῦ Νῶε ὡγιά νά κτίσῃ P&N *Diath.* 1418 (< ὀρίζω)
 ὡς ἤριζες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.34; εἰς τὸ παλάτιν του ἤρισε νά γυρίσω *ibid.* II.38
 ἤρισε ὁ ρήγας νά γενῇ ἓνα ψηλὸ πατάρι KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.97; τῇ Μοθώνῃ ἤριζε *ibid.* II.1293

καὶ ἤμνογεν πῶς δὲν τὴν ἀφήνει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.24
 κι ἔτσι ἤμνογα CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.42
 ἤμνογε καὶ τοῦ φίλου του KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.403
 ἤμοσε (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 51.62)
 τὴν ἐβάλαμε καὶ ἤμωσε· ἡ ὁποία ἤμωσε καθαρά πῶς ... (1708, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 86, 96.16–17)

3.1.4.4 Absence of the Augment

Verbs starting in /a/ can regularly be found without the augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar, in all areas (with the likely exception of Pontos); verbs beginning in /e/, too, are often found without the augment, but of course in this case the initial /e/ can easily be interpreted as an augment. Verbs starting in /i/, /o/ and /u/ are normally unaugmented:

Initial /a/

ἀκριβεύσαμεν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 8, 311.7)
 ἄλογα ἀγόρασεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3378; ὡς τὸ ἄκουσε *ibid.* 5854
 ἀρνήθηκα *Dig.* E 363

²⁰ The past-tense forms, in their turn, lead to a new consonant-initial verb γουριάζω, e.g.: γουριάζουσιν *Phys.* 240; πῶς γουριάζω *Cypr. Canz.* 103.18.

²¹ Cf. νά ρίζω ἐπὶ ὁδὸν με FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.46; καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἄς μὸση (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.6).

ἀδικούσαμεν τὸ ταπεινὸν κατοῦδιν *Ptoch.* III 273 app. crit. (P)
 τὰ Ἄλβανα ἀπλάτησαν *Chron. Toc.* 1333
 αὐξανε DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 488
 ἀγρώνισε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.22 (< ἀγρωνίζω); καὶ δὲν ἀρμάστην *ibid.* 40.19; ἀρχεψεν ἡ εὐλογημένη ἀκρίδα *ibid.* 60.27–8
 ἄφησεν (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.3)
 ἐὰν ἀγάπας DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 7, η3ν.22 (1561)
 καὶ ἄφτε καὶ δὲν ἐκαίγετονε SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 435.246
 μ' ἄφησε (1600, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969b: 36.12)
 ἀγάπα νά ἡκούη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.12; ἀκούγανε *ibid.* 39.27; ἀρνιόντησαν *ibid.* 86.27
 ἄλλαζαν τὰ ἄσπρα KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 2.14; ἐὰν μὲ ἀγαπούσετε *ibid.* 14.28
 αὐξαῖναν *Bertoldos* 70.27
 μᾶς ἄφηκεν (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.6)
 τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁποῦ ἀκουιστάρισα (1665, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 3, 116.11–12) (< Ven. *acquistar*)
 τότες τον ἀζαρλάτισεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 977 (< Turk. *azarladi*, past tense of *azarlamak*)
 ἄρπασεν (1675, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 39, 65.9)

Initial /i/

ὑστερον γὰρ ἰσιάστηκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1197
 οὐκ ἰσχοῦσαν ERMON., *Ilias* 12.203
 ὕγιανε *Pol. Tr.* 6427 app. crit. (A)
 ἡγοῦντον *Achil.* N 1833
 καὶ ὑβρίστηκες *Spanos* A 397
 ἡλικιώθην *Spanos* A 174
 ὑψώνασι με *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 52
 ὡς ἦσαν πρῶτα ὕγιαναν *Theseid* X.10.7 (1529)
 ἰσιαστήκαμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.20)
 ἰντρομετέρισα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 177, 175.13) (< Ven. *intrometer*)
 ἰσιαστήκαμεν (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 114.45)
 ὑστερήθηκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.17
 νά μάθω πῶς ἰάθη PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 149
 ὑβρίσθηκες NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 246

Initial /o/

ὀρκησαν (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 56, 73.23)
 ὀδηγήθηκα (1350–1?, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.1)
 ὠμίλει μετ' αὐτὴν *Pol. Tr.* 6461; τίποτε οὐκ ὠφελοῦσαν *Pol. Tr.* 13124 app. crit. (AC)
 ὠρισέν μας (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10)
 ὀρίσαμεν τοὺς (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 47.8)
 ὠργίστην *Assizes* A 74.16–17
 ὀρέγομουν νά περπατῶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 89
 ὠρῖσεν ὁ ρὲ Οὐνγκες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.7
 ὀρθώθησα *Diig. Alex.* F 24.5 (Lolos); ὀνομάζουσιν *ibid.* 64.1–2 (Konstantinopulos)
 ὠργιζόμουν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 116.4
 κι ὀλπιζα TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 188 app. crit. (1577)
 μὰ μιτσὰ ὀρφανέψαμε (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.12–13)
 ὠνειδοῦσεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.13
 καὶ ὀμοσε στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1658, Moscow, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 18, 117.7–8)
 γιὰ τοῦτο ὠνομάζουσιν *Διγενὴς PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1243

Initial /u/

- οὐριάστηκε *Pol. Tr.* 5256
 οὐρίαξαν εἰς τὸ κάστρο *Chron. Toc.* 2802
 κύψασα οὐρησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὥτιον τὸ δεξιὸν *Spanos D* 685
 ὁποῦ 'ζαρε δυὸ καὶ τρεῖς νὰ κάνη *Rim. Sant.* 156 (< οὐζάρω)

Initial /e/

When the verb starts in /e/, loss of augment is often apparent only, as the initial /e/ of the form may be interpreted as an augment.²² In fact, with certain verb forms, such as ἐξαμινάρασι, ἐπαίνεσαν, ἐρωτοῦσαν and εὐρίσκονταν, it is not certain whether they constitute past-tense forms of ἐξαμινάρω, ἐπαινῶ, ἐρωτῶ and εὐρίσκω or of ζαμινάρω, παινῶ, ρωτῶ and βρίσκω:

- αἰτήθης μου (1139, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1968: App. I, 52.4)
 εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς *NIKON, Logos* 3 196.12
 εὐρέθη ἐγκαστρωμένη *Paroim.* D 119
 νὰ ἐρευξάμην εὐνοῦστα *Ptoch. IV* 182
 ἐλευθέρωσεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 4, 42.5)
 τὸν ἐγγύθηκα *Assizes A* 67.21
 αἰχμαλωτίσασιν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 115
 ἐπαίνεσαν *Achil.* O 170
 εὐρισκούνταν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 56.17
 ἐργάζουνταν *ZYGOM., Synopsis* 225.Λ.34
 ἐξαμινάρασι (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 380.1) (< Ven. *esaminār*)
 ἐρωτοῦσαν τον *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 16.12–13
 ἐρχομουν (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.12)
 κάθε λογῆς ἀδικίαν τὴν ἔλεγε *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 69.22
 ἐρπετοῦν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* III 4
 δὲν ἐρχουνταν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.1)
 ἐρμηνεύθημαν (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.25)
 με ἐγγυτήθηκαν οἱ –4 καλόγεροι (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.19)

The verb ἔχω, which has an /i/ augment (traditionally spelled <ει>) throughout the period covered by this Grammar, can have unaugmented imperfects in the EMG period. Unaugmented forms have been found in texts from various areas: Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese/Peloponnese and the northern mainland (for prefixed forms of ἔχω, see 3.3.2.1.1 and 3.3.2.2.1 and cf. ἔτον for ἦτον, 4.8.2):²³

- νὰ μὴ τὴν ἔχα κάψειν *Pol. Tr.* 5576 app. crit. (C)
 ἔχεν γραμμένην *Assizes A* 105.9; οὕτως τὸ ἔχεν *ibid.* 165.24 (ed. ἔκεν; see KRIARAS, *LEX. s.v.* ἔχω)

²² This may lead to unfortunate editorial choices by editors of lower-register Byzantine texts who are unfamiliar with vernacular Greek and therefore do not recognise an aorist indicative when there is apparently no augment; in the following example the forms are taken to be aorist middle imperatives (with 2nd-person clitics!): εἰπεν «εὐλόγησαι σε ὁ Θεός, τέκνον, καὶ ποίησαι σε σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς.» Stephen the Deacon, *Life of Stephen the Younger* 103.9 (ed. Auzéry) (8th/9th c.) (read εὐλόγησέ σε and κ' ἐποίησέ σε respectively).

²³ The following example (with crasis of /u/ and /e/, see I, 2.9.5) appears to be an error in the modern edition: κεῖ ὁπδχε τὴν παρηγοριά *KORNAIOS, Erot.* I.1961 (= ὁποῦ ἔχε), as both the Venetian edition (A) and the manuscript (X) read ὁποῦχε (= ὁποῦ εἶχε).

- νὰ σ' ἔχασιν περιπλεχθῇ, νὰ σ' ἔχαν καταλύση *BERTOS, Eis evd. aion.* 333
 οὐδὲν σ' ἔχα δώσει τὸ φίλιν *Katal.* 323; μὴ μ' ἔχες ἐρωτήσῃ *ibid.* 368
 κι ὡς ἔχασι τ' ἀμάτια μου τὴν ἔγνοια νὰ θωροῦσι *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 261 app. crit.
 νὰ μέχε πάρη ὁ θάνατος *Love poems V* 440
 ἔχαν τάξιν ὅτι ... *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 12.9; τοὺς ἔχες φυλακισμένους *ibid.* 280.5–6
 διότι ἔχεν ὁμορφον κορμὶν *VOUSTR., Chron.* M 41.18; καὶ ἔχεν τα εἰς τὸ χέριν του *ibid.* 105.17
 ἔχα φίλον κηπουρὸν *Paroim.* G 10
 γιάντα 'δέ μ' ἔχες μετὰ σέ *Apoll. Rim.* A 1393; νὰ μ' ἔχε 'ξεπατήσῃ *ibid.* 1435 (same in ENV)
 εἰς ἄνθρωπον που 'δεποτέ σ' ἔχε ἀγαπημένη *Theseid IV.8,8* (1529)
 ὡς καθὼς τὴν ἔχασι (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.6)
 πὼς τὴν ἔχε φέρεῖ *Pist. voskos I* 1.95
 εἰς τόσην ἀγάπην ὁποῦ τό 'χασιν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83–4.13) (= τοῦ ἔχασιν; for crasis see I, 2.9.5)
 τοῦ ραπρεζεντάντε ὁποῦ ἔχε κάμει ἐξεκούτζιο (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.19)
 δ,τι σύκα ἔχασι κάμει (1671, Naxos, SFYROERAS 1963a: 2, 494.32–3)
 τὰ μωρὰ παιδιὰ πὸν ἔχαν ἡλικίαν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 283 app. crit. (= ποῦ 'έν ἔχαν)
 ὅτι μ' ἔχεν γελάσει (1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 68, 242.3) transcr. (Korre)²⁴

Similarly, the verb εἶμαι has 3 sg. and 3 pl. forms beginning in /e/ in Machairas (see also 4.8.2). An unaugmented aorist of ἐρχομαι has been found in a document from the Peloponnese, and ἔδα for εἶδα in a text from Chios and a text of unknown provenance:

- τοῦ μάστρε Πιέρ Κανέλ ὁπου ἔτον ἡ ἀφορμή τοῦ σκαντάλου *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 182.8; οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἔτον χωσμένοι *ibid.* 190.28
 πρωτασέδα πρωταμέδες / πρώτα σ' ἔδα πρώτα μ' ἔδες (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 161.8)
 πὸτ' ἔδες ἢ πὸτ' ἦκουσες *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 209
 ὁ βεζῖρης ἔρθε ἀτός του καὶ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μορέαν δλονε (1715, Stefani, LAMBROS 1910: 362, 213.2)

3.2 Compound Verbs

Verbs compounded with a nominal, adjectival, pronominal or adverbial first constituent and dvandva compounds (verb + verb) generally take the external syllabic /e/ augment when they start in a consonant; they rarely have no external augment. When the compounded verb starts in a vowel, past forms either take no augment at all, or the initial vowel may be replaced by the syllabic /e/ augment. The temporal augment with verbs starting in /a/ or /e/ is much rarer and mainly limits itself to verbs compounded with the residual adverb εὔ. Multiple augments are quite rare, but may occur when the verb that forms the second constituent of the compound has a syllabic augment.

²⁴ Mertzios misread the document and prints ἔχει γελάσει; see JANSSEN 2013 for a discussion of this and other "phantom" perfects.

3.2.1 Consonant-initial Verbs

When the compound verb starts in a consonant, the external syllabic /e/ augment is used, which is placed before the first constituent of the compound:

- ὥσαν ἐμελαγχόλησα *Ptoch. I* 140
 ἐκοντοαναμείναν *Chron. Mor.* H 3631
 ἐχεροτόνησεν τον (1395, Pontos, BRYER 1976: 7, 133.3)
 νά με ἐψυχοπονούσου *Liv. V* 1147; ἐνουθέτησεν *ibid.* 2427; ἐμυριόμοσεν *ibid.* 2780
 ἐκεῖ ἐκοντοστάθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 2318
 Ἄρης ἐπερνοδιάβαινε *Alosis* 420; ἐσφικτοκλείδωνέν το *ibid.* 617
 ἐχαμποτετοῦσαν *Achil. N* 828; ἐνεφροκοποῦνταν *ibid.* 1406
 ἐχειροτονήθη παρὰ τοῦ Σάρδεων (15th c. [ms], Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 8.I, 80.12a.3)
 ἐκωλοσύραν τους *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 122.10
 τοὺς ἐγλυκασπαζόντησαν *Theseid II*.79,4 (1529)
 ἐκρυφογαμηθῆκαν *Epain. gyn.* 186
 ἐμπαινόβγαινε μετ' ἐμᾶς *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 18.53 (ed. ἐμπενόβγενεν)
 ἐφαγοπότησεν καλὰ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 56 and 992
 ἐσυκοφάντησαν τὸν πενθερό μου (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.11–12)
 τοῦ ἐκαλοφάνη πολλά *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.9; τοῦ ἐκακοφάνη πολλά *ibid.* 31.11
 σᾶς ἐμοιρολογούσαμεν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 11.17
 ἐδικαιολογοῦνταν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.7); ἐδηλοποιοῦσετε (*ibid.* 12.7)
 κ' ἐτουρκοσκλάβωσές με *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 548.24
 ἐπουρκοτάξασιν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.17–18) (< προικοτάσσω)
 ἐπροτεσταλόγησεν (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 7, f.43r.24–5)

When the head of the compound consists of a verb form that as a simple verb would have a stressed syllabic augment, double augment may occur, as in the first example below; though usually the internal augment is omitted and the stress shifts to the last syllable of the first constituent:

- ἐπρωτοέβγαλε αὐτὴν την πλανωμένην καβαλιερῖαν *Don Kis.* 333.10–11
 ἐβαρύφας (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 405.350) (< βαρυτρώγω)
 ἐξενόμενα (1684, Corfu, ΚΑΡΑΔΟΧΟΣ 1990: 64, 272.27) (< ξενομένω)
 ὁ Τοῦρκος ἐκοντόφθασεν *Thrinis Kypr.* 56

Double augment is rare when the verb has a temporal augment: ἐπρωτοηθέλησε να γένη οπλοφόρος *Don Kis.* 333.11.

Even when the verb is doubly compounded, the augment is normally placed at the beginning of the form: κ' ἐσυχοπερνόβλεπά την *Dim. poiim.* 1.7; ἐσυχοξηρόβηχε *Don Kis.* 232.10.

When the preceding word ends in a vowel the unstressed augment of the following verb may be deleted as a result of aphaeresis. This does not necessarily mean that the form is unaugmented, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is displaced by the preceding vowel:

- καὶ νὰ καλοπαθούμην *Ptoch. III* 166 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ λογισμοεμαχοῦμαν *Liv.* α 2887
 ὀλόγυρα τριγύριζε *Achil. N* 1320
 ἄς με λιθοβολούσαν *Achil. O* 725
 νὰ ποταμοφόριζεν *Krasop.* AO 29
 ἡ κόρη χολομάνησεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 941
 καὶ πάντα συχνοκοίταζε *Theseid IV*.53,8 (1561)

With this type of verb, /i/ for /e/ in the augment has only been found in a document that generally displays mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4 for details): ἱπροτοστολόγησι (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.2; and 1691, *ibid.* 12, f.44r.7) (= ἐπροτεσταλόγησε).

3.2.2 Vowel-initial Verbs

When the compound verb starts in a vowel, the same rules apply as with simple verbs (see 3.1.4); in short: initial /a/ and /e/ may be replaced by the temporal /i/ augment; initial /a/, /i/ and /o/ may be replaced by the syllabic /e/ augment; and initial /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ may remain unaugmented.²⁵ Syllabic /i/ augment has only been found with the verb ὁμολογῶ.

3.2.2.1 External Temporal /i/ Augment

Verbs starting in /a/ and /e/ may occasionally adopt the /i/ augment in early texts, though it is more common with verbs starting in εὐ-:

Initial /a/ > /i/

- ὀκάτι ὥς ἡκροεκύσπαζε *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 51
 ὁ φιλῶν με ἡγρύπνησε *Dig. G VI*.51
 ἡγριολάλησά την *Ptoch. I* 140

Initial /e/ > /i/

- ἡτύχησες ἄθροον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 379
 ἡτρέπιζεν *Eisit.* f.1r.2; ἡτύχησεν *ibid.* f.1v.18
 ἡνίκα δὲ ἡδόκησε Θεὸς *Dig. G III*.163; τῷ Θεῷ ἡχαρίσται *ibid.* IV.685
 ὅτι ἡ κοιλιὰ μου ἡκαίρησεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν *Ptoch. I* 258–9
 πάραυτα ἡτρέπισαν *Dig. E* 464; ὥς ἡδόκησας *ibid.* 1820/1821
 ἡφράνθημεν ὀλίγον *Liv. V* 2471
 πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν ἡτρέπισεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1904
 ἐσκήρτησεν, ἡφράνθη *Velth.* 1328
 ἡχαρίσται αὐτῷ μεγάλως *Vios Aisop.* D 235.37
 ἡφράνθησαν *Diig. Alex. E* 181.19 (Konstantinopolos)
 τότες τους ἡχαρίστησεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2491

²⁵ No compound verbs starting in /u/ have been found in the texts examined, but see e.g. the following 9th-c. example: ὅτι ὁ δνος αὐτοῦ οὐροκοπήθη *Achmet, Oneirokritikon* 233.34–5 (ed. Drexl).

3.2.2.2 External Syllabic /e/ Augment

The syllabic /e/ augment may replace the initial /a/, /i/ or /o/ of the verb, provided this does not render the verb form semantically opaque.²⁶ Examples have been found in texts from various areas:

Initial /a/ > /e/

ἔτσαλόφαγεν καὶ ἔτσαλόπιεν *Assizes* B 431.20 (< ἄτσαλο-)
καὶ ἔκριβόλογησά τους *Liv.* V 2742
ἔκροβάσταξεν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1854
ἔκριβόλογησέν τας *Velth.* 618
ἔκροδεύλιασεν *Achil.* O 126

Initial /i/ > /e/

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκονόμουνα *Liv.* E 3532
τὴν ρένταν ἐκονόμησαν *Liv.* V 2116
ὁποῦ μᾶς ἐκονόμησεν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐτούτην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1543
ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐκονόμησεν *Florios* 273
οἱ Φράγκοι ἐκονομήθησαν *Chron. Mor.* P 705
ἐκονόμησεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2072
ἐσοπιάσασι *P&N Diath.* 1491 (< ἰσοπιάνω)

Initial /o/ > /e/

ἔτινα ἐμολόγησαν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.23)
ἐλιγοθυμήσασιν *Dig.* E 194 app. crit.; ἐμολόγησες *ibid.* 385
ἐμολόγησε καὶ ἄλλο (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.24); καὶ ἐμολόγησαν (1487, Rhodes, *ibid.* 18, 96.7)
τὰ ὁποῖα ἐμολόγησέν τα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.27)
δεν ἐμολογήσα *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 32.13
ἐμολόγησαν *Diig. Alex.* F 134.18 (Lolos)
ἐμολόγησε (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 35, 75.2–3)
μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.1)
ἐμολόγησε (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.37)
ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε *Nov. I* 156.21
ἐμολόγησες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.5

3.2.2.3 External Syllabic /i/ Augment

Lexically the syllabic /i/ augment is employed with the verb ὁμολογῶ. Examples have been found in the Escorial version of *Livistros* and in *Imberios*: ἡ κόρη οὐκ ἡμολόγησεν *Liv.* E 1346; ποσῶς οὐκ ἡμολόγησεν *Imber.* 587 and *Imb. Rim.* 656.

²⁶ For instance /e/ augment with the verbs ὁμολογῶ and οἰκονομῶ is not uncommon; the initial vowel is clearly not vital to the recognition of the verb, as they also appear in the present tense as μολογῶ and κονομῶ. On the other hand, /e/ augments are generally avoided with e.g. the modifier ὅλο-, which becomes difficult to recognize in ἔλο-; however, EMG would not be EMG if exceptions were not to be found: ἔλοπληρώθη καλῶς (1530, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 99, 119.7–8).

3.2.2.4 Internal Augment

In literary texts (usually versified, but occasionally in prose), there are several examples of compound verbs with internal augment. Internal augment is almost always combined with external augment; in the forms ἐρωτοεσχηματίσθην and ἐρωτοετρῶθην the initial /e/ may be viewed as an augment. Often the internal augment and the final vowel of the first part of the compound need to be read as one syllable in order for the verse to scan (for metrical synizesis see I, 2.9.4.2).

ἐχαμοεγέλασεν *Liv.* V 1257; ἐσυχνοεστέναζεν *ibid.* 3274; ἐμυριοελυπάτον *ibid.* 3508
καὶ νὰ ἰχνοεποδοπάτησες *Liv.* α 280; ἐρωτοεσχηματίσθην *ibid.* 1486; ἐλογοεμαχοῦμεν *ibid.* 2887 app. crit. (P)
καὶ ἐκοσμοεγύρευσά σε *Liv.* S 2965 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
ἐρρουκανοετούρνευσεν *Velth.* 290
ἀνεβοεκατέβαινε *Diig. tetr.* 1060
πόσους ἐπικροεπότισεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 297
καὶ πάντα ἐσυχνοεκοίταζεν τὴν κόρην *Theseid* IV.53,8 ms (f.33r); ἐπολυεπλασίαζαν *ibid.* VI.30,6 (Olsen) (cf. τὰ ποῖα ἐπολυπλάσιαζαν in the 1529 edition)
ἀκόμη δεν ἐκαλοεβγήκε *Don Kis.* 3.27

Even forms with double internal or triple augment have been found in various versions of *Livistros*; in most of these examples the multiple augments are purely graphematic:

καὶ συχνοεπαρέγγερνε *Liv.* V 1128; νὰ συχνοεπεριεπάτησες *ibid.* 1264; ἐμυριοενέπαυσέ τον *ibid.* 2330 (in which the three vowels <ιοε> must be read as one syllable)
νὰ συχνοεπεριεπάτησες *Liv.* α 1495 app. crit. (P)
καὶ κοσμοεπεριεπάτει *Liv.* S 2005 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

An internal /i/ augment in forms of εὐεργετῶ, not uncommon since Late Antiquity (see LSJ, s.v. εὐεργετῶ), has only been found in mixed- to higher-register texts: ἀλλ' ὄνπερ εὐηργέτησας πολλὰς εὐεργεσίας *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 382; ποῖος τὸν εὐηργέτησε *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 170.

The stressed internal augment may be deleted when the first constituent ends in a strong vowel (see I, 2.9.2 for details). The stress then shifts to the final vowel of the modifier: ὁποῦ ἐπρωτόρθε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 156.40.

3.2.2.5 Absence of the Augment

Compound verbs starting in /a/, /i/ and /o/ can quite often be found without the augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Dvandva compounds that start in a vowel (ἀνεβοκατεβαίνω, ἀνεβοκατεβάζω) are, as a rule, unaugmented:

Initial /a/

ἀγαθοεργήθημεν (1182, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 212, 277.14–15)
ἐκεῖ ἀνεβοκατέβαινε ἀντίπερα τοῦ Ἀφράτη *Arm.* 31
ὡσάν <ν> ἀκροφοβήθη *Dig.* E 1113
ἀγρυπνήσατε *Pol. Tr.* 492 app. crit. (AEV); ὁ ρῆξ ἀκριοστράφη ὀπίσω *ibid.* 3076 app. crit. (B)
ἀσχημολόγησέν τους *Chron. Toc.* 1779
ἀγαθοποίησε *Hist. Imp. Ilb* 1365

τούς ἀδικοθανάτωσαν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 138.34
 δαμάκι ἀκροστάθηκα *Stathis* II.83
 καὶ τὴν ἀναιβοκατέβαζε IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 335.34
 τὰ χεῖλη τῆς ἀνεβοκατεβῆκα KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.1977

Initial /i/

οἰκονομήθη NIKON, *Logos* 1 104.19
 τὸ οἰκοδόμησα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.10)
 οἰκοδόμησα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (1285, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 78, 44.16)
 οἰκονομήθη παρευτὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 251; οἱ Φράγχοι ὠκονομήθησαν *ibid.* 705
 χαρίσματα οἰκονόμησεν *Dig.* E 1072
 καὶ πῶς οἰκοδομήθη *Pol. Tr.* 12048
 ὅπου μὲ οἰκονόμησεν τοῦ εὐνούχου τὴν φίλιαν *Liv.* V 1914
 πάντες οἰκονομήθησαν *Chron. Toc.* 3867
 οἰκονόμησαν φουσάτα *Hist. Imp.* I 575
 ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς τί οἰκονόμησεν DAM. STOUDE., *This., Logos* 20, σ8v.15 (1561)

Initial /o/

πάλιν ὀπισθοπόδησα *Ptoch.* I 232
 ὀνειροῦποσχέθης *Liv.* S 352 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ὀλοπροθυμήσεν το *Liv.* α 3350 app. crit. (P); καὶ ὀλοχωρικευόμεν *ibid.* 403 app. crit. (P)
 ὀμολόγησαν ὅτι ἔλαβαν (1509, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 2 [B], 225.4)
 ὀλοπληρώθηκα (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 32, 63.8)
 ὀμολόγησεν (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 4, 56.3)
 ὀλονύχτισα μ' ἔνα μου φίλο ὀμάδι CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.354
 ὀμοφωνήσανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.11
 ὀμολογήκαμε (1636, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 182.1)
 ὃν κανεῖς ὕστερα ὀμολόγα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 126.9

Initial /e/

Verbs beginning in /e/, too, are often found without the augment, but of course in this case the initial /e/ can easily be interpreted as an augment. Verbs compounded with the adverb εὖ were often unaugmented from the New Testament onwards (PSALTES 1913: 203, MAYSER 1923: 336, BLASS et al. 1961: 37), as when the diphthong <ευ> came to be pronounced as /ev/ or /ef/, the initial /e/ could easily be reanalysed as an augment.²⁷

οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς NIKON, *Logos* 3 196.12
 τὸν δοῦκα εὐχαριστήσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 354
 εὐκαιρέσασιν τὴν χώραν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 209.4.3–4)
 ἔσφαξες τὴν καρδίαν μου καὶ αἱματοπότισές τιν *Katal.* 414
 εὐχαριστοῦντων *Theseid* VI, Prol.12 (Olsen)
 κ' εὐκαίρεσεν τὴν σπούρδαν τῆς BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 416
 ποῦ δὲ μᾶς εὐεργέτησε ZINOS, *Alex. Rim. Epil.* 13
 εὐφήμισάν τον *Diig. Alex.* F 300.5 (Lolos)
 οὐδὲν σὲ εὐχαρίστησα *Diig. Alex.* E 217.3 (Lolos); εὐλόγησεν ὁ προφήτης *ibid.* 231.14–15
 εὐχαριστήσαμε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.5–6)
 τίς δὲν εὐφραίνεται; *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 50

²⁷ There is a tendency to omit the initial /e/ in non-past forms, e.g. βλαβῶντες SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 221 (= εὐλαβῶντες); βεργέτα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 214 (= εὐεργέτα); ὡσάν γυναῖκες φτιάνεσθε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2756 (φτιάνω < εὐθειάζω).

οὐδὲ αἱματοφλογίσθης [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 316.24
 αὐτὰ που ευηχούσαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1088; αὐτοὺς ευσπλαχνιζόντων *ibid.* 3782
 δὲν εὐλαβήθηκε (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 217.55–6)

3.3 Prefixed Verbs

Verbs prefixed with a preposition can have internal augment, external augment, both or neither. There is great variation in the use of the augment in prefixed verbs, to such an extent that one gets the impression that anything goes. However, there are certain trends to be discerned: internal augment only is more common with verbs of which the prefix starts in a vowel (ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-) than with verbs with consonant-initial prefixes (δια-, κατα-, παρα-, περι-, προσ-, συν-). When the prefix starts in a consonant, external or double augment is much more common than internal only, which clearly belongs to a somewhat more formal register. When the prefix begins and ends in a consonant (προσ-, συν-) external augment only is more common than double augment. The rules that dictate the choice of augment (syllabic /e/, temporal /i/ or syllabic /i/) in prefixed verbs are identical to those for simple verbs (for details see 3.1).

Past-tense forms of verbs prefixed with the preposition ἐκ gave rise to a new prefix ξε-, regionally ξη- (see also the introduction to Chapter 3); thus e.g. ἐκπίπτω became ξεπέφτω through the aorist indicative ἐξέπεσα. It is not always possible to establish whether a form is derived from an inherited verb prefixed with ἐκ- or a new verb prefixed with ξε-. The same holds true for the prefix ἐξανα-, which gave rise to a new prefix ξανα- through omission of the initial /e/: it is hard to tell whether a past-tense form starting in ἐξανα- has external augment (ἐ-ξανα-) or is unaugmented.

In the case of vowel-initial prefixes, one may find a rather unexpected external “temporal” augment, e.g. ἡποφάσισα, ἡπιλάλησα, ἡνεθεμάτισα, ἡνέφερα. This unhistorical temporal augment, which can already be found before the period covered by this Grammar,²⁸ appears mainly in early mixed-register texts, especially in the case of verbs prefixed with ἀνα-.

Sometimes verbs with a vowel-initial prefix are augmented with both internal and external syllabic /e/: e.g. ἐπεκρίθηκα (< ἀποκρίνομαι); ἐπέγραψα (< ὑπογράφω). This possibility renders the prefix opaque, and clearly leads to a certain degree of confusion, especially between ἀπο- and ὑπο-, and ἀνα- and ἐν-. We thus find e.g. ἀπογράφω for ὑπογράφω, ὑποχαιρετῶ for ἀποχαιρετῶ and ἀναφανίζομαι for ἐμφανίζομαι:

θέλουσι ἀπογράψει διὰ χειρὸς τῶς (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.56–7)
 ἀπέγραψαν ἰδιοχείρως (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.17–18)

²⁸ Similar early examples are: ἡνεγινώσκετο Moschos, *Leimon* (PG 87.3: 2880A); ἡνήγαγέν φησιν Anast. Sinaites, *Sermo II in constitutionem hominis* 2.12 (ed. Uthemann) (late 7th c.); ἡπηνθράκιζε Photios, *Lex.* s.v. ἡπηνθράκιζε (ed. Theodoridis) (9th c.). For some verbs this external temporal augment already appears in the Koine, for instance with ἀμφιβόλλω, ἀμφισβητῶ (see the online TLG), or ἀνέχομαι, ἐνοχλῶ; see JANNARIS 1897: 192 for more examples. For ἡπῆντησαν *Dig.* G IV.877 we should perhaps read ὑπῆντησαν.

θέλω απογράψει (1632, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936b: 15, 53.3)
 θέλει απογράψει υπό χειρός του (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.20)
 απογραφούμεστα (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.10)

πάντες υπεχαιρέτισαν *Achil.* L 269 ms
 θέλεις ανεφανιστή (1689, Tinos, LAMBROS 1909b: 3, 245.18)

Even ἐπι- can take the place of ὑπο-: δνειροεπισχέτης *Liv.* α 1567 app. crit. (N). See also BORTONE 2010: 212–13.

3.3.1 Internal Augment

3.3.1.1 Consonant-initial Verbs

3.3.1.1.1 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment

When the verb starts in a consonant, the internal syllabic augment is placed before the verb and after the preposition(s). The most commonly employed internal augment throughout the period covered by this Grammar is /e/, which may be stressed or unstressed. With the exception of περι- and προ-, vowel-final prefixes (ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, παρα-, ὑπο-) lose their final vowel before the augment. As noted, internal augment only is more common with prefixes starting in a vowel than with those starting in a consonant, with which it is mainly found in mixed- and higher-register texts (e.g. Nikon, Glykas, Ermoniakos):

ἀπελάβαμεν NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.5; τὸν διάκονα συνεπάθησε id., *Logos* 31, 824.2
 ὥσει σκιά διέβηκες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 199; ὕπαγε, παρεγνώρισες ibid. 541
 ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch.* I 131; ἀπεχαιρέτησαν εὐθύς ibid. 220
 ἐξέβην *Eisit.* f.4r.1; διελογιζόμεν ibid. f.8r.1
 κι ἀπαύτου ἀπεχαιρέτησεν *Chron. Mor.* H 1567
 ἀποξέβην *Dig.* E 52
 ἐπεὶ συνεπασχίσετε *Liv.* E 898
 καθυπέβαλον τὰ πάντα ERMON., *Ilias* 23.57
 ἀν συνέβη τίποτας (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.13–14)
 ἀπέλυκεν ἡ λειτουργία (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 530)
 παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2)
 ἡ ζήλα ἐνέβην εἰς τὸν κύρην τοῦ Στύρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.30
 ἀπεκρίθηκα (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.18–19); ἀπέθανε (1528, ibid. 127, 234.74)
 ἐξετιμῆσαν τα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 27, 66.9)
 σὰν ἐπεθύμου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.24
 Μακάριος ἱερομόναχος ὑπέγραψα (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 4.19)
 ἐνεφανιστήκασι (1656, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 2, 48.5)
 ἀνταπεδώκασι ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 180
 ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς ἀναμφίβολον τέλειον ἀφανισμόν (1693, Bucharest, LEGRAND 1903: 11, 30.12)

In the case of more than one prepositional prefix, the internal syllabic augment is sporadically placed between prefixes instead of before the verb: ἀπεκαταστήσαμεν (1246, Patmos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 63, 153.7; and 1568, Athos, PAPACHRYSSANTHOU 1986: App. 4, 242.18); ἐπεὶ προεσύντυχαν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 98.19–20. In the following

example of a verb that is both compounded and prefixed, the internal augment is employed, placed between the prefix and the verb: τὰς ὑποσχέσεις σου τὰς με δνειροῦπεσχέτης *Liv.* α 1567 app. crit. (P).

3.3.1.1.2 Internal Syllabic /i/ Augment

The stressed and unstressed internal syllabic /i/ augment can be found in a broad geographical area with certain verbs, such as φέρ(ν)ω and prefixed forms of βαίνω and βάλλω (cf. simple verbs), but is quite rare with other verbs:²⁹

τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς προσήφερες ἐκκλησίᾳ (1012, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1985: 17A, 198.12)
 προσήφερεν (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.44)
 ἀναφορὰν ἀνήφερεν *Liv.* E 3928
 ὀλίγον ἐπανήφερεν *Liv.* V 3358
 ἀν ἐπανήφερεν μικρόν *Liv.* α 3577
 ἐπανήφεραν ἐτούτους *Ermon. Ilias* 22.364
 καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον-ὀλίγόν προσήφερέ με ἡ τύχη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1212
 ἀπείν ακροσυνήφερεν *Apoll. Rim.* 351
 ἀνήφεραν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 321
 καὶ ἀνήβαινεν ἡ προίκα του *Dig.* E 1077
 ἐξήβαινα *Ptoch.* IV 147 app. crit. (C)
 ἀνήβηκα *Liv.* V 2126; ὀλίγον παρεξήβημεν ibid. 2800
 ἐξήβαιναν *Pol. Tr.* 221 app. crit. (A); ἀνήβηκεν ibid. 624 app. crit. (A)
 ἀνήβην εἰς τὰ νέφη *Poulol.* 412
 ἀνήβηκεν *Chron. Mor.* P 1489
 ἐξήβα χθές (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 144.1d–2d)
 καὶ ἄλλες ἀνηβαίνασιν *Alosis* 1003
 ἐξήβαλεν γυναῖκες καὶ παιδία *Chron. Mor.* H 1470
 ἐξήβαλε *Pol. Tr.* 574 app. crit. (ABE)
 ἐξήβαλεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς *Achil.* O 284
 τὰ θεῖα ἐξήβαλαν *Moirol. Konst.* 45
 ἀνήβασάν τους εἰς τόπον ὑψηλόν *Diig. Alex.* E 241.12 (Lolos)
 ἐξήβαλε τὸ κουκκί τὴν φακὴν *Vios Aisop.* D 221.11
 πῶς ἐγινέτον | κι ἀνηχωρήσετε ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς *Chron. Mor.* H 5175–6
 ἐξήσπασαν *Poulol.* 321 app. crit. (A)

In texts from regions that display mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] the unstressed /i/ augment is likely to be phonological (see I, 2.5.4, and cf. simple verbs, 3.1.2.3): ἐξηπατώθηκαν πρόβατα καὶ γιλάδια (1755, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 179, 205, f.276a.5) (cf. γιλάδια for γελάδια).

²⁹ Regions where the stressed /i/ augment with simple verbs is regular (see 3.1.2.2) show a clear preference for external /e/ augment when the verb is prefixed with a consonant-initial preposition or for no augment when the preposition is vowel-initial. The internal augment is mainly used with verbs that have a formulaic character, such as ὑπογράφω (as noted by BAKKER 1988/89: 321, fn. 91 regarding Varouchas), e.g.: ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης Ὀλόκαλος, νοτάριος ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας, παρακληθεὶς ὑπέγραψα (1524, Crete, ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ 1994a: 18, 60.11).

3.3.1.2 Vowel-initial Verbs

3.3.1.2.1 Internal Temporal /i/ Augment

When the verb starts in /a/ or /e/, the internal temporal augment /i/ may be employed as a rule for some verbs (ἐπαίρ(ν)ω (aor. act.), ὑπάγω (aor.), ὑπάρχω and aorists of verbs with monosyllabic stems, such as εἶδα, εἶπα, ἦλθα); with other verbs the temporal augment appears mainly in early and mixed- to higher-register texts:

ὥς ἀπῆγα εἰς τοὺς αὐθέντας μου (ca. 1310, Athos?, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 43.XXI, 254.109) ἀφότου ἐγὼ ἀποεἶδα *Chron. Mor.* H 2413; ἐπῆραν τὸν κ' ὑπήγασιν *ibid.* 5871; ἀπῆλθεν *ibid.* 8590

προσῆλθε εἰς τὸν πατέρα του *Dig.* E 743; ὑπήγασιν *ibid.* 1346

ἀπῆλθεν ἡ μαστόρισσα *Pol. Tr.* 478

ἀπῆγαν εἰς τὰ Βασιλικά (15th c. [ms], Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.50.9)

ἐπῆρεν ἀπὸ τὰς χεῖρας (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 233.7)

ὥς προσεῖδεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1140; παρῆλθεν τόπους ἱκανοὺς *ibid.* 1473

ραβδέες καλὲς ἐπῆραν *Achil.* O 565

ἐπῆραν τὸν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.25

ὥς ὑπῆγα στὸ σπῆτιν του *Spanos* D 165

καὶ ἐπῆρανέ τα (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 302.20.7)

ἐπῆρεν κουρφα ἡ Παντοσυλία (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10)

ὁποῦ ὑπῆγα ἐκεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 328.32

επῆρε το χρυσάφι NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 54.4; λοιπὸν ἀπῆλθασιν *ibid.* 110.3

ὑπήγαμεν (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.11)

ἐπήραμεν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 393.27)

ἐπῆρα τοὺς σκλάβους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.5)

ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 57

πόση χαρὰ τ' ἀντρώγυνον ἐπήραμεν ἀντάμι *Thysia Avr.* 385

ὡς ἀνωθεν προεῖπα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1683

παρήκουσεν, ὥς ἔοικε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 566; σήμερον κατήγαγεν εἰς Ἄθην *ibid.* 567

τὰ τέκνα κατηλέησε *Dig.* G II.107 (< κατελέω); τὴν ἑαυτῆς κατησπάζετο νύμφην *ibid.* IV.853

πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα κατηκολούθει τοῦτον *Diig. Alex.* M 3078; Πῶρος γὰρ κατηνάγκασεν *ibid.* 4694

κατήντησαν τὰ ἀδελφάτα εἰς ἐμέ (1389, Thessaloniki, OIKONOMIDÈS 1984: 49, 266.6–7)

κατήντησαν τὰ πράγματα *Liv.* V 2082

εἰς Ταρσὸν κατήντησα τὸ κάστρον *Velth.* 515

οὐδὲν παρήλασσε *Pol. Tr.* 14329

παρηκολούθησεν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 76.21

ἐπήκουσέν του *Vios Aisop.* D 213.41 (< ἐπακούω)

Certain verbs, such as ἐπαίρ(ν)ω, ὑπάγω and prefixed forms of ἔρχομαι, almost always retain the internal augment in the aorist indicative. Examples in which the internal augment of these verbs is absent are rare:

τὸ πρῶτον μου τὸ ριζικὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἤπαιρε τό μου *Spaneas* Z 494 app. crit.

ὑπαγε καὶ ἐπολέμισεν (1624, Skorje?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 72A, 560.2.1); ἤπαρεν τὴν

Ἀνδριανούπολιν (*ibid.* 560.3.1–2)

Contrary to the simple verb, prefixed forms of ἔχω usually do not retain the internal augment (see 3.3.2.1.1). Examples in which the /i/ augment is retained are quite rare: ὅσων εἰσπεριείχετο *Pol. Tr.* 13095; ἄσπερ κατεῖχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2875.

3.3.1.2.2 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment

Sporadically the initial vowel of the verb is replaced by the augment:³⁰ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἐπέφηκα *Velis.* χ 383 (< ἐπ-αφήνω); ἀνεστορήθη (1593, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 1, 13.1) (< ἀν-ιστορῶ).

3.3.1.2.3 Double Internal Augment

Double internal /e/ or /i/ augment may occur when the verb is prefixed with multiple prepositions, though it is not very common:

τὲς ἀράδες ἀπεδιέβηκε *Pol. Tr.* 940 app. crit. (X)

ἐξηνηλλάγη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2107; ἐξηνηλλάγη *ibid.* 2540 (both from ἐξαναλλάσσομαι)

ὁ Πάρις ἐπηνήφερεν *Byz. Il.* 449 (< ἐπαναφέρω)

καὶ ἀπεκατέστησαν (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.8); ἀπεκατέστησαν (*ibid.* 22, 78.9)

3.3.2 External Augment

3.3.2.1 Consonant-initial Prefixes

3.3.2.1.1 External Syllabic /e/ Augment

When the prefix starts in a consonant the external augment is normally /e/:

ἐπαρακλήθημεν (1095, S. Italy/Sicily?, GUILLOU 1963: 2, 50.23)

κ' ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 1570

ἐπαραβραδιάστημαν *Dig.* E 338; ἐπεριλάβασιν *ibid.* 480; ἐπροδράμαμεν *ibid.* 512

ἐσυμπονέσετέ με *Rim. than.* 91

ἐπροφῆτευσεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.17–18; ἐκατοικοῦσαν *ibid.* 335.22;

ἐσυφωνήσαμε (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.4)

ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐμετανοήσαμεν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 13, μὲν.34 (1561)

ἐδιορθώσαν (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.7–8)

ἐπαρακαλέσασιν τονε (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.9)

τὸν ἐκαθοδηγήσαμεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 187

ἐσυγκοιμήθη (1606, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 35, 250.18)

ἐξετελειώθηκε (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.130) (< ξετελειώνω)

ἐπαραλαφρώθηκε MOSCH. THEOL., *Vios Ag. Nik.* 168

ἐσυμβιβάστησαν ἀναμεταξύ τως (1630, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 1, 289.8)

τοὺς εκατοῦρειε ὅλους IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 169

ἐσυγκρίναμε (1675, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 39, 65.16)

ἐματαπάντρεψε (1683, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 56, 266.24); ἐσυναναστρεφότουνε (*ibid.* 275.37–8)

ἐπατραρέλλανέ με NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 77

τὰ ἐξανακτίσανε (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.3)

³⁰ An early example of the initial vowel being superseded by the internal /e/ augment (in this case ἀπόλλυμι) can be found in a 7th-c. satirical song sung by the Demes in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in AD 609–10, quoted from John of Antioch (7th c.) in the Chronicle of Theophanes (early 9th): πάλιν τὸν νοῦν ἀπέλεκας Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 296.27 app. crit. (ed. De Boor) (all mss but one (M), which reads ἀπόλεκας) (for the song see also ΜΑΛΣ 1912; for the κ-aorist see 2.2.1.10).

When the verb form in its simple form would have had a stressed augment, and when this augment is omitted when the verb is prefixed, the verb's stress shifts to the prefix:

- ἐπρόσταξεν (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 136.48)
 δν ἐπερίλαβα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.46)
 ἐπρότρεψα *Jonas* 216.93
 κ' ἐδιάβη τὴν ὁδὸν του *Chron Mor.* H 1567
 τὴν ἐχρονία ἀπού ἐδιάβη (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.7)
 ἐπαράδωσεν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 4, 42.4)
 ἐπερίλαβα (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.3)
 ἐπαράλαβα (1518, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 13, 57.17)
 εκατάφαγεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 1.7
 ἐπερίλαβεν (1533, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 3, 116.26); ἐπαράλαβεν (1535, *ibid.* 4, 120.18)
 αὐτὸς τὸν ἐπρόδωσεν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 433.26
 μᾶς ἐπρόσφεραν (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.11)
 ἐδιάλεξεν κάποιος μερίδας *Vios Aisop.* D 222.20
 ἐξανάπα προ ἐξαναίπα GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. replicare*; ἐμετάπα & μεταίπα *ibid. s.v. riferire*
 καὶ τὸν ἐκατάκοψαν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.27; ἐπαράλυε *ibid.* 93.2
 ἐπρόσφευγαν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §29.91
 με ἐξανάκραξε (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 611, 844.1)

Prefixed forms of ἔχω (κατέχω, περιέχω, προσέχω) usually take external augment only, forms with internal /i/ augment being quite rare (for examples see 3.3.1.2.1; for unaugmented forms of ἔχω as a simple verb see 3.1.4.4):

- νὰ ἐπρόσεχε *Liv.* V 1790
 δσον περιέχε ἐξ ἀρχῆς (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.7)
 δὲν ἐκατέχασιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 273.11
 οὔτε ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.17
 δὲν ἐκατέχαμεν πότες βραδιάζει *Diig. Sant.* 57.54

In texts from Chios, Rhodes, the Heptanese and especially Cyprus, we find past-tense forms that begin with ἐξη-. The morpheme ἐξη- originates from the internal temporal augment of verbs prefixed with ἐκ- (e.g. ἐξαλείφω, ἐξήλειψα) and was reanalysed as a prefix ξη-, which is also used with other word classes (see introduction to this Chapter), and then spread to consonant-initial verbs as well. The following forms, therefore, do not have internal /i/ augment, but are in fact prefixed with ξη- and have external syllabic /e/ augment:³¹

- ἐξηρίζωσεν (1433, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 29, f.35r.2)
 με ἐξησκέπασε (1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 14, 79.6)
 ἐξηρίζωσεν πολλά δεντρά ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 60.19–20; ἐξηφορτώσαν *ibid.* 154.5;
 ἐξηψύχισεν *ibid.* 272.3; ἐξηπόρτισεν *ibid.* 386.23
 καὶ ἐξήλειψέ τα (app. crit.) (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.Π, 212.18.5)
 ἐξηλείπτῃ τὸ νησίον ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 60.29–30
 ἐξηστρώναν *Dig.* A 2012

³¹ For the form ἐξησπάσθην in *Diig. Alex.* E 107.12 (Lolos) and 117.19–20 we should most probably read ἐκουσπάσθην (<ἐκουσπά(ζομαι)>; cf. ὁκάτι ὡς ἡκροεκούσπαζε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 51).

- ἐξησκεπάστη ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 126.4
 ἐξησκεπάσθη ἡ γῆς ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 191.19, 191.28–9 and 191.31
 ὅταν τὴν ἐξηγύμνωναν *Thrinios Konst. (Zoras)* 128

3.3.2.1.2 External Syllabic /i/ Augment

External syllabic /i/ augment with a prefixed verb occurs in the following examples from the Cyclades (cf. simple verbs in the same area, 3.1.2.2):³² τὸ ἡδιάταξεν (1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.7); ἡπερίλαβεν τὰ ἄνωθεν ρεάλια (1670, Paros, ALIPRANDIS/SYMEONIDIS 1985: 129.13).

3.3.2.2 Vowel-initial Prefixes

3.3.2.2.1 External Syllabic /e/ Augment

The external syllabic /e/ augment may replace the initial vowel of the prefix in texts from various, mainly southern, areas:

- ὡς ἐφηγεῖτον *Log. parig.* 51
 ἐπόθανες *Dig.* E 121 app. crit.; ἐπάντεχεν *ibid.* 167; ἀμιράδας ἐπόταξεν *ibid.* 1613 app. crit.
 ἐπαρνήθηκεν *Liv.* E 3137; ἐφηγήσατο τὸ δνειρον τῆς κόρης *ibid.* 4117
 γένεια οὐκ ἐπόκτησεν *Spanos* D 113
 ἐπάμπωσε SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 113 transcr. (Lendari) (<ἀπαμπώτω)>
 ἐντιστάθη τὸν καστελάνον (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.22)
 ἐπάντεχεν ὁ καλὸς αὐθέντης ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 44.13
 ἐποπληρώθηκα (1535, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 152, 157.4); ἐποπληρώθημαν (1538, *ibid.* 175, 176.6)
 ἐπαντέχαμε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.7)
 ἐπόγραφα (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 28, 169.10); ἐπόκοψεν (1597, *ibid.* 41, 188.6)
 καὶ ἐφιέρωσε το (17th c.?, Amorgos?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2167, f.2.2)
 ἐποκοιμούσου *Thysia Avr.* 423
 τὸ ἐπόκοψαν (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 3, 293.5)
 ἐπόθανε καὶ αὐτὸς RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 129.3
 δὲν ἐποκότουν ποτὲ νὰ γράψω (1643, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 4, 98.14–15) (<ἀποκοτῶ)>
 ἐπογενήκετε (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), 29.2)
 ἐποξεχάσα *Rim. Sant.* 165
 ἐποφάσισαν (1667, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 10, 25.26)

³² In texts from regions that display mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i], an unstressed /i/ augment would most probably be phonetic (see I, 2.5.4). No examples have, however, been found in the texts examined, as even texts that do display raising of /e/ to [i] elsewhere tend to retain the unstressed /e/ augment, at least in writing, as the following example from Papasynadinos demonstrates: ἐπικυκλώσεν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §36.56 (= ἐπερικύκλωσεν).

3.3.2.2 External Temporal/Syllabic /i/ Augment

As noted above, verbs with prefixes starting in /a/ or /e/ may adopt an unhistorical temporal /i/ augment in early mixed-register texts. However, in later texts, and especially in texts that employ the unstressed /i/ augment with simple verbs as well (see the examples from Mykonos; see also 3.1.2.2), this /i/ is more likely to be a syllabic augment. In the case of the prefix ἀπο-, a certain degree of confusion with ὑπο- may also be suspected (cf. e.g. ἀπογράφω for ὑπογράφω, see 3.3):

/a/ > /i/

εἰς ἄλλον ἡνενδράνισεν *Liv.* S 2684 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
καὶ πάλιν ἡμφιβάλλετο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2280
ὅτι ἡπόκτησες υἷον *Diig. Alex.* F 106.4 (Lolos), *Diig. Alex.* E 107.3 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex.* V 27.12
ἡποφάσισεν (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 56.38)
ἔκρινε καὶ ἡποφάσισε (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.19)
ἡποφάσισεν (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.28)

/e/ > /i/

In texts from regions that display mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] the unstressed /i/ augment is very likely to be phonological (see I, 2.5.4).³³

ἡπιλάλησεν ὁ Μουσῆς (15th c., Mesimvria?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 29, 215.7.1); ἡπιλάλησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν Πόλιν (ibid. 215.11.1–2)
κλύδωνας τοὺς ἡπίπεσεν *Chron. Toc.* 29; ἡπίτυχεν ibid. 3238
ἡπιλάλησε *Dig.* T 1260

3.3.3 Double Augment

3.3.3.1 Consonant-initial Verb with Consonant-initial Prefix

3.3.3.1.1 Internal and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

When both the verb and the prefix are consonant-initial, internal and external syllabic /e/ augment can be found before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from north to south and from east to west:

ἐπεριεπολεύσαμεν (1016, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 3, 49.25–6)
ἐπροσέφυγα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.22; ἐπαρεχωρήθημεν id., *Logos* 9 312.22
ἐπαρεκάλεσεν (1108–9, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 29, 136.48)
ἐπροεκάθητον (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.10); ἐπαρέδωκεν (ibid. 227.14)
ἐκατεμερίζομην *Eisit.* f.8r.2
ἐπροσεθήκαμεν (1375, Ioannina, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 146, 104.36)
ἐπροέδωσα (1391, Corfu, TSELIKAS 1986b: 183.21)
καὶ πάλιν ἐδιέγερνα SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 138
ἐκατέλαβαν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 25, 199.1.1)
ἐπαρεπτονόμουνα *Anon. Naupl.* 61

³³ Cf. the following non-past examples: τὸν ἡπιλάλη *Chron. Toc.* 470; νὰ ἡπιλαλοῦν ibid. 3689.

σὰν ἐπροέγραψές μας (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.13)
ἐσυνέβαλαν ΡΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §24.8
ἐκατεστρώθη ἡ παρούσα μου διάνθεσις (1653, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 3, 144.19)
ἐπροέγραψα (1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 10, 85.10); ἐδιέβαλε (ibid. 86.12)
ἐσυνεφώνησε (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 5, 5.1)
ἐπαρεκάλεσεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 496; ἐπερεχύθη ibid. 738
ἐκατέγδυσε *Don Kis.* 46.14; ἐσυνέβη ibid. 142.26

3.3.3.1.2 Internal Syllabic /i/ Augment and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

When both the verb and the prefix are consonant-initial, internal syllabic /i/ and external syllabic /e/ augment may be employed. The internal /i/ augment has a broad geographical distribution for certain verbs, such as φέρ(ν)ω and prefixed forms of βαίνω and βάλλω (cf. simple verbs 3.1.2.1), but it occurs only rarely with other verbs:³⁴

μ' ἐπροσθήφεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3973
ἐσυνήφεν *Liv.* V 3131
ἐπροσθήφεν *Pol. Tr.* 12051 app. crit. (BCV)
ἐσυνήφεν *Achil.* N 1753
ἐκατήφεν *Peri xen.* 16 app. crit. (A)
ὁ φθόνος μ' ἐκατήφεν *Velis.* χ 142 and *Velis.* ρ 225
μόλις ἐσυνήφεν *Achil.* N 1753
ἐσυνήφερα ἀπὸ τὴν λιγομάρα *Love poems* 575
μὲ βίαν τὸ ἐσυνήφεν *Diig. Alex.* E 121.16–17 (Lolos)
σ' λιγάκιν ἐσυνήφερε *CHORTATIS, Erof.* V.143

ἐκατήβησαν *Pol. Tr.* 911 app. crit. (A)
ἦλθεν καὶ ἐκατήβηκεν *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 80
ἐκατήβημαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 208 app. crit.
ἐκατήβαιναν ἀπὸ τὸν παράδεισον *Diig. Alex.* K 368.31
τὸ Πνεῦμα ὅπου ἐκατίβαινε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 1.10

ἐκατηβάσασι *Pol. Tr.* 1843 app. crit. (A)
ἐκατήβασάν τον *Chron. Toc.* 630; οὕτως τὴν ἐκατήβασαν ibid. 2959
τὸ ἐριζικὸν μὲ ἐκατίβασεν *Diig. Alex.* E 297.25 (Lolos)
ἐκατίβασε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 15.46

ἐπαρηχωροῦσαν *Ptoch.* IV 146
ἐπροήγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.9)
ἐσυνήπαψαν *Rim. Sant.* 782
τὴν ἄνωθε σεντένζα ὅπου ἐπροήκαμαν (1710, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 100, 110.15–16)

When the preceding word ends in a vowel the unstressed augment of the following verb may be deleted through aphaeresis. This does not necessarily mean that the form has internal augment only, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is displaced by the

³⁴ In the areas where the stressed /i/ augment is generally employed with simple verbs (E. Crete and the Aegean, see 3.1.2.2), there is a clear tendency to use only external syllabic /e/ augment when the verb is prefixed with a prefix starting in a consonant (see 3.3.2.1), or no augment when the prefix starts in a vowel (see 3.3.4.1).

preceding vowel. When the preceding word ends in /e/, it is mostly a matter of editorial choice whether to regard the /e/ as belonging to the previous word or to the verb:

καθώς και προεῖπα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 208.15
 και προσεκύνησέν σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1–2
 και κατεθάρρησέ με *Liv.* S 195 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τὸ παρηχώρησεν *Peri xen.* 119
 τὸ κατήφεραν *Bergadis, Apok.* V 51
 ὡς γοῖδν τὸ προεῖπαμεν *Machairas, Chron.* V 456.18
 και παρεκάλεσε (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 17, 71.13)
 τα ψεύματα παρήλθαν *Ioakeim Kypr., Pali* 346

3.3.3.2 Consonant-initial Verb with Vowel-initial Prefix

3.3.3.2.1 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

Several examples have been found of verbs with a vowel-initial prefix that are augmented with both internal and external syllabic /e/. This possibility renders the prefix opaque, and clearly leads to a certain degree of confusion, especially between ἀπο- and ὑπο-, and ἀνα- and ἐν- (see the introduction to 3.3):

αὐτοὶ ἐπεκρίθησαν (1244, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 294, 413.27) (< ἀποκρίνομαι)
 ἐπεγράφη και παρ' ἡμῶν (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.33) (< ὑπογράφω)
 ἐντέλλαξεν (1397, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 81, 48.4) (< ἀνταλλάσσω)
 ἐπεξέβηκα *Dig.* E 1441 (ἀποξεβαίνω < ἀποεκβαίνω)
 και ὅταν ἐπεφάγασιν *Achil.* L 1072 (< ἀποτρώγω)
 ἐπεχαιρέτισαν *Achil.* O 181 (< ἀποχαιρετίζω)
 ἐπελησμόνησες *Katal.* 388 (< ἀπολησμονῶ)
 ἐπέστειλεν *Pent. Gen.* 8.8 (< ἀποστέλλω)
 ἐνέλαβεν *Krasop.* V 109 (< ἀναλαμβάνω)
 ἐνεχώσασινε και ἕνα λειψανο (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.112) (< ἀναχώνω)
 Νεόφυτος ἱερομόναχος ἐπέγραψα (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 4.20)
 Λάζαρος ἐνεστάθη *Rim. Sant.* 25 (< ἀνίσταμαι); ἐνεβῆκαν *ibid.* 754 (< ἀναβαίνω)

Sometimes double augment may occur in simple verbs, when they are thought to be prefixed: ἐνέγκασέ μας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.6) (< ἀναγκάζω); ἐγανέκτησες (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 144.3d) (< ἀγανακτῶ).

3.3.3.2.2 Internal Syllabic /e/ Augment and External Temporal /i/ Augment

As noted above, verbs prefixed with prepositions starting in /a/ or /e/, and especially ἀνά, may have an unhistorical temporal augment. This augment appears mainly in early mixed-register texts:

ἡνεθεμάτισαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 44.4; ἡνεπεύομην *id., Logos* 4 206.13 app. crit. (S); ἡνεστάθην *id., Logos* 9 314.5–6
 τινές δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἡνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.31)

ἦν ἡνέφερεν εἰς τὴν κραταιὰν ... βασιλείαν σου (1288, Kos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.5–6) (< ἀναφέρω)
 ἡνεσηκώθη *Log. parig.* L 602 (< ἀνασηκώνομαι)
 ἡνέβαζεν *Samuel gloss.* f.1v, lower margin; ἡντέβαλλον *ibid.* f.2v, l. 13 supralinear³⁵
 ἡνέταζαν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.6) (< ἀνατάζω)
 ἡνέφεραν (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.1)
 ἡνεφέρασιν *ERMON., Ilias* 13.80; ἡνεπαύοντο *ibid.* 13.103
 ἡνέστρωσεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1989 (< ἀναστρώνω)

The following example: ἡπέλυκεν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1411) is likely to be the result of mid-vowel raising (ἀπολύω, ἐπέλυκεν > ἡπέλυκεν, see I, 2.5.4), or confusion of the prefixes ἀπό and ὑπό (ὑπέλυκεν), which is not uncommon (cf. e.g. ἀπογράφω for ὑπογράφω see the Introduction to 3.3).

In the following examples the augment is syllabic rather than temporal, as in the period under review the temporal augment is no longer a functional process; texts from Mykonos display wide use of the syllabic /i/ augment with simple verbs as well (see above 3.1.2.2): ἡνεφανιστήκασι (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.4); ἡνεφανιστήκασιν (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 1, 18.7); ἡνεφανιστήκασι (*ibid.* 2, 19.6) (< ἐμφανίζομαι).

Occasionally double augment may occur in a simple verb, when it is thought to be prefixed: και ὁ πόθος σου με ἡνέγκασεν *Dig.* E 362 (< ἀναγκάζω ≠ ἀναγκάζω).

3.3.3.3 Vowel-initial Verb with Consonant-initial Prefix

3.3.3.3.1 Internal Temporal /i/ and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

These augments occur routinely with some verbs (παρακούω, καταντῶ and prefixed aorist forms of ἐπαρ(ν)ω and of verbs with monosyllabic perfective stems, such as εἶδα, εἴπα, ἦλθα); but with other verbs the combination occurs mainly in mixed- to higher-register texts:

ἐπροσεῖχα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 19 576.2
 ἐπαρῆλθον ἐνιαυτοὶ τριάκοντα (1244, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 294, 412.35)
 πολλὰ με ἐκατεῖπες *Diig. tetr.* 741
 ἀπεῖν ἐσυνεπῆρα *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 115 (< συνεπαρ(ν)ω)
 ἐπροεῖπα (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.74)
 ἐπαρήκουσαν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 165.39; δὲν τὰ ἐπροεῖπαν μόνον προφήτες *ibid.* 386.9–10
 ἐπροεῖπα (1548, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 41, 71.18)
 ἐσυνῆλθαμεν συμβιβαστικῶς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 99, 98.7)
 ἐπαρήκουσες τὴν ἐντολὴν *DAM. STOUT., This., Logos* 24, A1r.1–2 (1561); ἐκατήντησαν *ibid., Logos* 7, η4v.23
 ὁποῦ ἐπροεῖπαμεν *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 108.13
 ἐπαρεῖδαμε τὰ ἔθνη *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §22.69

³⁵ Examples taken from a so far unpublished 14th-c. manuscript containing a Judaeo-Greek glossary of uncertain provenance (probably from Asia Minor). To be published in: KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming).

τοὺς ἐπροπῆρε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 20.31; ἐματὰιδαν *ibid.* 20.34 (marginal note)
ἐπροείπαμεν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 102.25
καθὼς τὸ ἐπροεῖδα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 317

ἐκατήρπαξε (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 306.7)
ἐπροσήγαγον *Pol. Tr.* 12051 (reading of AX)
ὅτι πολὺν βίον μοῦ ἐκατηνάλωσεν (1493, Venice, MALTEZOU 2004: 85.23–4)
ἄρα ἐπροσηύχου; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 146.3d)
ὁμοίως ἐκατηξιώθη DAM. STOUT., *This., Logos* 4, γ8v.28 (1561)
τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε νὰ ὑπάγη *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 71; ἐκαθηρέθη *ibid.* 277
ἐσυνήχθησαν (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 38, 252.14)
ἐμετήρητον MARGOUNIOS, *Vioi* 273.8

Prefixed forms of the verb ἔχω usually do not retain the (internal) /i/ augment of the simple verb. Only a few examples have been found of prefixed ἔχω with double augment: τὸ καλύβιον ὅπερ ἐπροεῖχεν ἀγοράσει (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 18, 54.8); τὸ ἐπροεῖχεν (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 9, 27.4–5).

3.3.3.3.2 Internal and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

This combination of augments is not very common and occurs mainly with the verb παραγγέλλω:

καὶ εἰς τόπον ἐκατέντησα *Liv.* E 905; ἐπαρέγγειλέ με *ibid.* 1375
δλους ἐπαρέγγειλα *Liv.* V 634; ἡ γραία ἐπαρέγγειλεν *ibid.* 2769
ἐπαρέγγειλεν *Achil.* L 176 and 1048
οὐκ ἐπαρέγγελλά σε *Katal.* 424
δσα σοῦ ἐπαρέγγειλα *Diig. Alex.* F 116.4 (Konstantinopoulos); ἐπαρέγγειλεν *ibid.* 150.8

3.3.3.3.3 Internal Temporal /i/ and External Syllabic /i/ Augment

This combination of augments is very rare: οὐδὲν ἠπαρήκουσαν τὸν ὀρισμὸν του *Porikol.* I 117.

3.3.3.4 Vowel-initial Verb with Vowel-initial Prefix

3.3.3.4.1 Internal Temporal /i/ and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

This combination of augments may occur when the verb retains its inherited temporal /i/ augment and the initial vowel of the prefix (ὑπο-) is replaced with the syllabic /e/ augment. It occurs regularly and everywhere with the verb ὑπάγω, but only sporadically with other verbs:

ἐπῆγα εἰς τὸ κοράσιον *Dig.* E 1578
ἐπήγασαν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 209.4.2)
οὐδὲν ἐπῆγα μοναχὸς *Chron. Mor.* T 6928
ἐπήγεν ἔσσω του τσαμπερλάνου VOUST., *Chron.* A 8.8
ἐπήγεν εἰς τὰ Χανιά με δαύτονε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 252, 347.20)

ἔς τὴν τόπον ἐπήγες (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.16)
ἐπήγασιν (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 164.5)
καὶ ἐπήγαμεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Ἐλέξεως (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 336.43–4)
ἐπήγεν στοῦ Σκορδίλη τὸ σώχωρο (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 853, 745.22–3)
ἐπήγεν εἰς τοὺς καφενέδες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.6
ἐπήγεν τὸν Μάρτη καὶ τὸν Ἀπρίλη (1670, Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.1, 72.2)
ἐπήγενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2872 (= ἐπήγε, see I, 2.6.3.3)
ἐπήγαμε εἰς τὴν Γκῶ (1701, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 14, 31.13–14)
ἐπήγαν εἰς τὴν Κίμουλον (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 513.12)

ἐμὲ γὰρ ὡς ἐφήρπασαν ἐξαίφνης ὥσπερ λύκοι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1790³⁶
ἐπήκουέ τους ο λαὸς σ' ἀπόφασιν που δύναν DEFAR., *Sos.* 72 (Holton) (< ὑπακούω)

3.3.3.4.2 Internal and External /i/ Augment

Internal and external /i/ augment appears to be lexical, as it has been found only with aorist active forms of ἐπαίρ(ν)ω. It occurs in texts from various areas, and not only areas where mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4) may be suspected (such as in the document from Sibiu and the *Chronicle of Tocco*). It is likely to be an analogical formation to ὑπῆγα, which, just like ἐπαίρ(ν)ω almost always retains its internal temporal augment, but which may also appear with internal /i/ and external syllabic /e/ augment (see 3.3.3.4.1) (ὑπῆγα > ἐπῆγα, ἐπῆρα > ἠπῆρα):

ἠπῆρεν το φουσάτο του *Diig. Alex.* K 315.25; τὴν Ρώμην ἠπῆραμεν *ibid.* 351.35
δταν ἠπῆρεν ἀνὴρ (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.16)
δλα τοὺς τὰ ἠπῆραν *Chron. Toc.* 76
καὶ αὐτὸς ἠπῆρεν τ' ὄνομαν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 364
ἠπῆρεν *Diig. Alex.* F 90.21 (Lolos)
ἠπῆρεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 11.1
τὸ τί ἠπῆρε εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτι (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.17)
μοῦ ἠπῆρανε πλιὸ παρά χίλια πεντακόσια φλωρία (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 388.16)
μοῦ τὰ ἠπῆραν (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 13, 51.1)
ἠπῆρε (1662, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 27, 33.10); ἠπῆραμε (1672, *ibid.* 48, 46.18)
ἠπῆρι ὁ Τουκίλης (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 13, f.44r.10) (= ἠπῆρε or ἐπῆρε)

3.3.3.4.3 Internal and External Syllabic /e/ Augment

This combination of augments is very rare. One example has been found:³⁷ καὶ τίς μοῦ τὸ ἐπέρπαξε τὸ ὠραῖόν μου τὸ πουλάκιν *Katal.* 381.

³⁶ If it can be assumed that the verb is ἀφαρπάζω, and not the extremely rare and semantically awkward ἐφαρπάζω (see LSJ s.v.).

³⁷ Assuming that the intended verb is indeed ἀφαρπάζω, and not the very rare ἐφαρπάζω (see LSJ s.v.).

3.3.3.5 Double External Augment

Sporadically forms with multiple prefixes may be found with double external augment, whereby the second augment is placed not before the verb but between prefixes: ἐπροεκάτεχάν τινες (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 290.9); ἐπροησυμβιβάσθησαν (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 27, 61.10). In the following example of a prefixed compound verb the internal augment is placed between the prefix and the modifier: ἐσυνεκακοπάθει RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 66.18.

3.3.4 Absence of the Augment

3.3.4.1 Vowel-initial Prefix

Absence of any form of augment with forms prefixed with a vowel-initial preposition occurs throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- ἀφιέρωσαν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 306.10); ἀφαιρέθη (1225, *ibid.* Coll. IX: 31, 449.15)
 ἀνάτειλες ὡς φέγγος GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 200
 ἀπογλύτωσαν τὰ τοιοῦτα κς' βιβλία (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.9)
 ἀναγύριζά σας Dig. E 168; ἀνατράφην *ibid.* 724; ἀπολησμόνησες *ibid.* 848
 ἀπολογήθην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.26; ἀποχαιρέτησάν τον *ibid.* 52.3
 ἀμφίβαλλεν την υπανδρείαν Diig. *Apoll.* 39
 και ἀπεχεν από πάσα πράγμα *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.3–4
 τὸ ἀνάθρεφεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.29; ἀνάφεραν *ibid.* 350.16; ὑπόγραψαν *ibid.* 351.35
 ἀποπουλήθη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.11); ἀναστῆσαν τηνε (*ibid.* 22, 100.17)
 ἀποφασίσασμε (1573, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 9, 62.7–8)
 ἀπόκοψαν (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 164.15)
 ἀπιλογήθηκεν Diig. *Alex. Sem.* S 116
 διατί ἀμφίβαλλες; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.31
 ὑποσχέθησαν (1592, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 30, 245.38); ἀνάκραξε (1685, *ibid.* 68, 275.40)
 ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκρίθην (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.15); ἀφιέρωσαν (*ibid.* 57.18)
 τὰ δρ' ἀντιδονοῦσαν *Thrinis Kypr.* 60

When the prefix starts in /e/ the loss of augment is apparent only, as the initial /e/ can easily be reanalysed as an augment. In fact, with certain verb forms, such as ἐπιλάλησεν, ἐγγαστρώθηκα, ἐγδέχουντα it is not certain whether they constitute past-tense forms of ἐπιλαλῶ, ἐγγαστρώνω and ἐγδέχομαι, or of πιλαλῶ, γγαστρώνω, and γδέχομαι:

- ἐγκαλέσαμεν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 97.5)
 ἐκδωκεν πληρεστάτην ἀπόφασιν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 25.183)
 ἐντρεψα Dig. E 150; ἐπιλάλησεν *ibid.* 1275
 και ἐπίκατζε τὸ ἀκάνθιν *Vulgärorakel* I.219
 ἐξεῦρε τέχνας φοβερὰς *Pol. Tr.* 274 app. crit. (X)
 τὸ παρὸν λιγατογράμμα ἐφανίσθη και εἰς ἡμᾶς (1415, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 123, 92.31)
 τὴν δόξαν μου ἐπιμελήθητε *Defi. Par.* 135
 ἐκδέχετον *Velis.* χ 111

- ἐκλεξεν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.14)
 σὲ ἐγγαστρώθηκα BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.7
 ἐγδέχουντα νὰ ἀκούσωσι *Leilasia Par.* 160

The same may be said of verbs that start in /e/, in which the initial /e/ may easily be viewed as an internal augment:

- ἀπέλπισάν με SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 194.4
 ἀνέγειρεν (1225, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 31, 450.17)
 ἀνεγέρθη (1593, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 1, 13.1)
 ὅσα μοῦ προετοίμασε *Rim. Sant.* 44

3.3.4.2 Consonant-initial Prefix

When the preceding word ends in a vowel, the external syllabic augment of the following verb may be deleted by aphaeresis. This does not necessarily mean that the form is unaugmented, just that /e/, being a weak vowel (see I, 2.9.2), is displaced by the preceding vowel. If the preceding vowel is /e/, then it is often a matter of editorial choice whether to print e.g. καὶ περίμενεν, καὶ ᾠπερίμενεν or κι/κ' ᾠπερίμενεν:

- ἐνα τὸ ἄλλο οὐ συμφωνοῦσαν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 46.3 app. crit. (S)
 καὶ περίμενεν *Log. parig.* L 603; με παραπύκρυνες *ibid.* 617
 μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ περίτρεχεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1468
 καὶ καταφλόγισέν με DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 72
 οὐ ᾠπυλογήθην *Velis.* χ 100
 πολλὰ τοῦ σύντυχεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 91.2 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 εἰς τοῦτο προσδράμανε (1686, Tinos, LAMBROS 1909b: 1, 243.6)

Even more so than with simple verbs (see 3.1.3), unambiguous unaugmented forms of verbs with consonant-initial prefixes (at the beginning of the period or verse or preceded by a word ending in a consonant), are not very common:

- παρείκαζες ἀνθρώποιον *Liv.* α 2541
 ὅσον περιεχε ἐξ ἀρχῆς (16th c., Constantinople, PREGER 1912: 468.7)
 παρὼν σωματικῶς συνφώνησε (1560, Corfu, KARYDIS 2004/06: 1, 48.2–3)
 πάλιν περιμαζώνετον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 348
 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄνωθε ἄρχοντες συμβάστημαν (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.1)
 ὅς κατέχαμεν *Rim. Sant.* 533
 τοὺς διαυθέντευσ *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 16.9

4 Conjugation

In the period covered by this Grammar, the middle voice, which had begun to be replaced by the passive in the Koine (HORROCKS 2010: 103), had long disappeared and only occurs in residual forms in texts belonging to mixed or higher stylistic registers (for residual middle forms see 4.9.1). Thus there are two voices: the active voice and the passive (sometimes called mediopassive). In LMedG and EMG three of the four moods remain: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative. There are three synthetic tenses: the present, the aorist and the imperfect, whereas the future, the perfect, the pluperfect and the future perfect are expressed periphrastically (see Chapter 5). Invariable verb forms include the infinitive and the gerund. The verb εἶμαι, which had moved over to a passive paradigm, is discussed in a separate section (4.8).

The thematic vowel /o/ in 1 pl. and 3 pl. is often replaced by /u/ in both barytone and oxytone A-stem verbs. This may be viewed in the light of the /u/-dynamic (BABINIOTIS 1972: 189–92) that is at play in parts of the verbal system. For presentational reasons, the thematic vowel is presented as part of the ending in the following descriptions.

4.1 The Present Indicative and Subjunctive

4.1.1 Barytone Verbs

By the beginning of the LMedG period, the endings of the present active subjunctive (-ω, -ης, -η, -ωμε(ν), -ητε, -ωσι(ν)) had long fallen together with those of the present indicative (-ω, -εις, -ει, -ομε(ν), -ετε, -ουσι(ν)/-ουν) for reasons of phonetics and analogical levelling (a development that had begun in Late Antiquity, see HORROCKS 2010: 317; see JANNARIS 1897: 198–9 for examples from the New Testament onwards). Although the indicative and subjunctive clearly make use of the same set of endings, there is a tendency in modern editions to apply a historical spelling to the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 1 pl. subjunctive, even though this essentially contradicts the development of the language. Not all editors, however, choose to make this graphematic distinction.¹

The synoptic tables cover the present indicative and subjunctive endings of all barytone verbs, including vowel-stem verbs (e.g. ακούω, καμμύω, μηνύω, σπάω, τρώω). For forms of these verbs with vowel deletion see also 2.1.1.2. A separate table is given for residual

¹ In editions in monotonic the official spelling of SMG is applied (sometimes including an unhistorical spelling -οσι(ν) for the residual 3 pl. ending -ωσι(ν)), whereas in editions in polytonic three systems are in current use: (1) historical spelling of subjunctive endings with iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg. and <ω> in 1 pl.; (2) the official spelling of the 1941 grammar of Triandafyllidis (historical spelling minus the iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg.; (3) the official spelling of SMG, but with polytonic accentuation (sometimes without the grave).

endings of the subjunctive and endings that are traditionally spelled differently. As mentioned in the General Introduction to this Grammar, the iota subscript has been omitted in the examples. Other than that, the spelling of the modern editions of literary texts has been preserved. In examples normalized by us, 2 sg. and 3 sg. examples of the subjunctive are spelled with <ει>.

4.1.1.1 Active Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γράφω	γράφου	γράφων
	2	γράφεις		
	3	γράφει	γράφειν	
Pl.	1	γράφομε(ν)	γράφομενε γράφουμε(ν)	γραφόμε(ν) γράφομαι
	2	γράφετε	γράφετεν(ε)	γράφιτε -τε
	3	γράφουσι(ν) γράφουν	γράφουσινε γράφου γράφουνε	γράφωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν) γράφον(ε)

For 2 pl. and 3 pl. of the present subjunctive the residual endings -ητε and -ωσι(ν) can sporadically be found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of barytone verbs are identical to those of the present indicative, although some forms are traditionally spelled differently, as shown in the following table.

		General	Restricted
Sg.	1		
	2	γράφης/γράφης	
	3	γράφη/γράφη	γράφην/γράφην
Pl.	1	γράφωμε(ν)	
	2		γράφητε
	3		γράφωσι(ν)/γράφωσι(ν)

Singular

1st Person

Sg.	1	-ω -ων -ου
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The ending for 1 sg. shows very little morphological variation, before, during or after the period under investigation:

λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.10; εἰς ταῦτα οὐκ ἀντιτείνω id., *Logos* 31 812.34
καὶ ἐπέκεινα νομίζω *Eisit.* f.3r.4
πῶς σχολάζω καὶ ἐγὼ (1337–8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.58–9)
οὐδὲν σὰς φταίω *Chron. Mor.* H 2691; κὶ ὁμνύω σὰς ibid. 4754
πιστεύω, ἀπολησμώνησες τὰ χθεσινὰ σου λόγια *Dig.* E 848; τυλίγω το ibid. 1267
στέλνω καὶ χαβιάριν (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.25)
θέλω νὰ μένω ἐδῶ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 260)
τὸ εἶτι μαθαίνω καταλεπτῶς (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.8)
ὁμοιάζω τὸν πατῆρ μου *Synax. gadar.* 148
ἀγωνίζω πῶς εἶμαι οὐδετίποτε *Fior* 77.11
δὲν στέκω νὰ διαβάζω ZINOS, *Vatr. Prol.* 5
δὲ θε νὰ σοῦ τὸ χῶνω CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.342; πειράζω τη id., *Panor.* I.235
καὶ προμετάρω σου VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.24–5 (< Ven. *promèter*)
θέλωμεν ἰδεῖ, λογιάζω, μικρὰν βοήθειαν (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-
THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.12–13)
δείχνω πως δὲν νιώθω πόνο *Don Kis.* 47.10

Addition of final /n/ to 1 sg. is unusual: ἡ δόξα μου, ὅπου ἔχων ἀπὲ σένα *Diig. Alex. F* 280.12 (Lolos).

1 sg. forms in -ου are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ω, the result of various processes whereby [o] becomes [u] (for details see I, 2.5.4 and 2.8.3):

δίδου καὶ στέργου (1101, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 69, 87.9)
διὰ τοῦτο λέγου (1539, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 3, 17.5); ἀφήνου ὁδὶα τὴν ψυχὴν μου
(1562, ibid. 9, 22.3)
λέγου σου πῶς εἶναι ἐδικοί σου (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.6)
νὰ 'χου νὰ τοῦ τὰ δίνου (1672, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 6, 323.4)
γράφου καὶ ἐγὼ αντιμάρτυρας (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 54, 206.5)
παρὰ νὰ δουλεύου καὶ πεινῶ (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.13); καὶ πάγου εἰς
τοῦ Τουράτσου (ibid. 51.25) (very common in this collection of letters)
ἀποδείχνου (1711, Skiathos, KARAVIDAS 2004: 1, 248.1)

2nd Person

Sg.	2	-εις/-ης/-ης
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The ending for 2 sg. is /is/ before, during and after the period under investigation:

ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸ εὐρίσκης NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.21
ἐσὺ ἂν ἰσθήκης εἰς βουνὶν καὶ ἀπόμακρα ἐντρανίζης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119
λέγε με πῶς ἀκούεις *Log. parig.* L 89
τί ἐν' τὸ κλαίεις *Chron. Mor.* H 6053
ἄλλον τὸ χρήζεις (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.15)
νὰ τοὺς παιδεύεις (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.8)
δταν διαγέρνης SACHLIKIS, *Afisis* 157
ὁμοιάζεις σκοτεινὴν γωνίαν *Spanos* B 74
ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ μῦθια γ' εὐρίσκεις τὸ ἀκρωτήριον (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.20)
νὰ ξέρεις ... ὅτι τὰ ἔχεις χαμένα & τὰ στελεῖς (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.23)

ποῖσε ὥσαν ὀρλίζει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1214
γὰ ἴντα μοῦ βαρλσκεῖς *P&N Diath.* 3080
ἐγὼ ἔπινα καὶ ἐσὺ μεθύεις; *Vios Aisop.* D 223.29
ὅποτα βρλσκεῖς πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ πέβεις γραφή (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7)
διώχνεις με, μάννα, διώχνεις με *Dimotika Ivir.* XI.1
δὲν την ἔχεις διὰ τοιαύτην ὡς καθὼς την λέγεις *Don Kis.* 103.21

3rd Person

Sg.	3	-ει/-η/-η ἰ -ειν/-ην
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The 3 sg. ending shows no morphological variation, before, during or after the period under investigation:

καὶ πιάζει τὸ αὐτὸ ρυάκιον (11th c., Thebes, SVORONOS 1959: 12.23)
εἴ τις ἂν λέγη: ψεύδεται GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133
κλείει σφικτὴν τὴν θύραν *Ptoch.* I 126
εἶτα λαμβάνει (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 53.69)
καβάλα δὲν σὲ πρέπει *Arm.* 8
ὀρλίζει, διαφεντεύει μας *Pol. Tr.* 181
νὰ χάνει ὁ Ἀνδρέας τὸ καράβιν (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.14)
νὰ τὰ παίρνει (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 50, 27.5)
φέρνει διὰ τροφὴν (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.4)
καὶ βλέπει τὸ *Achil.* L 947
πρέπει νὰ ἡξεύρει νὰ διαβάζει καὶ νὰ γράφει (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.25–6)
δῶνει ἡγουν καὶ παραδῶνει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 25, 163.3) (for δῶνω see 2.4 s.v.
δίδω/δίνω)
ἔτσι κοντινούρει (1614, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 13, 49.14) (< Ven. *continuar*)
εὐθύς ἀνοίγει κάποσο ὡς ἕνα δάκτυλον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §17.17
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πασαγιάρει θυμωμένος KONDAR., *Paides* 763 tit. (< Ital. *passaggiare*)

However, it can be found with an added final /n/ in texts from various areas (see I, 3.7.2.1 for details):

μέλλειν δίδειν (1142?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 7, 309.7)
κάτω τὴν ἀποθέτειν *Dig.* E 937 app. crit.
μετανοήσει ἔχειν *Pol. Tr.* 186 app. crit. (VX); μέλλειν, εἰκάζω, ἔσται ibid. 209 app. crit. (AEX)
σκέφου τὸ ἂν ἀρμόζειν *Liv.* E 207; τὸ ὅλον τῆς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνάλογον ἰστέκειν ibid. 2434
οὐδὲ λογάριν ἔχειν *Spanas* Z 241 app. crit.; δίκαιον οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειν ibid. 550 app. crit.
δπου κηρύττειν πίστιν PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 14 app. crit.
τὸ ἀρμελίνιν ἀρχισεν νὰ φεύγειν *Anthos Ch.* G 249.5
οὐκ εἶπεν τί ἐν' τὸ πάσχειν *Achil.* N 663; καὶ πάλιν κατεβαίνειν ibid. 1403
δὲν θέλει νὰ τὸν βλέπειν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1077 app. crit.
κ' ἐκεῖνος θέλειν βάλειν ρεμέδα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.1; θέλειν χάσειν τὸ ρηγάτον ibid. 34.5
καὶ ὑπάειν πρὸς τὴν Ρώμην *Diig. Alex.* F 176.22 (Lolos)
νὰ ἀρχιερατεύειν *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 229–30
ἔχειν καὶ πατητήριον μέσαν (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 270, 463.27)
νὰν τοῦ λισεντζιάρειν (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 277, 257.34) (< Ven.
licenziàr)
οὐδεὶς γινώσκειν τὴν ἡμέραν ... τοῦ τέλους τῆς ζωῆς του (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS
1954: (4), 137.3–4)

Plural

1st Person

Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν) '-ομενε -όμε(ν)
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For 1 pl. -ομε(ν), with and without the final /n/,² is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary MedG texts, throughout and beyond the LmedG and EMG periods:

- ὑποστήκομεν (1053, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1972a: 22, 101.9)
 ἐκεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἀκούομεν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 89
 ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1337–8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2)
 νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρωμεν καὶ νὰ τήν μαντινίρωμεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.18–19)
 νὰ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτίζωμεν *Achil.* N 701
 ἐπαίρνομεν σε *Velth.* 198
 νὰ σύρνωμεν φουσσάτον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 971
 οὐδὲν τὸ ξεύρωμεν (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.14–15)
 κομφομαρῶμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 208, 208.27–8) (< Ven. *confermār*)
 νίκη, νίκην ἔχομεν! *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.17
 ἀπεστέλλομεν (1609, Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 20, 266.7)
 καὶ νὰ ἀκούωμεν IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.5–6
 ν' ἀναβαινοκατεβαίνωμεν (1653–5, Venice, FONKIC 2000: 239, f.1v.2–3)
 δώνομέν του τα (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.6–7)
 τοὺς ἀφήνωμεν (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.23)
 ἀσφαλίζομε (1008–9, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 13, 134.17); ἀποδίδομέ σοι ταύτην τὴν
 μονὴν (1101–2, *ibid.* 54, 280.9)
 καὶ ὀρίζομέ σε (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1)
 καλῶς ἔχομε (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.8)
 δίδομε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν *Spanos* B 131
 θέλομε συντυχαίνει FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 70
 καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούομε *Alex. Rim.* 1673; κι ὀλπίζομε καὶ ἀπρακτὸς ὀπίσω θὲς γυρίσει *ibid.*
 2478
 λέγομε (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.8)
 ἀποφασίζομε (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 131, 88.7)
 τελεύγομε (1583, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 28, 168.3)
 θέλομε εἶσται κρατημένοι (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.50)
 ξεκαθαρίζομε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.31); ἔχομε καμωμένη (*ibid.* 68.32)
 δὲν ἐβόλει νὰ διαβαίνομε (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.7)
 θέλομε πάγειν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.10–11)

With addition of -(ν)ε the ending has been found in texts from Chios and Crete, but is likely to appear in other areas as well (see I, 2.6.3.3). The addition of -ε to endings in -ν is usually interpreted as a “protective” suffix (following JANNARIS 1897: 550), employed to preserve final /n/. However, there is a tendency to add -νε (or -να) not only to certain verb forms, but also to pronouns and adverbs that do not end in -ν, in areas such as the Heptanese, Crete,

² First attestations of the loss of final /n/, resulting in -ομε, can be found sporadically from the Koine onward (DIETERICH 1898: 249); see also I, 3.7.2.2. The ending is still present in several MG dialects (see NEWTON 1973: 191–2 for details).

the Peloponnese, Chios and other Aegean islands.³ Since 1 pl. verb forms are generally rare in non-theatrical works and in documents, it cannot be established whether these forms existed prior to the 17th c.: γράφομενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.1; τὸ ἄλλης φαιμέγιας ἀπὸχομενε ἴπᾱ (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.76); νὰ σ' ἔχομενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 9 app. crit.; δὲλως αὐτὴν δὲν πάμενε *ibid.* 391.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has been found twice in Machairas's *Chronicle*. It cannot be excluded that these are simple writing mistakes (though cf. the aorist subjunctive, 4.2.1): προυμουτιαζόμεν σας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.29; προυμουτιαζόμεν σου *ibid.* 328.7.

Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)
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The ending -ομε(ν), which in its form without final /n/ has prevailed as the most common MG ending, is usually interpreted as the result of back-vowel raising (of unstressed [o] to [u]) in the environment of a nasal, a widespread phonological phenomenon (for details see I, 2.8.3), most probably also influenced by other endings in the verbal paradigms containing /u/ (CHATZIDAKIS 1930: 95–6; ANDRIOTIS 1954 and especially NEWTON 1973: 195–9). The earliest examples of -ομε have been found in five documents written in Rhodes, which date to the end of the 15th c.⁴ All five documents are written by the same scribe, and he uses the ending systematically; there is only one instance of -ομε in the letters: ἐλπίζομε (1486–7, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.23). The other documents in LEFORT 1981, written by different scribes, do not have forms in -ομε. Other examples in documentary texts have been found in Crete, the Heptanese and perhaps the Cyclades.⁵ Early Modern grammarians such as Sofianos, Germano and Portius do not mention the ending -ομε(ν) at all. The first grammar to propose it as the standard ending, and in fact the only ending, is Dimitrios Katartzis's *Γραμματική τῆς ρωμαίικας γλώσσας* (1788) (DIMARAS 1999: 229). In literature, forms in -ομε(ν) do not seem to appear before the 16th c., and without exception alongside forms in -ομε:

- θέλομε (1486–7, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.11–12; 15, 83.5 and 84.18; 17, 92.21; 18, 97.28);
 ἔχομε (*ibid.* 4, 50.9; 15, 84.18; 17, 92.21; 18, 97.26); ἀνιμένουμε (*ibid.* 9, 61.11); λέγομε το
 (*ibid.* 15, 84.12); ξέρομε (*ibid.* 15, 84.16); νὰ παίρνομε (*ibid.* 17, 92.21)
 εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ὑπαγαίνουμεν *Diig. Alex.* E 43.10–11 (Konstantinopoulos) (hapax)

³ For Chios, see the observations of Girolamo Germano: he notes the addition of -νε to verb forms and -να to adverbs and pronouns, e.g. ἐκεῖνᾱ or even ἐκεῖνᾱνᾱ for ἐκεῖ (GERMANO, *Grammar* 49–50). Cf. ὠιμένανα *Bertoldin.* 142.5; ἡ τέτοιᾱνα δουλεῖα SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 167 transcr. N (Lendari).

⁴ A seemingly early example of -ομε is to be found in a 14th-c. text from Cyprus: καὶ διαλύομε(ν) τὸν τοιοῦτον γάμον, καὶ ὀρίζομεν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 37.142–3); this form, however, is in fact διαλυοῦμε (from διαλυῶ, not διαλύω). As the editor states in his introduction, he normalized the accentuation, which is largely absent in the manuscript (SIMON 1973: 9). For more examples of barytone verbs shifting toward the oxytone paradigm in Cypriot Greek, see 2.1.3.1.

⁵ Understandably perhaps, modern editors, with SMG in mind, are sometimes unaware of the fact that the ending -ομε is quite rare in the EMG period. This can lead to misreadings such as the following: νὰ μὴν ἔχομε πλέον νὰ κάμωμε (1669, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 34, 58.10) (facs.) (rendered ἔχομε and κάμουμε in the ed.). Another example of -ομε from Skyros: ἔχομε τὰ χωράφια μας ἀμοίραστα (1615, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 2, 303.15) could not be verified since no facsimiles are provided.

λαουντάρουμεν καὶ κομφερμάρομεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 208, 208.27–8); καὶ δὲν ἔχομεν νὰ κάμωμεν πλέα τίποτας (ibid. 217α, 216.3)
 ὅτι ἐμεῖς τρώγομεν τὰ σῦκα *Vios Aisop.* I 248.8; σκάπτουμεν τα, ποτίζουμεν τα καὶ
 βοτανίζουμεν τα ibid. 258.2
 εἰς τὴ μερασὰ ἔχομε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.19)
 καὶ ὕστερον ἔχομε καιρόν *Don Kis.* 102.21

Pl.	1	-ομαν
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This ending has been found in a text of northern provenance.⁶ Dionysius's *History* was written in Athos in the late 16th c. It cannot be excluded entirely that such forms are the result of simple writing mistakes: πού ἔχομαν νὰ φύγομεν; *DIONYS., Istor.* 254.35–6.⁷

2nd Person

Pl.	2	-ετε ἢ -ετέν(ε) ἢ -τε
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For 2 pl. -ετε is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

νὰ τὸ ἐξεύρετε *Chron. Mor.* H 2692
 μὴν τό 'χετε *Arm.* 74
 βλέπετε *Poulol.* 81
 νὰ ἡξεύρετε (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8)
 νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παιδευσίν των (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.8)
 ἡξεύρετε ὅτι ἔναι φάντασμα *Spanos* D 97; ὅσοι τὸν ἀναγνώθετε ibid. 1810
 τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς [ANDR. PALAIOI.], *Kallim.* 242
 ἐσεῖς φταίετε πλέον *Chron. Mor.* P 2691
 πράσσετε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 132
 νὰ γυρεύγετε *Pist. kekoim.* 19
 καὶ σεῖς, ὅπου τὰ ἀκούγετε *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 259
 μόνον ἐτοῦτο ἀναγνώθετε *LANDOS, Geopon.* 132.16
 μὴ φεύγετε, δειλοὶ καὶ ουτιδανοί! *Don Kis.* 45.24

Addition of final /n/ to 2 pl. forms has been found in texts from the Aegean (Naxos and Chios):

τὲς κλεψίες πού ἔχετεν (1654, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 15, 370.18)
 καὶ μὴν τὸνε πικραίνετεν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀκριβό μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 867; ἐσεῖς καλὰ τὸ 'ξεύρετεν
 πῶς πατρίδα καὶ ἄλλα ibid. 869; ἂν ἦν' λοιπὸν καὶ θέλετεν, γρικήσετεν καὶ τοῦτον ibid.
 2985

⁶ The following example, which occurs in an excerpt from *Don Kisotis* in KECHAYOGLOU 2001: τὴν φίλαν οὗου ἔχομαν εἰς τὸ ἀναμεταξύ μας *Don Kis.* 523.34, has become ἔχομε in the full edition (*Don Kis.* 131.9), without mention in the app. crit.

⁷ The following example: τί θέλω τὸν βλον, ὅπου σήμερον τὸν ἔχομεν καὶ αὔριον τὸν χάνομαν; *DAM. STOUΔ., This.* 13.190–1 (Delidimos) in the modern edition of Stouditis's *Thisavros* (which is based on later editions with quite a few alterations to the text) is probably not an original reading. The 1561 edition reads χάννομεν (μ8r.36).

ξεύρετεν πῶς κ' ἑνας τυφλὸς κάθητ' ἐκεῖ κοντά μας *GAV. PROS., Peri Tyflou* 137; τοῦτον πού βλέπετεν ἐδῶ ibid. 179

Forms in -τενε, with addition of -(ν)ε, have been found in texts from Chios but are very likely to have had a wider geographical spread (Heptanese, Crete, other islands in the Aegean, see I, 2.6.3.3). Since 2 pl. verb forms are generally rare in non-theatrical works and in documents, it cannot be established whether these forms existed prior to the 16th/17th c.:

γράφετενε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.1; κάμετενε ibid. 55.24
 μοῦ γράφετενε εἰς τὴν γραφὴν σας (1666, Rome, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 11, 115.1) (author from Chios)
 πῶς δὲν κλαίτενε *KONDAR., Paidēs* 999
 ποῦ πάτενε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 339

The ending -ητε for -ετε is not necessarily an instance of the residual subjunctive ending (see below), but can also be the result of mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4). Especially if a text also displays the phenomenon in other words (e.g. Μακιδόνες), and if it normally uses -ετε for both the indicative and the subjunctive, as is in fact the case with *Alexander K*, -ητε is more likely to be a phonetic variant of -ετε (note that διώχνητε is an indicative); it would therefore perhaps be preferable to spell it with <ι> rather than <η>: διατὶ εσεῖς ἀνεμον διώχνητε; *Diig. Alex. K* 362.34; νὰ το ηξεύρητε καλὰ, εσεῖς Μακιδόνες ibid. 369.20–1.

Sometimes syncopated forms occur (see also I, 2.7.2): θέλτε *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 147.

Pl.	2	-ητε
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The residual subjunctive ending -ητε is quite rare in texts of the period under review, rarely appearing more than once in the same text. It is conspicuously absent even from texts with archaizing tendencies such as *Digenis G* and *Kallimachos* (cf. the aorist subjunctive 4.2.1, which is used routinely in a variety of mixed- and higher-register texts):

καὶ ἂν μὲ πιστεύητε ἐμέν *Pol. Tr.* 8469 (hapax; reading of one ms (A))
 ἵνα ἀπέχητε ἀπὸ τοὺς σπανοὺς *Spanos* D 135
 θέλω νὰ μοῦ δίδητε χαράτζιον *Vios Aisop.* K 190.1 (for AG διδῶτε)
 ἐὰν μὲ καταξιώνητε *Dig.* T 94
 νὰ ἔχητε τὴν προσήκουσαν ὠφέλειαν (1707, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 13, 311, f.1r.12–13)

3rd Person

Pl.	3	-ουσι(ν) ἢ -ουσιν
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The inherited ending -ουσι(ν) continues to be used throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, in all corners of the Greek Sprachraum:

συγκλείουσι (1172, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 10, 81.10)
 οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.14–15)
 οἱ τοῖχοι καταπίπτουσιν *Ptoch.* I 78
 τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45

λέγουσιν SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 20.6; φέρουσι με χαμουχᾶν *ibid.* 28.22
 τῶν Χριστιανῶ καὶ Μουσουλμάνω γυρεύουσιν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.10)
 ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ παγαίνουσιν (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.24)
 φέρουσι γραμματικόν, νοτάρην *Velth.* 1022 (Cupane)
 νὰ τὰ ἔχουσι μαζί με τὸ Γεώργη πάντοτες (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 71.10)
 κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ὁποῦ ἔχουσιν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.8; νὰ τόνε φυλάουσι *ibid.* 51.25–6
 νὰ βασιλεύουσιν (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.27)
 νὰ πηαίνουσι (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 106.130)
 ν' ἀλλάγουσιν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 55
 νὰ διώχνουσιν (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 210.176)
 νὰ τρέχουσιν τ' ἀμμάτια των *Thrinis Kypr.* 34

The ending -ουσινε is attested in Cretan, Heptanesian and Cycladic texts of the late 16th and 17th centuries, but is likely to appear in texts from the Peloponnese as well (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details). It appears in literature as well as in non-literary documents. Sporadically it can be found in verse texts from other areas for metrical reasons (STAVRINOS, KONST. DIAK., *Thrinis Kypr.*). The addition of a second accent is common practice among modern editors, though unnecessary since the vernacular, contrary to the learned language, does permit the stress to fall on the syllable before the antepenultimate (as noted by GERMANO, *Grammar* 55; see also I, 4.2.3):

καὶ τρέχουσινε εἰς τὴν κάμεραν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2
 κάμνουσινε STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 580
 απ' ἔχουσινε να γενοῦ CHORTATZIS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 94; ἔχουσινε *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* IV.90B
 στέκουσινε δίχως | γιῶργεμα *Pist. voskos* IV 6.51–2; ἔχουσινε κι ἀγριώτατα περίσσια *ibid.* V 5.142
 παρηγοιῆς πολλῶ λογιῶ τοῦ κάνουσινε χρεῖα *Thysia Avr.* 1024
 δὲν ἔχουσινε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.117–18); δὲ θέλουσινε (*ibid.* 183.120)
 νὰ τὰ κάνουσινε ἄλλοι (1642, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 8, 281.26)
 τρέχουσινε τὰ σάλια του FOSKOLOS, *Fort.*, IV.73
 κι ὁ εἰς τὸ χέρι τ' ἀλλουνοῦ πιάνουσινε καὶ κλαῖσι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 233.4
 κι ἀρχίζουσινε τὴ μαλιά KORNAROS., *Erot.* II.1054
 καὶ πέμπουσινε τότες *Leilasia Par.* 169

The ending also occurs with syncopated forms of λέω, τρώω and πᾶω:

τρώσινε καὶ τὰ σπαθιά CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* II.50
 λέσινε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 182.105)
 πᾶσινε ἄνω κάτω *Thrinis Kypr.* 802
 ὅσοι λέσινε ἀλλιῶς KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.301

The fact that in the following example the stress shifts to the antepenultimate confirms that this form is used to accommodate the metre. Addition of -(v)ε is, after all, not a feature of Cypriot: γραφούσινε τοὺς ὁρισμούς KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 179.

PL	3	-ουν -ου -ουε -ον(ε)
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The alternation between the inherited ending -ουσι(v) and the innovative ending -ουν(ε) persists throughout the period under review and is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an inherent feature of the MedG and EMG language, and not an artificial metrical device (HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35; see also KARLA/BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2008 for Cypriot and KARANTZOLA 2005a for Cretan). Both Sofianos and Germano give both alternatives: γράφουσι καὶ γράφουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.14–15; Quel che altri dicono, γράφουσι, li Scioti, & altri molti dicono, γράφουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.10–11; and they can indeed often be found side by side:

ὁποῦ τὰ κοινῶβια ἔχουσι πολλῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὁποῦ τοῦτοι θέλουν πᾶσα δυὸ
 χρόνους νὰ ἀλλάσσουν τὸν ἡγούμενον (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.14–16)
 γράφουσι μας γὰρ ὅλοι ἐντάμα καὶ λέγουν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.13)
 θέλουσι θεληματικῶς καὶ πρεζέντε δίδουν παραδίδουν καὶ πουλοῦσι (1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.8)

The ending -ουν is the result of an analogy with the endings of the past tenses: due to the conflation of the aorist and the perfect in the Roman period, the ending -ασι had emerged as an alternative to the existing 3 pl. ending -αν, probably also influenced by the present ending -ουσι (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 38; HORROCKS 2010: 177). The ending -ουν makes its appearance in texts shortly before the LMedG period:⁸ early examples can be found, alongside the much more frequent forms in -ουσι(v), in epigrams in the *Leo Bible* (ms of the first half of the 10th c.): σπεύδουν and προγράφουν (quoted in LAUXTERMANN 2003: 193).

φάσκουν (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 56, 73.7); ἔχουν ἀκκουμανδευθῆν (*ibid.* 60, 78.11–12)
 ἵνα παρέχουν (1095?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 1, 1.5–6)
 οὐ παρεκβαίνουν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.28; θέλουν *ibid.* 310.28; φανερώνουν *ibid.* 312.19;
 γράφουν *id.*, *Logos* 31 824.3; μνημονεύουν *ibid.* 824.9
 χορταίνουν σε *Spaneas* V 28
 ὡς λέγουν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.11–12)
 δουλεύουν *Ptoch.* I 89
 τὰ κρέη σου οὐ τρώουν *Poulol.* 48; εἰς γεῦμαν τοὺς με τρώουν *ibid.* 206 app. crit. (V)
 νὰ ἔχουν τὰ πράματά των (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 117.21)
 διότι με ἡγλέπουν ἐπτωχὸν καλογεράκι (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.6)
 (= ἡβλέπουν; for /γ/ for /ν/ see I, 3.8.5.2)
 θέλουν ἔχειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.11; ὅπου σὲ κωλύουν *ibid.* 208.34
 καὶ ἄλλες πᾶουν εἰς περιβόλια *Epain. gyn.* 175 app. crit.
 χωρὶς νὰ πλερώνουν τίποτα (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.23)
 βλέπουν καὶ αλλοноὺς πεζοὺς STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 1077 (Pidonia)
 νὰ σὲ φέρουν KONDAK., *Paidas* 421
 κι' ὅλο κακὴ νοικοκυρὰ τὴν κρᾶζουν KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.393

⁸ The appearance of the ending -ουν is often dated to the 5th century AD, based on a single inscription from Apameia with the future form ἐπιτηδεύσουν (inser. 36, l. 7, published in RAMSAY 1883: 310); this, however, must be viewed as an isolated example, because there is no textual evidence for the spread of this ending until the 10th c. See MANOLESSOU 2003: 73–5 for a discussion.

Deletion of final /n/, resulting in -ου, is a common morphophonological phenomenon in southern regions and the Aegean, not restricted to verb endings. The oldest example occurs in a text from Asia Minor (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

ἀπὲ τὰ χέρια σου πέφτου καὶ κυλοῦ SULT. WALAD, *Poem* V 6
 νὰ τρέχου τὰ καλά του (1394, Crete, SANTSCHI 1976: 1597, 344.8)
 ἀνεβάζου με *Liv.* V 2165; θέτου με, κρατοῦν, καταφιλοῦ με *ibid.* 2175
 ρίκτου σας καὶ βάνου σας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2517; πιάνου την *ibid.* 1709
 ἔχου νερόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 66.22; σκοτώνου σε *ibid.* 548.20
 ἀποῦ ἀπομένου διὰ τὶς ὁδοὺς (1486, Rhodes/ Dodecanese, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.16)
 νὰ δίνου καὶ νὰ πλερώνου (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 54.28)
 νὰ τὸ μεράζου (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.13); νὰ δεσπόζου (1609, *ibid.* III, 71.17)
 ὡς καθὼς γράφου καὶ λέγου τα πιτάκια μου (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 397.27–8)
 νὰ τὸ κοπιάζου, νὰ το κυβερνοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.8)
 νὰ μᾶς φυλάγου καὶ νὰ μᾶς μαντενίρου (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.22)
 νὰ βασιλεύου *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 53
 κόβου κρίσες καὶ ἔξοδες (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 4, 32.6)
 λέγου σου (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.6)
 ἀπ' αὐτεῖνον ἠθικὲς ἀποφάσεις μανθαίνου SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* a2v.17
 νὰ κάβγου τὸ κερὶ (1659, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 24, 31.12); παραδίνου τοῦ παπα-Λέου
 (1667, *ibid.* 37, 30.19)
 διαλαβάνου καὶ λέγου (1686, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 33, 116.22)

An added -ε to the ending -ουν, resulting in -ουνε (see also I, 2.6.3.3), is first encountered in the 14th c., with four instances in *Chron. Mor.* H.⁹ It is probably due to an analogy from the 1st and 2nd persons plural (-με, -τε) and a tendency for parasyllabicity and columnar stress in the plural (i.e. γράφουμε – γράφετε – γράφουν > γράφουμε – γράφετε – γράφουνε), as well as to a tendency to “protect” the final /n/ (KOURMOULIS 1955/56: 441; BABINIOTIS 1972: 199–201; NEWTON 1973: 199–200; BROWNING ²1983: 81). The ending -ουνε appears in a variety of texts, both literary and non-literary, though mainly in texts from southern/south-western regions and the Aegean:

καὶ συμβουλευόνε τον *Chron. Mor.* H 2501; ἐξαγοράζονε τον *ibid.* 4293; καὶ συντυχαίνονε τους *ibid.* 5433; καὶ κατακρένονε τους *ibid.* 5434
 νὰ σᾶς βαρυφορτώνουνε *Diig. tetr.* 739 app. crit. (C)
 εἰς τὴν διαμφορὰν ὅπου ἔχουνε (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 227.4)
 νὰ στρέφουνε τὰ πράγματα (1597, Syros, MILIARAKIS 1900: 699.19)
 αὐτῆνοι τὴνε παίρνουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 109
 τὸ βουνὸ τὸ λέγουσι Αἴμο, λέγουνε το καὶ Πανία *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 49.12
 γράψε μου τί κοστίζουνε (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.18)
 ὅπου θέλουνε μὲ θάψει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14); νὰ τὰ ματαμεράζουνε (*ibid.* 29.24)
 τὸ νησὶν ὅπου κρίζουνε Πρώτην RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 62.6
 νὰ τὸ μεράζουνε (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 165.56)
 καὶ τώρα μᾶσε φοβερίζουνε (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.2)
 λέουνε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.34)

⁹ In the Copenhagen manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* all four instances of -ουνε are followed by a clitic pronoun. The Paris manuscript (16th c.) systematically replaces this ending with -ουσι.

ἔχουνε ἓνα καλὸ λιμιῶνα (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.61; author from Mani)
 θέλουνε καὶ προσηλώνουνε καὶ ἀφιερώνουνε (1686?, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 360.17–18)
 ἐβγάνουνε (1691, Ikaria?/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.3–4)

Forms in -ον do not constitute morphological variants of those in -ουν but are the result of hypercorrection of back-vowel raising of /o/ to [u] (for details see I, 2.5.4): ἵνα ἔχον ἔξουσίαν (1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 532.8); νὰ τοὺς ἀφήνονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.35 app. crit.; νὰ τοῦ ἔχον (1644–5, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 4, 47.3) (also note τοῦ for τό); παγαλινον καὶ ἔρχονται (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.35).

Pl.	3	-ωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν)
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The residual subjunctive ending -ωσι(ν) can occasionally be found, not only with the subjunctive, but also with the indicative:

ἐὰν ξένοι τυγχάνωσιν *Dig.* G IV.804; (μὴ ...) δύνωσιν ἐν τῷ ἄλλει *ibid.* VI.461
 καὶ κὰν ἀλήθειαν ἔχωσι *Ptoch.* I 119
 ἔδάρτε ὅς ὑπαγαλίνωσιν *Pol. Tr.* 2012 (reading of mss AX)
 διὰ νὰ σπέρνωσιν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.34)
 νὰ φυλάττωσιν *Dig.* A 91
 οἱ εἰρημένοι μου κουμεσάριοι ἔχωσι πληρεστάτην ἔξουσίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 5, 11.43–4) (hortative subj.)
 ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ὅταν βλέπωσι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 29.10
 οἱ δὲ εὐγενεῖς ὅς ἀπέχωσιν αὐτοῦ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 207.17–18
 ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπου ὀσπήγωσιν κατὰ κάμπον ματσούκαν *Ptoch.* III 199 app. crit. (SAC)
 λέγωσιν *Ptoch.* IV 141 app. crit. (SA); τυγχάνωσιν *ibid.* 226 app. crit. (SA); βλέπωσιν *ibid.* 565 app. crit. (SA)
 οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ τὸ ἔχωσιν *Pol. Tr.* 606 app. crit. (ABE); δὲν τάσσωσι *ibid.* 1509 app. crit. (A)
 τί κάμνωσιν SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 15 transcr. M (Lendari)
 ὅσοι ἀκούγωσιν *Kakop.* 191 app. crit.
 κρένοσιν, συνιβάζωσιν καὶ ἀποφασίζωσιν (1594, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 1, 172.30)
 καὶ οὐδὲ μένα ἀφήνωσιν *Dig.* A 4507 app. crit.

4.1.1.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γράφομαι	γράφομαι γράφουμαι γράφουμι	
	2	γράφεσαι	γράφει	γράφεσαιν
	3	γράφεται	γράφεται ἢ γράφτι	γράφεται -έται -ται

		General	Restricted	Rare
Pl.	1	γραφόμεθα γραφόμεστε(ν) γραφόμεσθε(ν)	γραφόμεθεν γράφομεσεν ! γράφομέσθε(ν) ! γράφομέστε(ν) γραφούμεστε(ν) γράφομέστι γραφόμεστα(ν) ! γραφόμεσθα(ν) γράφομέσταν ! γράφομέσθαν γράφομέστα ! γράφομέσθα γράφομέστανε γραφόμεσθε(ν) γράφομάστε(ν)	γραφόμεθαν γραφούμεθα γραφούμεθαν γράφοιμέθαν γραφούμεθεν γραφούμεσθε(ν) γραφούμεστα γράφοιμέστα (γράφοιμένστα(ν)) γραφόμεσθε(ν) γράφομάσθε γράφομάστενε γραφούμεσθε γράφοιμάσθε γραφομαστιν γραφουμαστινε γραφουμαστον
	2	γράφεστε ! γράφεσθε	γράφεσθεν ! γράφεσεν γραφοῦστε γραφούστενε	γράφεστιν γραφοῦσθεν γράφουσθεν
	3	γράφονται γράφουνται	γράφονταιν γράφονταινε γράφουνταιν	γράφεται γράφεταινε γράφοντι γράφονται γράφουντιν

For 3 sg. of the present subjunctive the residual ending -ηται can sporadically be found, but the same cannot be said of 2 sg. -ησαι, which has not been found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of barytone verbs are identical to or homophonous with those of the present indicative. The only subjunctive endings that are traditionally spelled differently from those of the present indicative are 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. However, not all modern editors choose to make this graphematic distinction:

		General	Restricted
Sg.	1	γράφωμαι	-ωμαιν
	2		
	3		γράφηται
Pl.	1	γραφώμεθα	
	2		
	3	γράφωνται	

Singular

1st Person

Sg.	1	-ομαι/-ωμαι ! -ομαιν/-ωμαιν
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The inherited ending -ομαι, traditionally spelled -ωμαι in the subjunctive, is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

καὶ πολλάκις ... ἀναβάλλομαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 210.21
 συγχαίρομαι *Eisit.* f.1v.19
 παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
 τρώγω το καὶ εὐφραίνομαι *Diig. tetr.* 875
 ἔρκομαι ἀκ τ' ἀνάθεμα *Anak. Konst.* 9
 ἂν εὐρῶ τσίπουρον εἰς γῆν, σκύπτω, μυρίζομαι το *Krasop.* AO 76
 οὐκ ὀρέγομαι ἀκούγειν αὐτὸ (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 79.1d–2d)
 εὐρίσκομαι τάχα ἡγουμένη (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.18)
 ξενίζομαι ἀπατῶς μου *Theseid* Prol. P 2
 νὰ καίγωμαι καθημερινῶς *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 79
 μπορῶ σοφώτατος νὰ κράζωμαι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.493
 νὰ μνημονεύομαι (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 82.107)
 διδάσκομαι *ROMANOS, Grammar* 80.12
 ὑπόσχομαι διὰ λόγου μου (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 196.253)
 ἤξευρε πῶς ἐγὼ ονομάζομαι *Don Kis.* 51.12–13

Addition of final /n/ can be found in literary and non-literary texts, mainly of south-western provenance, including S. Italy:

φαίνομαι ἐγὼ (1196, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 241, 325.2)
 τῶρα φονεύομαιν δι' ἐσὲν *Liv.* E 1991
 νὰ ἀκούωμαι *Pol. Tr.* 2621 app. crit. (B); μαίνομαιν *ibid.* 4676 app. crit. (V)
 βούλομαιν τοῦ ἔχειν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 62, 180.30)
 ἔρχομαιν *Achil.* O 483 and 519
 φλέγομαιν *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 409 app. crit.; ὀρέγομαιν *ibid.* 719 app. crit.
 νὰ μάχομαιν *Theseid* I.100,8 app. crit. (P) (Follieri)
 ἀπορῶ καὶ ἐξίσταμαιν καὶ τὸν νοῦν καταπλήττομαιν *Spanos* B 24
 συγκλίνομαιν *Apoll. Rim.* N 43; βούλομαιν *ibid.* 1474
 τρέφομαιν *Diig. Alex.* F 42.7 (Konstantinopoulos)
 τοῦ ἀποκρίνομαιν καὶ εἰς τοῦτα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.22)
 τὸ σπῖτι ὅπου κάθομαιν ὡς καθὼς εὐρίσκεται (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.14–15)
 ἀποκρένομαιν τῆς βασιλείας σου (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.24–5); καὶ
 χαίρομαιν τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν χάτμαν (*ibid.* 57.26–7) (author from Athens)
 νὰ μνημονεύωμαιν (1689, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 134, 326.3)

Sg.	1	-ομαι ! -ομι
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The rare variant ending -ομαι is the result of back-vowel raising (of unstressed /o/ to /u/, for details see I, 2.8.3). It has been found in version I of the *Life of Aesop* (17th c., written in Constantinople, by a scribe who is thought to be of south-eastern provenance or from

Chios), in a document from Thessaloniki and in *Don Kisotis* (early 18th c. translation made in the Danubian Principalities):¹⁰

καὶ μοῦ λέγεις νὰ χαίρουμαι *Vios Aisop.* I 253.41; ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ δὲν ἔρχουμαι *ibid.* 268.4; χωρὶς κανένα πταίσιμο θανατώνουμαι *ibid.* 281.30
καὶ θαυμάζουμαι, διατὶ με γελάς *Don Kis.*, 113.7; ἐντρέπουμαι καταπολλά *ibid.* 120.29; στοχάζουμαι πῶς ἤθελεν εἶσθαι καλύτερον *ibid.* 129.10–11

Forms in -ουμι occur in texts that display mid-vowel raising (unstressed /e/ > [i]), for which see I, 2.5.4: ἄς κάθουμι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.13); εὐρίσκουμι (1697, *ibid.* 5, 61.4) (phenomenon very common in this collection of letters).

2nd Person

Sg.	2	-εσαι -εσαιν -εσι
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The ending for 2 sg., first attested in the EMedG period (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 188), shows no morphological variation during or after the period under investigation:

ἔρχεσαι μετ' ἑμέναν *Dig. G* II.129; μὴ θλίβεσαι *ibid.* IV.778
μὴ παλληκαρεύεσαι *Ptoch. I* 197
ἐπιβουλεύεσαι με *Dig. E* 365
νὰ γέρνεσαι *Poulol.* 147 app. crit. (CPVL)
ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ το ποιοῦμεν (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.15)
τί καθεύεσαι; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 92)
διὰ νὰ βόσκεσαι *Spanos D* 257
ἔσου στέκεσαι χωσμένη *Cypr. Canz.* 45.4
στένεσαι εἰς τὸ νησόπουλον (1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 70.22)
μὴ πολλά υφώνεσαι καὶ παραφασεύεσαι *Diig. Alex. K* 373.5–6
νὰ ἤξερα πότε ἔρκεσαι (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 388.4)
νὰ χασμουροτανύζεσαι ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 1646
δὲ ντρέπεσαι, μεθύστακα; *Stathis* III.545
καλλίτερα θέλεις εὐρίσκεσαι (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.9–10)
φαίνεσαι καλότερα *Don Kis.* 45.12

Addition of final /n/ is very rare indeed: μὴ γένεσαιν αἴτιος κακοῦ (1576, Macedonia, CHASIoTIS 1964/65: 3, 253.27).

2 sg. forms in -εσι (and possibly -ισι, -ισαι) are phonetic rather than morphological variants, showing evidence of mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed /e/ becomes [i] (for details see I, 2.5.4): εὐρίσκεσι *Don Kis.* 104.21–2 app. crit.

3rd Person

Sg.	3	-εται -εταιιν -ιτι -ιται -ται
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¹⁰ According to MINAS 1987a: 22, in the MG period -ουμαι occurs in Cyprus, Rhodes, Axos, Chios, Pontos, the Peloponnese and Puglia, while according to NEWTON 1972c: 266, again with reference to the MG situation, it can be found in Kefalonia, Zakynthos, Kyllini, Chalki, Monemvasia, western Crete, Cyprus, Symi and Aegina. The lack of examples in the sources examined indicates that this ending spread at a rather late stage in the development of the MG dialects (probably not before the 18th c.).

The ending -εται is the normal ending for 3 sg. before, throughout and after the period covered by this Grammar:

ὅταν δὲ ψάλλεται ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* I 58.15–16; ἵνα μὴ ... σκανδαλίζεται *id.*, *Logos* 28 752.1–2 app. crit. (S)
ὡς ὄρνεον πετάζεται *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 129; ὁ γέρων νέος οὐ γίνεται *ibid.* 222
κρέμεται κοντάριν τοῦ πατρός σου *Arm.* 10
καὶ καίεται ἡ καρδία τοῦ *Achil.* L 710
ἀφκράζεται *Pol. Tr.* 459
νὰ ἐξετάζεται καὶ νὰ ὀρτώνεται (1451, Constantinople?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19)
ἐγδύνεται *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 344
τὰ μάγουλα νὰ ξένεται [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1338
νὰ καθέζεται *Spanos A* 445
ὅπου νὰ βρίσκεται *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.9
ἡ θάλασσα αὐτὴ δὲν σελεται *Diig. Alex. K* 376.30–1
κράζεται (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.12)
ἑπτὰ φορές νὰ καίεται *KONDAR., Paides* 458
νὰ χρίεται με αλοιφές *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3155
νὰ μεράζεται τὸ νερό (1694, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 47, 76.17)
ἄρχισε νὰ κηρύττεται εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον (1701, Transylvania, LEGRAND 1903: 15, 41.2)

Addition of final /n/ can sporadically be found in Cycladic texts: φαίνεται ἵντα ἔχει βαλμένα (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.111).

3 sg. forms in -ιτι, -ιται (and possibly -ετι) are phonetic rather than morphological variants, showing evidence of mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed /e/ becomes [i] (for details see I, 2.5.4):

καθὼς ἐνδέχεται (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.34)
εὐρίσκεται (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.24)
τὸ ἕνα ὅπου κάθεται (1628–9, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 1, 44.40)
στέκιτι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.4); μὴ κακουφαίνιτι (1697, *ibid.* 6, 63.19);
χάνιτι (1698, *ibid.* 7, 66.24)

For syncopated forms such as: φαίν'ται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 878, see I, 2.7.2.

Plural

1st Person

Pl.	1	-όμεθα -όμεθαν
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The inherited ending -όμεθα continues to be used well into the period covered by this Grammar, though not in all types of texts. There are a few instances of -όμεθα in literary works from the early period (*Dig. E* and *Dig. G*, *Liv.*, *Achil.* N, *Kallim.*, *Spanos*), but it is rather more frequent in texts that belong to a higher register, such as monastic acts and the register of the Patriarchate. It can also be found in vernacular texts that tend to borrow certain features from a higher register, such as Sfrantzis, *Digenis P* and Ioakeim Kyprios. Although it is the only ending given by Sofianos (γραφόμεθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.4), -όμεθα is generally absent from Cretan and Heptanesian literature, with very few exceptions:

ἡμεῖς γὰρ εὕρισκόμεθα ἀπὸ γενεᾶς μεγάλης *Dig. E* 136; σήμερον χωρίζομεθα *ibid.* 1167 and 1774

σύντομα σηκώνομεθα *Liv. α* 3087 app. crit. (P)

καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀρχόμεθα μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης *Liv. S* 2772 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

αὐριον ἐκδεχόμεθα ἐδῶ πάντες ἐλθῆναι *Achil. N* 1470

ἀρχόμεθα διήγησιν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2; ἐρχόμεθα καὶ σήμερον *ibid.* 1365

παυόμεθα τοῦ λέγειν *Velth.* 196

διοῦ ἔμαθεν ἐρχόμεθα νὰ ὑπάγωμεν ἐκεῖσε *Chron. Mor. P* 5331

καλέ, ποῦ ἀπερχόμεθα; *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 44.3

μάλιστα μεμφόμεθα ἐκείνους *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 38.11

ταῦτα τασσόμεθα δοῦναι σοι (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 12, 13.12)

πειθόμεθα, ἀκούομε κείνο ποῦ μᾶς ὀρίσης *Alex. Rim.* 2550

βουλόμεθα *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 8; οὐκ ἀπελπιζόμεθα *ibid.* 4508

ἀποφαινόμεθα (1671, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS* 1982/83: 5, 96.10)

γδεχόμεθ' ας *Thrinis Kypr.* 841

Addition of final /n/ is not very common, but does appear to have a rather wide geographical spread: several instances have been located in texts from S. Italy, Thrace, Crete and Cyprus, and in *Liv. S*, a ms that possibly has a Cretan background (*AGAPITOS* 2006: 73):

φαινόμεθαν ἡμεῖς (1121, S. Italy, *TRINCERA* 1865: 89, 116–17.3–4)

ἔτι δεόμεθαν ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως (14th c., Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1958: 36, 240.1)

δεόμεθαν (1453, Gallipoli, *DARROUZÈS* 1963: 2, 80.1)

σύντομα σηκώνομεθαν *Liv. S* 1798 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

διὰ νὰ μνημονεύομεθαν (1518, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 52, 97.160)

στρεφόμεθαν ἀλλήλως ἀναπατημένοι (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 10α, 12.4)

δυνόμεθαν *Pist. kekoim.* 474; γνωρίζομεθαν *ibid.* 691

Pl.	1	-ούμεθα(ν) ! '-ουμέθθαν
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Forms in -ούμεθα(ν) and -ουμέθθαν occur in the *Chronicle* of Machairas. The change from [o] to [u] is the result of back-vowel raising in the environment of a nasal (see I, 2.8.3), and possibly of influence from the corresponding endings of oxytone E-stem verbs (*MINAS* 1987a: 25–6). In the Cypriot dialect certain verbs have both barytone and oxytone variants, such as for instance δίδω – διδῶ, λύω – λυῶ, which makes confusion between these paradigms plausible (see also 2.1.3.1). The double consonant -θθ- is the result of “spontaneous” gemination, the appearance of non-etymological double consonants typical of geminating dialects such as Cypriot (see I, 3.4.2.5):

καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅλοι εὕρισκούμεθα εἰς τοὺς ὀρισμούς σου *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 158.4; τὸ ἐγδεχόμεθαν ἀπὸ ἧς αὐτῆς του *ibid.* 524.30; καὶ τῶρα εὕρισκούμεθαν κομπωμένοι *ibid.* 210.25; χρηζόμεθαν ἄλογα *ibid.* 494.10; ἡμεῖς ἐγνωιαζόμεθαν νὰ τὸν βάλομεν εἰς νομὴν τοῦ ρηγάτου του *id.*, *Chron. R* 345.9–11 (no notation of stress in the ms)

θαυμάζουμέθθαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 360.32; νὰ καθούμεθθαν *ibid.* 368.15

Other Cypriot texts such as *Cypr. Canz.*, *Fior* and *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* either happen not to have any 1 pl. forms of the passive present, or they use different endings.¹¹

Pl.	1	-όμεθεν
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This ending is considered to derive from -όμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm, while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (*MEYER* 1889: 197 regarding the similar ending -μεσθεν); evidence for this ending without final /n/ is scarce.¹² The ending -όμεθεν occurs in texts from Constantinople, Athos, Epirus, the Peloponnese and Crete, from at least the 14th c. until the 16th c. – often, though not exclusively, with deponent verbs:

νὰ μὴ δυνώμεθεν *Chron. Mor. H* 6691; σὲ ὑποσχίόμεθεν *ibid.* 8966; κ' ἡμεῖς ἐρχόμεθεν *ibid.* 9136

φροντίζομεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθεν (1384, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1979: 118.5)

ἵνα μὴ εἰσθκούμεθεν (1397, Patras, *GERLAND* 1903: 6, 184.6); ἐκδιωκόμεθεν (*ibid.* 6, 184.6)

καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν τὸ θλιβόμεθεν *Dig. E* 409

μεγάλως εὐφραίνόμεθεν *Liv. V* 3860; σύντομα σηκώνομεθεν *ibid.* 2737

οὐδὲν ἀρματωνόμεθεν *Pol. Tr.* 1574 app. crit. (A); ἐδῶ μὴδὲν καθώμεθεν *ibid.* 2947; ἐπεὶν καὶ

ἡμεῖς χανόμεθεν *ibid.* 5447 app. crit. (A)

τὸ ποῦ 'μεθεν καὶ βρισκόμεθεν *PouloI. V* 557

φοβούμεθα καὶ ἐντρεπόμεθεν σου *Chron. Toc.* 2989

ἀποχωρίζομεθεν *Erotopaign.* 341

ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐρχόμεθεν *Diig. Alex. E* 217.13–14 (Lolos)

τοὺς χρόνους πὸ βρισκόμεθεν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 8

Pl.	1	-ούμεθεν
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With a thematic vowel /u/ instead of /o/ this ending occurs in *Irodis*, a theatrical play of Cycladic provenance (Syros?, Naxos?), roughly datable between 1650 and 1750: βιαζούμεθεν *Irodis* IV.296.

Pl.	1	-όμεσθε(ν) ! -όμεστε(ν) ! '-ομέσθεν ! '-ομέστε
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The ending -όμεσθε(ν) is held to have been formed from -όμεθα, with a change from /a/ to /e/ by analogy with 2 pl. and 3 pl., which also end in /e/ (*MEYER* 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (*MINAS* 1987a: 25). The added -σ- is usually explained as being analogical from 2 pl., while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (*MEYER* 1889: 197). Its variant -όμεστε(ν) is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). These endings occur from the 14th/15th c. onward in texts from various regions, more often with than without final /n/:

¹¹ There is one instance of -όμεθα in *Thrinis Kypr.* 841 (γδεχόμεθ' ας) and one of -όμεθαν in *Pist. kekoim.* 474 (δυνόμεθαν). 1 pl. forms of εἶμαι in the other texts, however, suggest that the endings -όμεθα(ν) and -ουμέθθαν are not in use: *Voustronios* has εἰμεσθεν (e.g. 96.10–11, 154.17–18), *Cypr. Canz.* εἰμεσταν (102.15, 119.23), *Thrinis Kypr.* εἰμεσθεν (90) and subjunctives νὰ 'μεσθεν (869) and νὰ 'μεσθεν (870).

¹² There are a few examples with εἶμαι, for which see 4.8.1.

οὐδὲν προδιδόμεσθε *Achil.* N 436
 θαυμάζομεστε πολλά (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 92.17)
 εἰς τὴν βασιλεία σου ἐρχόμεσθε *Diig. Alex.* F 216.5 (Lolos)
 εὐρίσκόμεστε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 286.5)
 τὸ ἀτσίδιν ἐμεῖς τὸ σεβόμεσθε ὡσάν θεόν *Vios Aesop.* I 278.33
 μᾶς βλέπεις πῶς πνιγόμεστε *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2543
 γλιτωσέ μας, χανόμεστε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 8.25; δυνόμεσθε *ibid.* Mark. 10.39;

πῶς καθόμεσθην μετ' τὸν τραγέλαφον *Spanos D* 877
 ἐκδεχόμεσθην ὄλους ἐδῶ νὰ ἔλθουν *Achil.* L 1066; εὐχόμεσθην σας *ibid.* 1128
 γουργὰ ἐλευθερωνόμεσθην *Moirol. Konst.* 25
 καὶ πῶς δὲν δουλωνόμεσθην *Theseid* I.27,7 (Follieri)
 γιατί βρισκόμεσθην ἐδῶ *Fyll. gadar.* 64B ἀποχωριζόμεσθην *ibid.* 99¹³
 νὰ βρισκόμεσθην *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 12.3
 καὶ ἐρχόμεσθην εἰς τὸ θησαυροφυλάκιον *Thavn. Ag. Nik.* 265.6–7
 καταδεχόμεσθην *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1099; νὰ περιπλεκόμεσθην *ibid.* 1169
 ἀναγκαζόμεσθην *DAM. STOUD., Dial.* 97.20; τι ἔχομεν καὶ ὑβριζόμεσθην *id., This., Logos* 30, H1r.25 (1561)
 θεληματικῶς δοῦλοι δὲν γινόμεσθην *Vios Aesop.* I 37.27
 καὶ ἐρχόμεσθην εἰς τὸν ἄσπρον ὄχθον (1613, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 61, 184.22)
 δὲν δυνόμεσθην (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.15)
 ἐκεῖνα οὐποῦ χρειάζομεσθην *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 13.29
 σήμερον φαίνόμεσθην ὡς ανθούντες, καὶ αὐρίον μαραινόμεσθην *LANDOS, Kalok.* 343.21–2
 ἐγνοιαζόμεσθην [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P II 320.14; ἐρχόμεσθην *ibid.* V 360.22
 ν' ἀποκρενώμεσθην (1667, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 53, 317.10)

The endings -μεσθε(ν)/-μεστε(ν) are frequently used with εἶμαι (see 4.8.1), but have not been found with other athematic verbs.

Forms with the stress on the fourth syllable from the end (ἀνακατῶνομεσθην) or with dual stress, in which sometimes the first accent is omitted (e.g. παραδιδόμεσθην for παραδιδόμεσθην), have been found in texts of diverse geographical provenance:

ἀνακατῶνομεσθην (1572, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 3, 84.53)
 πολλά μετὰ χαρὰς ὑπογράφομεσθην (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), p. 54.3–4)
 γάλλομεσθην *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 297 ms; ὄλοι ἀναπεύομεσθην *ibid.* 298 ms
 εὐρίσκουμέσθην (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.11); παραδιδόμεσθην (*ibid.* 4, 102.33)
 θαυμάζομεστε τὸ λοιπὸν *Alex. Rim.* 789
 ἐρχόμεστε *Diig. Alex.* K 345.24
 νὰ ἀμαχευόμεσθην *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 217.16; νὰ προσευχομέσθην *ibid.* 452.29
 τὸ μαλλί τους ἐνδύνόμεσθην *DAM. STOUD., Dial.* 96.22; μὴν στολίζομεσθην *id., This., Logos* 2, β6r.30 (1561)
 κ' εὐρίσκομέσθην ζωντανοὶ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2634
 νὰ παιδεύωμεσθην καὶ νὰ πειράζωμεσθην ὄλοι μας *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* 66.26 (Kaftantzis)
 συγχαίρομεσθην [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P III 339.19; ἐντρέπομεσθην *ibid.* VII 381.10
 εὐρίσκομεσθην εἰς τόσους λάκκους κακῶν (1672, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 96, 237.6)

¹³ But cf. μηδὲν θαρρῆς, κύρ γάδαρε, ὅτι εἴμεσθην ἐργάτες *ibid.* 56a.

Forms in -μεστι(ν) for -μεστε(ν) are phonetic rather than morphological variants; they are the result of raising of unstressed [e] to [i], for which see I, 2.5.4: θαυμάζομέστιν (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.24).

Pl.	1	-οὔμεστε(ν) -οὔμεσθε(ν)
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First attestations of -οὔμεστε(ν) and its more formal variant with /sθ/ for /st/ have been found in 15th-c. texts from Rhodes. The early examples from the Rhodian documents point to an analogy with the corresponding active ending -οῦμε, the first attestations of which appear in the writings of the same scribe (see above, 4.1.1.1). From the 16th/17th c. onwards the ending also appears in texts from other areas (Chios, Naxos, Cyprus, Santorini, Mani):

χαίρουμέστέ το κ' ἐμεῖς (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.8); δεχόμεστε ἀπουκρουσιάρην (*ibid.* 18, 97.11)
 νὰ καθούμεσθην *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 282.37
 σεβούμεσθην τὸν κἀτην ὡς θεόν *Vios Aisop.* D 239.22
 γραφούμεσθην [...] dicono ancora γραφόμεσθην *GERMANO, Grammar* 90.5–6
 ὅπου βρισκούμεστε κάτω στὴν γῆν *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 3
 μαζευγούμεστε *Rim. Sant.* 443; χωριζούμεσθην *ibid.* 501
 χαννόμεσθην *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1738
 κ' ἐμεῖς μετὰ σας ἐρχούμεσθην *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1125; βρισκούμεσθην κλεισμένοι *ibid.* 1418
 ὁμπλιγαριζούμεστε (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 464, 688.13)
 ὑπογραφούμεσθε (1697, Mani, PETRIDIS 1870: 432.7)

Pl.	1	-όμεστα(ν) -ομέστα(ν) -ομέστανε -όμεσθα(ν) -ομέσθαν -ομέσθανε
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The ending -όμεστα(ν) and its more formal, written variant -όμεσθα(ν) are not attested very frequently with barytone verbs, but they are rather more common with εἶμαι (from the 13th/14th c. onwards with the present and the imperfect, see 4.8.1, 4.8.2). There are sporadic attestations of -μεσθα with the present of barytone verbs in Roman and Late Antique papyri, considered to be the result of an analogical formation from -μεθα after 2 pl. -σθε (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 63; GIGNAC 1981: 358; MINAS 1987a: 24) rather than being related to the identical Homeric ending (see KAPSOMENOS 1960 for a full historical overview of the use of this ending). In the Late Antique and Byzantine periods it can be found in commentaries and lexica on epic and tragic AG texts and in hexametric poetry. In vernacular texts the ending does not appear with barytone forms before the 15th/16th c., in texts from southern, mainly south-western, areas.¹⁴ Given the fact that it is absent from 14th-c. works such as the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*,¹⁵ which originate from the area where the ending makes its first appearance, it is likely to be a new formation,

¹⁴ Two 11th- and 12th-c. examples in documents from S. Italy, ἀλήθειαν λέγομεν (καὶ) οὐ ψευδόμεσταν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLON 1967: 3, 48.17) and ἵνα ζημιούμεστα (1128, S. Italy, MÉNAGER 1957: 2bis, 340.21), should perhaps be viewed as an archaism rather than a first appearance of this vernacular ending.

¹⁵ There are two instances of this ending with εἶμαι (εἴμεσταν) in *Chron. Mor.* H 6035 and 6036, but the normal form is εἴμεθεν. The same holds true for *Pol. Tr.* For εἶμαι see 4.8.1.

unconnected to the identical Koine ending, and possibly the result of a simple conflation of inherited -μεθα and the innovative ending -μεσθεν/-μεστέν, which had appeared about a century earlier (see above):

- κι ἀντιμαχόμεσθ' αὖτο Alex. Rim. 2494
 χρειάζομεσταν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 30; κατασταινόμεσταν *ibid.* 55; φανταζόμεσταν *ibid.* 254
 ἐρχόμεσταν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 231.9
 ἀναφαινόμεσταν (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 145.1)
 δὲν στεργόμεσταν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 58.22
 ἀναφανίζομεστα (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.16)
 ἐρχόμεστα P&N *Diath.* 272
 Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεσταν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 335
 ἐρχόμεσθ' αὖ να βαρέσομεν πάνω σας χωρὶς ἄλλο IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5360
 ἔστοντας ὅπου νὰ εὐρισκόμεσθ' αὖ εἰς στράταν (1653, Ioannina, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 3, 361.16–17)
 ἐρχόμεστα (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.2)
 δεόμεστα (1679, Sotira, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.11)
 γραφόμεσθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.19

The ending is also found, with and without final /n/, with a dual stress (whereby the first accent, representing the weaker of the two stresses, is sometimes omitted, e.g. στεκομέστα for στεκομέστα), in texts from Crete and the Heptanese, and perhaps Cyprus:¹⁶

- νὰ ἐρχωμέσταν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 232, 230.10)
 τὰ ἄνωθεν ὅπου τάσσομέσταν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 240, 234.45)
 νὰ κραζωμέστα VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 180
 καστιγαρομέσταν καθημερινόν (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.5)
 ὁδὶα νὰ δροσιζόμεσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 72.5–6
 γινόμεσθα ἄγιοι μεγάλοι TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 88
 μὴ στεκομέστα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.471 and V.514
 ἐρχόμεστα *Stathis* III.12
 σηκώνομεστα P&N *Diath.* 652
 σὰ χαίρομέσθ' αὖλοι KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1431 (A)
 θὰ στεκομέσθα *Pist. voskos* II 1.159; τί στεκομέστα πλὶν *ibid.* V 2.128
 ποὺ χαίρομέσταν ὅλοι ZINON V.109
 εὐρισκομέστα (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 5, 34.7)

With an added -(v)ε, and again with dual stress, this ending appears in Cretan texts from the late 16th c. onwards (for addition of -(v)ε see I, 2.6.3.3); again, the first accent may be omitted in writing:

- λυτρώνομεσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 62.21; λέγομεσταν *ibid.* 133.14; ὁδὶα νὰ παιδεύομεσταν *ibid.* 237.24; νὰ τοῦ ὑποτάσσομεσθ' αὖτο *id.*, *Logos* 470.17
 ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ κάθομεσταν CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.352; μὴ στεκομέσταν *ibid.* V.365;
 μαζώνομεσταν οὐλοὶ *id.*, *Erof.* I.556; μὴν πρὶκαίνομεσταν *ibid.* III.178; νὰ
 διακονίζομεσταν *id.*, *Katz.* III.300
 νὰ δεόμεσταν *Thysia* Avr. 1133
 κελὶνὰ ποὺ ὀρεγομέσταν KORNAROS, *Erot.* A 1261 (A)
 εὐρισκομέσταν (1649, Crete, PANOPOULOU 2003: 2, 148.30–1)

¹⁶ The example from Cyprus comes from a scribe who, though clearly well-established in Famagusta, probably had a Corfiot background, given his surname Korfiatis (see CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61–2).

- παντοτινὰ κολάζομεσταν *Apok. Theot.* 493.194–494.195
 εὐρισκομέσταν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.256; ἀνεμπαλωνόμεσταν *ibid.* V.35
 εὐρισκομέσταν AGAP., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 251
 [εἰσέ] μεγάλον πόνον εὐρισκομέσταν (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.2)
 εὐρισκομέσταν τὴν σήμερον (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 5, 130.2) (author from Crete)

Pl.	1	-οὔμεστα ! -οὔμεστα
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The same ending with a thematic vowel [u] for [o] is quite rare: τοῦτα ἐγδεχόμεστα νὰ θωροῦμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 248.14; καθοῦμεσθα (1533, Naxos, MILIARAKIS 1888: 58.22); κάθουμέστα (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 22.18).

Pl.	1	-ομένστα ! -ομένσταν
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This dubious-looking ending has been found quite a few times, not only with the present, but also with the imperfect of barytone verbs (4.3.1.2), in documents by the Cretan notary Maras. It looks like a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστα, but it is unlikely to be a “real” ending. The ligature Maras uses (a combination of the ligatures for μεν and supralinear στα(ν)) is probably a graphematic idiosyncrasy that, in fact, represents -μεστα(ν):

- δταν δὲν συνιβάζομένστα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 6, 7.16); ὅτι
 ὁμπλεγαρίζομένστα ἔσένα (*ibid.* 232, 230.2–3); νὰ ἐρχωμένστα (*ibid.* 230.7); ὅπου νὰ
 μὴν δυσκολεύωμένστα (*ibid.* 230.9); νὰ τὰ τεστάρωμένστα (*ibid.* 259, 258.45); με τοὺς
 μαγαντζάδες ὅπου εὐρισκόμεσταν (*ibid.* 155, 156.13); ὁμπλεγάρομένσταν νὰ σοῦ
 δώσωμεν (*ibid.* 266, 264.12)

Pl.	1	-όμαστε(ν)/-ώμασθε(ν) ! -όμασθε(ν) ! -ομάστε(ν) ! -ομάσθε ! -ομάστενε
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The ending -όμαστε(ν) and its more formal variant -όμασθε(ν), which in the form -όμαστε would eventually become the SMG ending, is found from the 16th c. onward, during the first century of its existence almost exclusively in texts of south-western provenance. According to MINAS 1987a: 25 following MEYER 1889: 197, it derives from -όμεστα with inversion of the vowels /a/ and /e/, but it is perhaps more likely to derive from -όμεσταν with a change of /e/ to /a/. As appears to be the case with other passive endings (e.g. imperf. 1 sg. -μουν, 2 sg. -σουν, and others, and cf. 1 sg. /ome/ and pron. /me/, 2 sg. /ese/ and pron. /se/) the postverbal clitic pronoun μας may have played an associative role (RUGE 1984). The spelling of the subjunctive with <ω> for <ο> is entirely graphematic.

- καὶ τώρα ἡύρισκόμασταν στὰ χέρια τὰ δικά σου Alex. Rim. 721; δυνόμασθ' *ibid.* 1460
 μὴ γινόμεσταν (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 243, 147.18)
 ὑποσχόμεσταν (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.2)
 γινόμεσταν (1611, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: IV, 72.18)
 εὐρισκόμασταν (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.21)
 ἐρχόμεσταν ὁμάδι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1261
 ποὺ ἐκαθόμεσταν CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.352 app. crit. (N); ὁπόκαθόμεσταν *ibid.* IV.352 app. crit. (A)

διὰ νὰ προσευχώμασθε IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 383.16
 και ὅλοι μας βρυχώμασθεν ὡσάν τα λεοντάρια IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 914; να δεόμασθεν *ibid.*
 4710tit.; βρισκόμασθεν *ibid.* 5393
 καλὰ εὐρισκόμαστε (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.3); σε λίγες ἡμέρες ἐρχόμαστε
 (*ibid.* 178.13)
 νὰ ἔχωμε νὰ ἀποκρενώμαστε (1695, Karytaina, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: I.A 34, 115.9–10)
 ποὺ ὀρεγόμαστε KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1261 app. crit. (X) ὡς αὖ χειρόμαστ' ὅλοι *ibid.* V.1431 app.
 crit. (X)
 καταγόμαστε (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.6)
 σὲ τί εὐρισκόμαστε (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 10, 127.10)
 εὐρισκόμαστε συγχυσμένοι *Chron. Theod.* 20.1 (15th/16th-c. text; 19th-c. copy)

The ending can also be found with a dual stress, although sometimes the first accent is omitted in writing:

νὰ χαίρωμάσθε ZINOS, *Vatr.* 111; να κρύβωμάσθε *ibid.* 112
 ἐμπλεγρόμασθεν (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.22–3); δὲν
 μπατζαρομάσθεν (1548, Kefalonia, *ibid.* 25, 63.13); ὀμπλιγρόμασθεν (1551, Kefalonia,
ibid. 49, 91.10–11)
 στέκομαστε (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.23)
 ὅλοι μας γίνομασθε *Pist. Vosk.* IV 5.108
 πολλὰ θαυμάζομασθε VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 653
 σκλαβωμένοι ἠύρισκομαστε KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.107–8
 γράφομασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.19

Addition of -(v)ε appears in a text from Corfu:¹⁷ θλιβομάστενε μὲ θλιμὸν μεγάλο *Evr. Eleg.*
 3 166.8.

Pl.	1	-ούμαστε(v) ! -ουμάσθεν
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Sporadically the ending -μαστε/-μάστε is found with a thematic vowel /u/ instead of /o/, as a result of back-vowel raising in the environment of a nasal (see I, 2.8.3): δεχόμαστε (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), 54.3) (read: δέχουμάστε, as raising usually affects unstressed vowels); ημεῖς γνωρίζουμάσθε ἀπὸ μικρά μας χρόνια *Don Kis.* 131.8.

Pl.	1	-ό(u)μαστιν(ε)
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In several documents whose authors are of Peloponnesian origin (Koroni and Mani), forms in -μαστιν(ε) occur,¹⁸ which is -μαστε(v)(ε) with the first /e/ changed to /i/. In diplomatic editions no examples have been found with notation of stress position(s). It is therefore unclear whether one should read e.g. ἠύρεσκούμεσθιν or ἠύρεσκουμάστιν:¹⁹ ἠύρεσκουμάστιν (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.16–17); στεργόμαστιν (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 2, 282.9) (accentuation tacitly corrected by the editor); ἐβρισκομάστιν (1679, Sovana, Tuscany, PAPADOPOULOS 1979: 1, 473.37).

¹⁷ See AVLONITI 2006: 28–9 for such forms in the modern dialect of Corfu.

¹⁸ For the ending -μαστι in MG dialects, see NEWTON 1972c: 268.

¹⁹ The same ending with the oxytone verb φοβούμαι has been found in the *Ἰσμία Χατζή Γεωργάκη Δραγομάνου*, an early 19th-c. text from Cyprus: κι ἐμεῖς δὲν τὸν φοβούμαστιν (v. 101).

Pl.	1	-ούμαστον
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The ending -ούμαστον occurs in a document from Kimolos, dated slightly beyond the period covered by this Grammar. The ending -μαστον has also been found with the imperfect (see 4.3.1.2) and with εἶμαι (see the discussion there, 4.8.2): ὑποσχούμαστον (1724, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1973: 3, 308.20 facs.); νὰ μιντεναρίζομαστον (*ibid.* 308.21 facs.) (< Fr. *maintenir* or Ital. *mantenere*) (ὑποσχόμεστον and νὰ μὴν τεναραζόμεστον in the ed.).

2nd Person

Pl.	2	-εσθε(v) ! -εστε(v) ! -εστιν
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The inherited 2 pl.²⁰ ending -εστε and its more formal, written variant -εσθε are used throughout and beyond the MedG period:

ἀκούετε τα και οὐ θλίβεστε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 115
 ἐδῶ ποὺ εὐρίσκεστε ἐνομοῦ *Chron. Mor.* H 2835; οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς *ibid.* 5394
 νὰ μὴ δέχεστε τοὺς χαρατζάρους (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.70)
 μ' ἂν ἔν' κι ἐσεῖς συνθλίβεστε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 40
 τίντα ἔννοιάζεσθε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.24; ἐννοιάζεστε *ibid.* 488.34
 εὐρίσκεστε VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 298.18
 κρέμεστε *Cypr. Canz.* 112.7
 δὲν ἐντρέπεστε νὰ κλαῖτε *Epain. gyn.* 115
 θε νὰ βρίσκεστε εἰς τόσῃν ἁμαρτία VENDRAMOS, *Istor. gyn.* 192
 γράφεσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.4–5
 νὰ ὑποτάζεσθε (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 238.217); νὰ προσέχεσθε (*ibid.* 238.225)
 βλέπεστε ... ἔρχεστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.8–9
 φτιάνεσθε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2756; μὴν κρύβεστε *ibid.* 6896; δὲν ἐντρέπεσθε *ibid.* 7868

Addition of final /n/ to this ending is not very common, but can be found in various texts, especially, though not exclusively, from the Heptanese:

δουλώνεσθεν εἰς Ἑρωταν *Liv.* V 497
 οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεσθεν ποσῶς *Chron. Mor.* P 5392
 ἀναπεύεσθεν *Theseid* I.1,2 (Follieri); βρῖσκεσθεν *ibid.* I.4,1
 ἐκεῖνο οὐποὶ ὀρέγεσθεν *Kakop.* 167
 λοιπὸν δὲ μὴ μὲ μέμφεσθεν ἔμην *Alex. Rim.* 1484; λογιζέσθεν κ' εἴσθεν ἀντρεωμένες *ibid.* 2522
 και μηδὲν θαυμάζεσθεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 353.3
 τὰ ζῶα ὅπου κάθεσθεν ἀπάνω *Bertoldin.* 100.20
 ἀπέξω φαίνεσθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιοι KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.28; ἡξεύρει
 ὅτι τὰ χρειάζεσθεν ετοῦτα *ibid.* 12.30

²⁰ The MG ending -όσαστε, formed by analogy with 1 pl. -όμαστε (PERNOT 1907/46: II 292, who claims the ending is of Peloponnesian/Chiot origin), is not attested in the texts examined, which is not surprising given the relatively late appearance of -όμαστε (see above). No examples of -όσαστε have been found before the 18th c. It occurs e.g. in the grammar of Kanellos Spanos (author from the Peloponnese, written 1749): γραφόσαστε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.19–20; and in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis's comedy *O Chasis*: νὰ τσακωνόσαστε IV.226, the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Synodinos, Athens 1997).

A form with /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable as a result of mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4) was found in a document from the Crimea. Mid-vowel raising is a feature of Crimean Pontic, but not of other varieties of the pre-modern dialect (see HENRICH 1996b: 181–2 and HENRICH 1998a: 104): ἐὰν ἔρκεστιν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.5).

Pl.	2	-οὔστε -οὔσθεν -οὔστενε
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This 2 pl. ending can be found in texts from Chios, with and without final /n/ or an added -(v)ε (for which see I, 3.7.2 and I, 2.6.3.3):

γραφοῦστε, vel γράφεστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.5
φαινοῦσθεν KONDA., *Paidēs* 289
δὲν δυνοῦσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 3031

μὴν στεκούσθεν KONDA., *Paidēs* 251
πάντοτε βρίσκουσθεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri Tyflou* 438
ῥρισκούσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 862

A proparoxytone form in -οὔσθεν has been found in one of the Jesuit plays written in Chios in the 17th c.: νὰ ταραζοῦσθεν VEST., *Pathi* 84.

3rd Person

Pl.	3	-ονται -ονταιν -ονταίνε -ωνται -οται -οταίνε
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The inherited 3 pl. ending -ονται is the standard ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

γίνονται μέρη δύο (1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.20)
ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανοὺς NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.3
καὶ τὰ θηρία κρύβονται *Dig.* G IV.203
ἐνδύονται *Pol. Tr.* 5736
παιδία καὶ ἄν μαζώνονται BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 95
νὰ ἀναπεύονται NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 5.3
αἱ πρᾶξες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζυγάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται *Pist. kekoim.* 768
νὰ ἔρχονται (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.22)
δξω κατὰ πῶς εὐρίσκονται ἐδικὰ του (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 71–2.21)
ὑπόσχονται νὰ δώσουν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 159, 100.4)
εὐρίσκονται κεφάλαια ἀνθρώπινα (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 337.67–8)
κόφονται τὰ ὅπλα του PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §29.18
διὰ νὰ μνημονεύονται οἱ κτήτορες (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 668.12)
νὰ κρένονται εἰς τὸν κατή μας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.6)
γράφονται (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.20)

Addition of final /n/ can be found from as early as the 11th c. in texts from various areas:

καὶ ἵνα διαλέγωνται (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.25)
ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὀρέγονται *Spaneas* Z 331
βουλεύονται *Liv.* V 608
νὰ ὑπᾶν καὶ νὰ ἔρχονται (1453, Constantinople, DALLEGIO D'ALESSIO 1939: 118.29)

ἐμπλεγάρονται (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 8, 45.9) (< Ven. *obligàr*);
εὐρίσκονται (1555, *ibid.* 177, 228.20)
νὰ ἔρχονται ἐδῶ (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.23)
δύνονται VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1377
ισιάζονται ἀμφοτέροι (1687, Chios, KAVVADAS 1976: B.f15, 9.2)

With addition of -(v)ε and dual accent, the form appears in a document from Kefalonia and in the Oxford version of *Digenis* (Chios) (for addition of -(v)ε see I, 2.6.3.3): ἡύρίσκονταίνε εἰς τὰ χέρια τοῦ Sr Λασχαράκη (1653, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 215, 186.54) (ἡβρίσκονταίνε in the diplomatic text, but the notation of accents appears to be random); ἔρχονταίνε καὶ κλαῖσι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2109.

The ending -οται(v)ε is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant of -ονται, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops. For details see I, 3.6.2.1:

εὐρίσκοται τινὲς ἀπὸ τοὺς μοναχοὺς *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 480–1
ὅπερ φαίνεται (17th c., Athos, KADAS 1988: 120, 352.9–10)
ὀμπλιγάροταινε (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 31, 50.16); βρίσκοταινε (1638, *ibid.* 118, 114.16 and 114.18) (ομπλιγάροταίνε and βρίσκοταίνε in the ed., but accents appear to be largely editorial)
νὰ γίνωται οἱ σεισμοὶ *Diig. Sant.* 55.53

Forms in -οντι(v) are phonetic variants that bear witness to mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed [e] becomes [i] (see I, 2.5.4). These forms appear in documents by authors from Athens and northern Greece: ἔρχοντι (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.3) (author from Athens); ἵνα μνημονεύοντι (1664, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 86, 210.15–16); γένοντι (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.16).

Pl.	3	-ουνται -ουνταιν -ουνταίνε -ουνταίνε
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The variant ending -ουνται comes from -ονται through back-vowel raising (of unstressed [o] to [u]) in the environment of a nasal (see I, 2.8.3); most probably there is also influence from 3 pl. act. -ουν (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 452), since forms with [u] for [o] are much more common for 3 pl. than for other persons in the paradigm. This ending can be found in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

ἄρχονται (1172, Palermo, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 10, 81.1)
ἀρματώνονται *Chron. Mor.* 633; ἐκεῖ πού εὐρέσκονται *Chron. Mor.* H 3690
καὶ δύο γυναῖκες στέκονται *Liv.* V 464
δαιμονίζονται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 228.74); δπου ἔρχονται ἐξ αὐτοῦς (*ibid.* 244.586)
ἐκδέρνονται οἱ κουτάλες σου *Diig. tetr.* 787 app. crit. (P)
ἔρχονται πρὸς ἐμᾶς (1440, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1995: 126, 401.4)
φαίνονται (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 50, 88.38)
διὰ νὰ μὴν συγχύζονται (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 451.2)
γράφονται GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.5
νὰ στρέφονται (1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.28)
ἐκεῖνοι οἱ σπέρνονται KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark., 4.16
καὶ χώνονται οἱ ἀχινεοὶ εἰς τὴν ἄμμον LANDOS *Geopon.* 131.15

μετατρέπονται (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.27-8)
 να μνημονεύονται (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 354.18)
 ελαττώνονται VATATIS, *Periig. II* 516

The addition of final /n/ to the ending -ονται is not uncommon, and the phenomenon can be found in texts predating the period under investigation (see also I, 3.7.2.1):

ἵνα ἀνατρέφονται (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 27.220)
 στένουνται οἱ φουδοῦλες *Liv. V* 1112; νὰ συχνοπεριπλέκουνται *ibid.* 3562
 δπου ἔρχονται (1446, Constantinople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.29)
 ἄς ἔρχονται ἐλθγοραν *Achil. N* 1450
 ξεχωρίζονται *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 993
 ὀρδινιάζονται PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1154; βόσκονται *ibid.* 1312; νὰ πῆχινίζονται *ibid.* 2908
 νὰ παραστέκονται (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 311.33)
 ἰσιάζονται (1684, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 409.1)
 ὅ,τι τῆς εὐρίσκονται (1690, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 78, 63.4-5)
 κείονται ἄδικα φονεμένα *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1312

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in texts from Chios, one without and one with dual stress notation (for -(v)ε see I, 2.6.3): ἐρκουντεν/ἐρκουνταίνε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.5); βρίσκουνταίνε *Dig. O* 2543.

Forms in -ονται(v) are phonetic variants of those in -ονται, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops (for details see I, 3.6.2.1):

νὰ παιδεύονται (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 302.51)
 καταλύονται (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.2)
 ξεκαθαρίζονται (1598, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 3, 268.17)
 νὰ μνημονεύονται (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 49, 316.4)
 ἐκεῖνα ποὺ εὐρίσκονται (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.13)
 νὰ πραγματεύονται (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 312.14)
 ὀμπλιγάρονται (1691, Ikaria/Chios?, TSELIKAS 2000: 81, 64.2); νὰ καστιγάρονται (*ibid.* 64.15-16)

Forms in -ουντι(v) are phonetic variants that bear witness to mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed /e/ becomes [i]. An example has been found in a document from the Crimea (for details see I, 2.5.4; for the Crimean document see also HENRICH 1998a): οἱ δουλείες δίχως ἔξοδον οὐκ ἐγίνουντιν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.6-7).

4.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

The endings of the present indicative of oxytone verbs were originally identical to those of barytone verbs (-ω, -εις, -ει, -ομεν, -ετε, -ουσι), but contraction with the stem vowels, [a], [e] or [o], led to sound change, and the contracted morpheme began to be perceived as an oxytone ending. Before the LMedG period O-stem verbs had largely been remodelled into a barytone paradigm through the addition of an affix -νω (see also 1.1.1), though

oxytone O-stem endings that happen to be identical to or homophonous with the corresponding E-stem endings are not uncommon.²¹ Residual O-stem forms can occasionally be found.²²

For reasons of presentation, here the morphemes that are the result of contraction of stem vowels and endings will be treated as part of the endings, but see also 2.1.2.

The inherited sets of endings for A- and E-stems are identical for 1 sg. (act. -ῶ, pass. -οῦμαι), 1 pl. (act. -οῦμε, pass. -οῦμεθα) and 3 pl. (act. -οῦσι, pass. -οῦνται), and in the period covered by this Grammar there is a clear tendency for E-stems to adopt A-stem endings for 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl., although the reverse also occurs, and there is often variation even within the same text, e.g. *ἔάν μᾶς ζητῆς* νὰ ποιήσωμεν τὸ δίκαιον κατὰ νόμον, | ἢ *ἄν μᾶς ζητᾶς* διὰ χάριταν καὶ διάκρισιν ἀφέντου *Chron. Mor. H* 7477-8.

4.1.2.1 Active Voice

		General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	γρικῶ	βαρῶ			γρικᾶω	βαρέω -οῦ
	2	γρικᾶς/γρικᾶς	βαρεῖς βαρᾶς/βαρᾶς	γρικά(γ)εις	βαρά(γ)εις	γρικεῖς	
	3	γρικᾶ/γρικᾶ	βαρεῖ βαρᾶ/βαρᾶ	γρικεῖ γρικά(γ)ει			βαρεῖν βαρέ(ει)
Pl.	1	γρικοῦμε(v)	βαροῦμε(v)	γρικούμενε	βαρούμενε	γρικᾶμε	βαροῦμαν
	2	γρικᾶτε	βαρεῖτε	γρικῶμεν γρικᾶτεν γρικάτενε	βαρῶμεν βαρεῖτεν βαρεῖτενε		
	3	γρικοῦσι(v) γρικοῦν	βαροῦσι(v) βαροῦν	γρικούσιν γρικῶσι(v) γρικοῦ γρικούνε	βαρούσιν βαρῶσι(v) βαροῦ βαρούνε	γρικᾶν(ε) (γρικά(γ) οὐν)	βαρέουσι(v) βαρέουν βαρά(γ)ουν

For 1 pl. and 3 pl. of the present subjunctive of original E-stem verbs, the residual endings -ῶμε(v) and -ῶσι(v), which are identical to the corresponding residual endings of the

²¹ E.g. ἀξιοῦμεν (1447, Constantinople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1952: 293.5) οἱ μόνον σε θαύμα καὶ αὐτὸ νὰ ομοίει σαν κείνο *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1059.

²² E.g. νὰ μὴ κωνιορτοῦται *Dig. G* IV.238; θυμοῦται *Chron. Tōc.* 3644; ἡ Τροία θανατοῦται *Byz. Il.* 379; ἀπονεκροῦται [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1160; δηλοῦται (1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.11).

present indicative and subjunctive of A-stem verbs, can sporadically be found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of both A- and E-stem verbs are identical to or homophonous with those of the present indicative. The only subjunctive endings that are traditionally spelled differently from those of the present indicative are uncontracted 2 sg., and 3 sg. of both A- and E-stem verbs, as well as the contracted forms of 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. of E-stem verbs. However, not all modern editors choose to make this graphematic distinction. As mentioned in the General Introduction to this Grammar, the iota subscript has been omitted in the examples in this Grammar. Other than that, the spelling of the modern editions of literary texts has been preserved. In examples normalized by us, 2 sg. and 3 sg. examples of the subjunctive are spelled with <ει>.

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1			
	2	βαρήσ/ βαρής	γρικήσ/ γρικής	βαράσ/ βαράς
	3	βαρή/βαρή	γρική/γρική	βαρέη/βαρέη
Pl.	1			
		βαρήτε		βαρήτεν(ε)
	3			

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ῶ -οῦ
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For 1 sg. -ῶ is the standard ending for all oxytone verbs before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

A-stems

ἀγαπῶ NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.1; οὐκ ἀποτολμῶ ἐρευνᾶν *ibid.* 818.27
 ἐγὼ τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 578
 πηδῶ ἔξω τῆς τέντας *Dig.* E 1132
 καὶ ἄς πεινῶ *Paroim.* H 54
 οὔτε σπαθία δειλιῶ *Achil.* N 322; χαιρετῶ *ibid.* 454; ἐγὼ σκιρτῶ καὶ χαίρομαι *ibid.* 1294
 νὰ βαστῶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 20; νὰ ἀγαπῶ *ibid.* 44
 διατὶ σὲ ἀγαπῶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.28–9
 οκαὶ μαντάτα τοῦ βαστῶ *Apoll. Rim.* 804
 μόνον πλανῶ τοὺς γέροντες CHORTATIS, *Katz. Prol.* 31; δὲν τ' ἀγαπῶ *ibid.* I.284
 πλαντῶ καὶ σκῶ *Stathis* I.79
 δτι νὰ μὴν τρομῶ *Nov. II* 162.58 (= τολμῶ)
 ἐγὼ κλωσσῶ τὰ χηνόπουλα *Bertoldin.* 128.13
 μεγάλο πρᾶγμα προορῶ *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 1
 χαλνῶ *Don Kis.* 21.13–14

E-stems

παρακαλῶ NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.8; κατακολουθῶ *ibid.* 312.1–2; ξῶς οὐ ζῶ *ibid.* 314.27
 οὐκ ἔμπορῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 243; τὸν Μπονιφάτσον, σὲ λαλῶ *ibid.* 1016
 ἐγὼ πονῶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀγρυπνῶ *Ptoch. (Maiuri)* 11
 εὐχαριστῶ σε, Θεὲ καλέ, καὶ μυριοευχαριστῶ σε *Arm.* 47
 ἐλεῶ τὰ κάλλη σου *Dig.* E 1543
 ὀκνῶ νὰ σᾶς τὴν γράφω *Chron. Toc.* 858; μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπορῶ *ibid.* 3041
 δὲν ἔμπορῶ *Achil.* L 97; διατὶ νάρρωστῶ καὶ νὰ πονῶ *ibid.* 586
 καὶ ὑπερευχαριστῶ σας *Achil.* N 447; ἐξαπορῶ *ibid.* 799
 παρακαλῶ σε *Achil.* O 350; τὴν θεγατέραν τοῦ ποθῶ *ibid.* 398; τοῦτο πληροφορῶ σὲ το *ibid.* 485
 ἀμ' ἤθελα νὰ περπατῶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 41; καὶ ἐγὼ θαρρῶ *ibid.* 197; νὰ τοὺς θωρῶ *ibid.* 291
 κρατῶ σε διὰ φίλον μου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 568.18
 ἤξιῶ (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.15)
 ευχαριστῶ σε, ἀφέντη μου *Diig. Apoll.* 215; νὰ τραγουδῶ πανέμνοστα *ibid.* 606
 ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ (1609, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: III, 71.3)
 ἀδυνατῶ νὰ λέγω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1485
 συγχωρῶ *Don Kis.* 21.6

There is no satisfactory morphological or phonetic explanation for the following forms in -οῦ found in a collection of documents from Skyros (cf. barytone verbs, and see also I, 2.5.4.3): ἐγὼ ... μαρτυροῦ το ἀνωθεν (1635, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 24, 46.13); δὲ ζητοῦ πλέον τίποτες (1659, *ibid.* 29, 52.11); Θεοδωρῆς Πετεκάλη μαρτυροῦ (1661, *ibid.* 31, 54.14).

Sg.	1	-ῶ -έω
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Uncontracted forms of 1 sg. of A-stem verbs, certainly not uncommon in MG, are absent from LMedG texts, and rare in EMG texts:

γεννῶ *Cypr. Canz.* 27.12
 ν' ἀκουμπῶ *Vosk.* 320
 ἀγροικῶ (1713, Nauplion, LIATA 1998a: [1], 263.27)
 ρωτῶ καὶ γι' αὐτόν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.381

Uncontracted forms for 1 sg. of E-stem verbs are generally only to be found in explanations on the conjugation of verbs in the works of grammarians and lexicographers, such as Choroiboskos, Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Ps.-Zonaras. The only example that has been found in the texts examined is the following, no doubt intended to have a comical effect, this verb being otherwise unattested: ἡρξάμην κράζειν συνεχῶς τὸ «δέμνε κυριδάτον» | τὸ «σάμνε» καὶ τὸ «ντόμβρε» καὶ τὸ «στεροπορτέω» *Ptoch. I* 251–2.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ᾶς/-ᾷς
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For 2 sg. of A-stem verbs this is the most commonly used ending before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, and it is also used regularly with E-stem verbs in texts from all regions (see also 2.1.2.2.2):

A-stems

- πῶς οὐ πλαντᾷς GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 256
 ἄν ἀγαπᾷς καὶ θέλεις Achil. L 898
 ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε *Paroim.* H 13
 μηδὲ δειλιᾷς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 315
 αὐτὰ τὰ ἄρματα νὰ βαστᾷς *Diig. Alex.* V 40.10
 πῶς ἀποκοτᾷς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 132.2
 μὴ μ' ἐρωτᾷς *Apoll. Rim.* A 1149; ὅαν ἑρικός *ibid.* 1895
 γρικός ἐγὼ τί ὀρίζω *Alex. Rim.* 1779; καὶ πλέο μὴ μὲ ἐρωτᾷς *ibid.* 2450
 καὶ σὺ γελᾷς μας φανερά *Fyll. gadar.* 60
 μηδὲ γλακᾷς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.279; καὶ νὰ σωπᾷς *id.*, *Katz.* I.277; διψᾷς *ibid.* IV.24
 μας περιγελᾷς LANDOS, *Kalok.* 342.1
 ἀγαπᾷς τὸ γύναιον; *Vios Aisop.* K 162.30; ἄρα μοῦ γελᾷς ἢ ἀναγελᾷς *ibid.* 164.15
 ἐσὺ κλωσσᾷς τὰ χηνόπουλα; *Bertoldin.* 128.14; ἀγαπᾷς *ibid.* 168.29
 νὰ καλημερνᾷς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §8.27
 νὰ πετᾷς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1657; καὶ προτιμᾷς τὴν *ibid.* 2262
 βαστᾷς *Zinon Prol.* 141

E-stems

- ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐλεᾷς *Vios Philaret.* 151 (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
 προσδοκᾷς *Ptoch.* I 101
 νὰ σκοπᾷς *Chron. Mor.* H 1654; νὰ εὐχαριστᾷς *ibid.* 4109
 νὰ φλογοτομᾷς (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.7)
 νὰ κλουθᾷς τὴν κόρην Achil. L 208
 μισᾷς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 592
 ὁμολογᾷς *Diig. Alex.* F 116.11 (Konstantinopolos); ἐλεημονᾷς *ibid.* 116.12
 κατοικᾷς (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 114, 111.3)
 ὁ ἄρτος ἀποῦ ἱεουργᾷς MOREZINOS, *Klini* 36.12
 νὰ φκαριστᾷς CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.179; βοηθᾷς μου *id.*, *Katz.* I.334; μὲ καταφρονᾷς *ibid.* V.317
 προνοᾷς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2596 and 2629
 κτυπᾷς *Vios Aisop.* K 150.15; ἐπαινᾷς *ibid.* 161.13; μὴν μοῦ κατηγορᾷς *ibid.* 162.15
 μὴν στέκεσαι νὰ ραθυμᾷς *Bertoldin.* 147.12; ἐπιθυμᾷς *ibid.* 168.29
 τί κυνηγᾷς ἀνέμους PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1635
 νὰ τὸν νουθετᾷς (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 1 [A], 250.17)

Sg.	2	-αῖς/-αῖς ἰ -αῖς
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Uncontracted forms of 2 sg. are not very common; they can be found with A-stem and E-stem verbs from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv. E*) onwards, but mainly in verse texts and more often than not rhyming with (ὀ)πάεις. However, one example has been found in an early 18th-c. non-literary text originating from Corfu.

A-stems

- καὶ θέλεις καὶ ἀγαπᾷς *Liv. E* 3272
 διατὶ ἤξεύρω γροικᾷς μου *Theseid Prol.* P 128 (same in E)
 ἄν ἀγαπᾷς τὸν Θεὸν DEFAR., *Log. did.* 125; ἀπερνᾷς *ibid.* 771
 νὰ συγκερᾷς τὸ πικρὸν μὲ τὸ γλυκὺ τὸ μέλι MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 24; καλὰ τὰ κυβερνᾷς *ibid.* 27; τοὺς τιμᾷς *ibid.* 28; γελᾷς *ibid.* 1717

- κι ὅλος χαμογελάεις MONTSEL., *Evgena* 463
 ἀπετᾷς *Zinon Prol.* 141

E-stems

- εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ζητᾷς *Chron. Mor.* P 8175
 καὶ μὴ σκοπᾷς *Theseid* I.108,7 (Follieri)
 εἴ τι χρωστᾷς πλέρωσε MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2148; ἄν χρεωστᾷς τίποτες *ibid.* 2149
 ἡμᾶς πῶς βοηθᾷς IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4511; αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνᾷς *ibid.* 9756
 οὐδὲ νὰ πολεμᾷς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 405.6
 ἄνθρωπε, πῶς ἀποκοτᾷς τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀδικᾷς; *Alfan.* II 1
 συκοφαντᾷς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1718
 χωρᾷς *Zinon Prol.* 142
 καὶ νὰν τότε παρηγορᾷς (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 10, 127.10)

For anaptyxis of /y/ between the stem-vowel /a/ and the 2 sg. ending, as in πάλιν κεῖ καταντάγεις VATATSI, *Periig.* I 276, see 2.1.2.2.2; see also I, 3.5.2.1.

Sg.	2	-εῖς/-ῖς/-ῖς
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For 2 sg. of E-stem verbs, the inherited ending -εῖς is used, often alongside -αῖς. It is only sporadically found with A-stem verbs (see also 2.1.2.1):

E-stems

- ἀλλ' ὅτε θέλεις νὰ ὑπνεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 947 (ed. ὑπνοῖς)
 τί ἔναι τὸ πονεῖς Achil. L 116; ἐγῶμαι τὸν κενοδοξεῖς *ibid.* 699
 ὅπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε *Paroim.* H 13
 ἀπὸ μακρὰ ροδοβολεῖς *Plani kosmou* 2
 Ἰωάννη μου, καλὰ λαλεῖς FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 63
 θωρεῖς LIMEN., *Velis.* (A) 451
 οὐδὲν ἡμπορεῖς *Diig. Alex.* F 147.15 (Konstantinopolos)
 μηδὲν ξυλοσοφῇς πολλὰ *Fyll. gadar.* 49
 ὅλους μᾶς τιμωρεῖς *Vios Aisop.* K 150.15-16
 πῶς μὲ κρατεῖς CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.277; δὲ μοῦ βολεῖ *ibid.* III.357
 σὺ θαρρεῖς πῶς δὲν τὸ ἤξερω (1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.5-6)

A-stems

- νὰ μᾶς ... κυβερνῇς *Chron. Mor.* H 7923
 καὶ ἐσὺ μεθεῖς; *Vios Aisop.* I 262.10

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ᾷ/-ᾷ
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For 3 sg. of A-stem verbs, this is the most commonly used ending before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. The ending is also used frequently with E-stem verbs, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from all regions:

A-stems

περνᾶ τὸ ποταμίτσιν (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 147.30)
 τὸ φροῦ καὶ φρᾶ μὴ σὲ πλανᾶ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 362
 μηνᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 1317 (μηνῶ < μηνύω; see also 2.1.3.1)
 πηδᾶ, καβαλλικεύει *Achil.* L 52; ἀποτολμᾶ *ibid.* 1005; χαμογελᾶ *ibid.* 1092
 πολλὰ σὲ χαιρετᾶ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.4)
 καὶ πότε τὸν νικᾶ ὁ ἀγκαλῶν *Assizes A* 90.6
 καὶ μας χαλνᾶ *Diig. Alex.* K 346.30
 καὶ γεννᾶ τὸν Σαψῶν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.17
 ἀρχινᾶ (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 24.26)
 μὲ σπουδὴν τὰ ἀρχινᾶ ZYGOM., *Stef. Ichn.* 253.3
 πάλι ματαρωτᾶ τὸν *Nov. I* 156.10
 καὶ ἐρωτᾶ τὸν *Vios Aisop.* I 252.20; πλὴν δλα αὐτὰ τὰ περνᾶ ἡ γυναῖκα *ibid.* 257.15
 νὰ τοὺς ῥωτᾶ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1409; προῦπαντᾶ *ibid.* 1971
 πηδᾶ καὶ δὲν ρωτᾶ NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 48
 κι ὅλο διψᾶ KORNAPOS, *Erot.* III.2
 βιστουρᾶ *Thrinis Kypr.* 70

E-stems

κινᾶ ἐκ τὰ γονικά του *Log. parig.* L 37
 πρῶτα Θεὸν εὐχαριστᾶ *Chron. Mor.* H 293; παρηγορᾶ τὴν *ibid.* 8025
 νὰ μὲ πολεμᾶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 104
 δὲν φελᾶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 234.24; καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολομᾶ μου μοῦττες *ibid.* 562.10–11
 νὰ κληρονομᾶ (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 23.51)
 καὶ νὰ τοῦ ἀκολουθᾶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.2; νὰ τοὺς ἐδικᾶ *ibid.* 31.12
 ἄσπενᾶ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.48; δὲν συμφωνᾶ εἰς τὴν γνώμην σου *ibid.* III §33.1
 νὰ συγκοινωνᾶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.29
 καλλιεργᾶ (1649, Ikaría, TSELIKAS 2000: 15, 27.14)
 τὸν ᾗπιθυμᾶ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1620; προσκυνᾶ *ibid.* 1971; παρηγορᾶ *ibid.* 2055
 ζητᾶ τότες αὐτὸς νὰ δῇ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 141
 καὶ αὐτὸς συγχωρᾶ ὁλωνῶν (1685, Andros, POLEMIS 1995b: 5, 38.7)
 κατοικᾶ (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 69.24)
 μὲ παρακινᾶ (1696, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 2 [B], 253.16)

Forms in -ά of the verb (ἡ)μπορᾶ, followed by a bare subjunctive, which can be found from at least the 15th/16th c. onwards in texts from southern regions, are the result of univerbation of the 3 sg. impersonal verb and the conjunction νὰ into a single lexeme (see also 1.1.4):

μπορᾶ νοιαστῆς *Cypr. Canz.* 137.3
 γιὰ νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ τὸ κόψει οὐδένας (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.15)
 δὲν ἡμπορᾶ μιλῆσω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 901
 νὰ μὴ πορᾶ τὸ πάρου (1660, Crete, VOUDOUMBAKIS 1915: 15, 380.23)
 ἀκόμα δὲν πορᾶ φανοῦν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7123
 μπορᾶ καταβαλθοῦμεν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 471
 μὰ εἶντα μπορᾶ σοῦ κάμω KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.107

For examples of this phenomenon with the verbs θέλω and μέλλω, see 5.1.4.5 and 5.1.2.

Sg.	3	-εἶ(ν)/-ῆ/-ῇ
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For 3 sg. of E-stem verbs, the inherited ending -εῖ is used before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. It can also sometimes be found with A-stem verbs in texts from various regions:

E-stems

οἰκονομεῖ NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.16
 ἄς θαρρῇ *Log. parig.* L 721; πατεῖ *ibid.* 722
 νὰ θωρῇ *Poulol.* 541
 ἀκανεῖ, ἔχω καταπατητάδες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.2–3 (< ἱκανῶ)
 πολεμεῖ *Diig. Alex.* E 45.17 (Konstantinopulos)
 πουλεῖ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 26, 105.4)
 νὰ μιλεῖ (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.29)
 νὰ φορεῖ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 41.9; νὰ μὴν τῆς βαρεῖ *ibid.* 51.28; νὰ ζεῖ *ibid.* 51.33
 ἀρχισε νὰ πολυλογῇ *Vios Aisop.* K 179.12
 παρακαλεῖ GERMANO, *Grammar* 51.23
 ὁμολογεῖ (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.14)
 θέλει καὶ λακταρεῖ τὸν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1620; καταφιλεῖ του *ibid.* 2356
 πουλεῖ NEOFYOTOS, *Achouri* 46
 ο Θεός νὰ τὸν πολυτελεῖ *Don Kis.* 21.26; ἡ τύχη μάς οδηγεῖ *ibid.* 44.29; ὅταν σε πονεῖ *ibid.* 47.16
 νὰ μὴν λειτουργεῖ τινὰς ἀπὸ λόγου σας (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.26)

A-stems

τύπος εἰ καὶ πλανῇ με *Diig. Alex.* M 3499
 νὰ κυβερνῇ τὸ πλοῖον *Poulol.* 540 app. crit. (E)
 καταδαπανεῖ *Achil.* N 5
 ὀρμεῖ *Byz. Il.* 111
 γιὰ νὰ περνῇ ὁ καιρὸς σου *Theseid Prol.* E 97 app. crit.
 νὰ τὰ κυβερνεῖ (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 298, 212.16)
 ανεμικὴ μαδεῖ τὸ CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.84
 καὶ μασεῖ καὶ βάνει LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.28

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: ἂν οὐδὲν σᾶς βολῇ νὰ ἔλθετε *Diig. Alex.* F 166.3 (Konstantinopulos); θέλει καὶ ποιεῖν (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 13, 27.5).

Sg.	3	-άει/-άη/-άη -άγει/-άγῃ/-άγῃ
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Unlike 1 sg. and 2 sg., for 3 sg. uncontracted A-stem forms are rather common in the LMedG and EMG period, and they are found not only with A-stem verbs but also with E-stem verbs, in literary texts as well as in non-literary documents from various areas, from at least the 15th c. onwards (mss of *Pol. Tr.*). As far as E-stem verbs are concerned, the majority of non-literary texts originate from western areas (Heptanese, Central Greece). In verse texts it is sometimes clear that the uncontracted written form should be read as falling diphthongs (see e.g. the examples from *Liv. E* and *Love poems*).

A-stems

νὰ τοὺς κυβερνᾷ *Pol. Tr.* 2805 app. crit. (X); καὶ νὰ βαστᾷ τὰ ἄρματα *ibid.* 1555 app. crit. (BV)
 συναπαντάει μου ὁ Πόθος *Liv. E* 296; ἀναρωτᾷ ἡ Ροδάμνη *ibid.* 1264
 μέσα ἡ καρδιά μου σ' ἀγαπᾷ *Love poems* V 303

- ἄλλα του μελετάει *Theseid* VI.31,8 (Olsen)
 διὰ νὰ μὲ κυβερνάει (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 55.19)
 ὅτι πῶς μᾶς γελᾷ (ca. 1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: Ia, 27.8)
 ὥσαν ἄπερνάει (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.17)
 διὰ νὰ τὰ βαστάη *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1024
 νὰ ἀγαπάει (1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 78.15)
 πέφτει καὶ ξεψυχᾷ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 206.2; γροικᾷ πάλι *ibid.* 240.4
 νὰ κυβερνάει (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 89, 321.7)
 ἀρχίνισε νὰ χαλάει (1687, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 35, 119.21)
 περνάει ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 303
 νὰ ἀρχινᾷ (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 66.4)
 ἀρχισε νὰ γελᾷ *Don Kis.* 55.36

E-stems

- οἰκονομᾷ *Pol. Tr.* 8985 app. crit. (AX); νὰ τὴν παρηγοράη *ibid.* 9851 app. crit. (B)
 ποῦ κυνηγᾷ ὁ Πέτρος *Chron. Toc.* 885
 δειπνᾷ *Peri xen.* 413
 καὶ πάραυτα φοφᾷ *Alex. Rim.* 212
 νὰ ἱεουργᾷ (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 42, 103.20)
 ὁμολογᾷ νὰ τῆς δώσῃ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 29, 49.11)
 καὶ ὅλους κατουράει ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 151
 ἂν μᾶς ἀδικᾷ (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 83.14)
 νὰ κληρονομᾷ το ἄλλο (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.17)
 προξενᾷ (1661, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 26, 114.63)
 νὰ τὸν ἀκλουθᾷ (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 145.26)
 τίς τὸν μετράει (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 216.23)
 κινᾷ νὰ προβάλῃ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 238.16
 συμπαθᾷ (1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.2; and 1695, *ibid.* 192, 115.3)

For anaptyxis of /γ/ between the stem-vowel /a/ and the 3 sg. ending, as in ν' ἀπαντάη *Assizes B* 455.3; ἀρχινάγει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 346.1, see 2.1.2.2.2; see also I, 3.5.2.1.

Sg.	3	-έει -έ
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This rare uncontracted E-stem ending -έει and a shortened variant -έ occurs in legal texts from Cyprus with the verb ἐγκαλῶ (see also 3 pl. in -έουν). For similar forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs, on which these endings may have been modelled, see 2.1.1.2; see also 2.4 for shortened forms of ὁμνέω (< ὁμνύω) for 2 sg. (ὁμνές) and 3 sg. (ὁμνέ), which can be found in the same area (Cyprus, as well as Rhodes): ἐγκαλέει (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.126-7 and 65.45); ἀγκαλῆ *Assizes B* 305.27, 306.23 and 306.30 (< ἐγκαλῶ).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-οῦμε(ν) -οῦμενε
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For 1 pl. the original E-stem ending -οῦμε(ν), which had begun to replace the AG A-stem ending -ῶμεν in Hellenistic times (see 1.1.4), is the most commonly used ending for all oxytone verbs in both literary and non-literary LMedG and EMG texts from all areas:

E-stems

- λαλοῦμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3844; νὰ βοηθοῦμεν *ibid.* 8950
 ποιοῦμεν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.10); ὁμολογοῦμεν (*ibid.* 474.2)
 οὐδὲν σὲ θεωροῦμεν *Dig. E* 111; προσδοκοῦμεν *ibid.* 121
 ὄρκον φρικτὸν ποιοῦμεν *Liv. V* 103; ἄς περιπατοῦμεν *ibid.* 2505
 μισοῦμεν *Florios* 49 (Hesseling)
 χρεωστοῦμεν οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες (14th-15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.6)
 ἐδῶ νὰ κατοικοῦμεν *Achil.* N 698
 νὰ πλημελοῦμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 182.17-18; οὐδ' ἐμεῖς φελοῦμεν *ibid.* 234.25
 εἰς τὰ ποιοῦμεν πόνεσε BERGADIS, *Apok. A* 158; καὶ νὰ συμπερπατοῦμεν *ibid.* 370
 πλέον ου καρτεροῦμεν *Diig. Apoll.* 297
 λιζάτον νὰ τελοῦμεν *Diig. Alex. E* 158.21-2 (Lolos); ὁμολογοῦμεν *ibid.* 227.12
 περβατοῦμεν (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.7)
 νὰ κρατοῦμεν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 272, 268.16); νὰ πουλοῦμεν (*ibid.* 268.17)
 συγχωροῦμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.12; ἡμποροῦμεν *ibid.* 22.17
 γιὰ νὰ περιπατοῦμεν PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1757; μὲ σὲ νὰ πολεμοῦμεν *ibid.* 2578
 παρὰ ὅσον επιθυμοῦμεν ἡμεῖς *Don Kis.* 44.29

A-stems

- νικοῦμεν τοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 2961 app. crit. (V); τολμοῦμεν *ibid.* 4945 app. crit. (AVX)
 καταρωτοῦμεν *Dig. E* 1220
 ἐπίαμεν νὰ μὴν διφοῦμεν *Liv. E* 2682; συναπαντοῦμεν *ibid.* 3056
 περνοῦμεν *Liv. α* 4043 and 4044
 καὶ ἀγαποῦμεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς *Chron. Toc.* 2601
 βαστοῦμεν το MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 66.31; μνηοῦμεν σου *ibid.* 372.14
 ὅτι νὰ ἐρωτοῦμεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.9-10; ἐγροικοῦμεν *ibid.* 371.15
 χόρευε κι ας πηδοῦμεν *Katis* 12
 ἀν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γελοῦμεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 24.10
 μεθοῦμεν *Vios Aisop.* K 179.18
 τιμοῦμεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.15
 νὰ κερνοῦμεν εἰς τὴν τράπεζον (1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.12-13)
 νὰ τὴν ἀπερνοῦμεν Bertoldos 45.12-13
 ἄλλο δὲν προτιμοῦμεν LANDOS, *Kalok.* 338.12
 τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τιμοῦμεν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 5201; καὶ αὐτὰνα τα χαλοῦμεν *ibid.* 6896

Attestations of the loss of final /n/ can be found sporadically from the Koine onward (DIETERICH 1898: 249), becoming more frequent in texts from all areas from at least the 14th c. onwards (see also I, 3.7.2.2):²³

²³ Note that ms V of Machairas's *Chronicle* always retains final /n/ with verb endings, except before a nasal, e.g. νὰ. Νὰ and the preceding verb are often written without word division, and writing two ν's would imply a geminate pronunciation (see I, 3.4), which appears not to have been the case: δὲν ὑμποροῦμεναπίσομεν τύποτες / δὲν ἡμποροῦμε νὰ ποίσουμεν τίποτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 232.13-14 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari). Voustronios, on the other hand, omits final /n/ only before clitics starting in /s/, where the combination /n/ + /s/ would lead to a geminate pronunciation of /s/: πολομούμε σε VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 176.12-13 (cf. τασσομέν σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 258.36 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)).

E-stems

ἔσοι γὰρ δυστυχοῦμε *Chron. Mor.* H 1824; νὰ ζοῦμε *ibid.* 3020
 ὅτι νὰ φιλοῦμε *Dig.* E 883
 πολομοῦμε σε νὰ ἡξεύρεις (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 16, 11.1)
 ἀργοῦμε *Pol. Tr.* 1573 app. crit. (V); πολεμοῦμε *ibid.* 5482 app. crit. (V)
 καὶ ἂν ζοῦμε *Liv.* α 827
 πλέον οὐκ ὠφελοῦμε *Velis.* N² 331
 ν' ἀργοῦμε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 274; κρατοῦμε *ibid.* 487; νὰ θὲ ν' ἀγανακτοῦμε *id.*, *Rim. Par.* 46
 πάντες σὲ προσκυνοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 787; καὶ ὅλοι ἀποροῦμε *ibid.* 1615; περικαρτεροῦμε *ibid.* 2031
 χαιρετοῦμε *Diig. Alex.* K 376.7
 πεθυμοῦμε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.16)
 πολεμοῦμε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 87.18; ἀκαρτεροῦμε *ibid.* 88.33
 νὰ ζοῦμε (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.14); νὰ παρακαλοῦμε (*ibid.* 59.50-1)
 ὅ,τι κι ἂν πεθυμοῦμε KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.709; δὲν πρέπει νὰ γλακοῦμε *ibid.* IV.1414
 χαιρετοῦμε (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.PS)
 μιλοῦμε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.278; μελετοῦμε *ibid.* III.482

A-stems

εὐχολὰ τὸν περνοῦμε *Liv.* E 3902
 ν' ἀγαποῦμε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 514; νὰ τιμοῦμε *id.*, *Erot. En.* 129
 νὰ περνοῦμε ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 205
 γρικοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 788; τίποτες δὲν ψηφοῦμε *ibid.* 1785
 βαστοῦμε *Fyll. gadar.* 131
 νὰ περνοῦμε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.149; κοπιοῦμε *ibid.* IV.431; γρικοῦμε *ibid.* IV.432
 γροικοῦμε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1635
 μελετοῦμε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.482; παραπτερνοῦμε *ibid.* IV.400

With addition of -(ν)ε the ending has been found in texts from Crete and Chios, but may have had a wider geographical distribution (see I, 2.6.3.3): νὰ πολεμοῦμενε ὁμοῦ PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2575; περνοῦμενε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 171.10; θωρούμενε *ibid.* 334.17; γελοῦμενε *ibid.* 334.21; ζοῦμενε *ibid.* 334.20; σὲ προσκυνοῦμενε *ibid.* 365.16; γροικοῦμενε *id.*, *Kat. ofel.* 83.

Pl.	1	-ῶμεν
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The residual A-stem ending -ῶμεν, which had started to disappear gradually from Hellenistic times onwards (see 1.1.4), is occasionally used in literary and non-literary texts, with both A- and E-stem verbs. With this ending, final /n/ is not usually omitted.

A-stems

τὰ χωράφια ἡμῶν τὰ ἄπερ χτῶμεν (1139, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 3, 295.8)
 τολμῶμεν *Pol. Tr.* 4945 app. crit. (B)
 συναπαντῶμεν *Liv.* α 3187 app. crit. (P); νὰ τρυφῶμεν *ibid.* 3363
 πεινῶμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1513; τρυγῶμεν *ibid.* 2110
 ἄλλον οὐ ψηλαφῶμεν *Velth.* 1261
 ἀμχανῶμεν (1453, Gallipoli, DARROUZÈS 1963: 2, 83.19)
 καὶ βοῶμεν σοι *Spanos A* 323
 καὶ δειλιῶμεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4147; χρεῖα νὰ σιωπῶμεν *ibid.* 4671

E-stems

ποιῶμεν (1165, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 169, 222.10); ὁμολογῶμεν (*ibid.* 222.18)
 ἡμεῖς μὲν ζῶμεν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 288.1)
 ποιῶμεν γνωστὸν (1299, Crete, MERTZIOS 1949: 265.25)
 τὸ πῶς νὰ τὸν κρατῶμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 811
 ἂν ζῶμεν *Liv.* α 827 app. crit. (P)
 ὁμολογῶμεν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.81)
 ὅταν, λέγω, τα θεωρῶμεν NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 3.8 (spelled θεωρόμεν in the ed.)

Pl.	1	-ᾶμε
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The ending -ᾶμε, the most common ending for A-stem verbs in MG, is absent from LMedG, and has been found only once in an EMG manuscript, namely ms N (16th c.) of *Livistros*: συναπαντᾶμε ἄνθρωπον *Liv.* α 3187 app. crit. (N).²⁴

Pl.	1	-οῦμαν
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This is a rather dubious ending with one attestation. The ending is rather common with the imperfect of oxytone verbs, which may have been a source of confusion, but it cannot be excluded that this is simply a writing mistake: πλέον μηδὲν ἀργοῦμαν *Pol. Tr.* 2962 app. crit. (V).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε(ν) ! (*-άτενε)
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For the 2nd person pl. of A-stem verbs, the inherited ending -ᾶτε is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar; this ending is also used with E-stem verbs (for the identical 2 pl. pres. imp. ending see 4.5.1.2):

A-stems

ὅταν τρυγᾶτε τὸ δένδρον *Log. parig.* L 737
 νὰ τὸ ἐγροικᾶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 2692
 κἂν ψηλαφᾶτε *Dig.* E 69
 πάντες νὰ τὸν τιμᾶτε *Liv.* V 639; καὶ ἐσεῖς ἀμεριμνᾶτε *ibid.* 2731
 ὅσοι μὲ ἀγαπᾶτε *Chron. Toc.* 2054
 βαστᾶτε *Phys.* 1086
 πῶς τορμᾶτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 486.33 (< τολμῶ)
 ψηφᾶτε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 458
 νὰ τὸ γροικᾶτε ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 477
 γελᾶτε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.13

²⁴ Although it cannot be excluded that one should read συναπαντᾶ με ἄνθρωπος (cf. συναπαντᾶ με ὁ Πόθος *Liv.* α 360 and συναπαντᾶ με ὁ βασιλεὺς *ibid.* 2501; in the context both forms, 3 sg. and 1 pl. are suitable), the fact that the other versions of *Livistros* also have 1 pl. forms (συναπαντοῦμεν *Liv.* E 3056, S 1896 and V 2837; συναπαντῶμεν P 2406) is at least an indication that the form of N is plural.

νά τὰ γροικᾶτε *Pist. kekoim.* 19–20; νά τὰ ἐρευνᾶτε *ibid.* 20
τιμᾶτε *GERMANO, Grammar* 91.15
μά γελᾶτε *Bertoldin.* 129.31
καὶ ὅποιον ἀγαπᾶτε δώσετέ το *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §27.15
τον κόσμον πῶς περνᾶτε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1644; ψηφᾶτε *ibid.* 2994
τί τὴν ῥωτᾶτε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1507

E-stems

νά μᾶς βοηθᾶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 2703
ποτέ μὴ ἀδημονᾶτε *Liv.* V 985
λιγωρᾶτε *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 457; συντηρᾶτε *id., Thrinos* 144; τὸ πῶς τὸν ἀδικᾶτε *ibid.* 232
χειροτονᾶτε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 14.11; πολομᾶτε *ibid.* 382.2; πλημελᾶτε *ibid.* 450.32
μισᾶτε *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 160
τὸν προσκυνᾶτε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 349.17
νά τὰ ἐρευνᾶτε *Pist. kekoim.* 20
ἀγρυπνᾶτε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 14.38
ποτέ μὴν τὸ μισᾶτε *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 348
μὴν λειποψυχᾶτε *Bertoldin.* 110.1; τὸ εἶ,τι ἐπιθυμᾶτε *ibid.* 169.13
νά τὸ λειτουργᾶτε *LANDOS, Geopon.* 254.25
νά γλακᾶτε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 384
μηδὲ μετανοᾶτε (1685, Syros, *ZERLENDIS* 1924b: [2], 13.18)
καταφρονᾶτε *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 319; μετρᾶτε *ibid.* 320

Addition of final /n/ was encountered in texts from Chios: νά ἴθτεν νά γελᾶτεν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 84; καὶ μὴν ἀργοπορᾶτεν *ibid.* 251; ἂν ἐπιθυμᾶτεν λοιπὸν νά γροικῆσετεν *PROSOPSAS, Eulogy* (quoted in *MANOUSAKAS/PUCHNER* 2000: 29, fn. 14). Verb forms in -άτενε, with added -(v)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3), have not been found in the texts examined, but they are likely to appear at least in texts from Chios (cf. 2 pl. pres. of E-stems and of barytone verbs, 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.1.1).

Pl.	2	-εἴτε(v) -εἴτενε -ῆτε(v) -ῆτενε
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For the 2 pl. of E-stem verbs, the inherited ending -εἴτε is used in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods, often alongside forms in -ᾶτε (for the identical 2 pl. pres. imp. ending see 4.5.1.2). The ending has not been found with A-stem verbs:

ποιεῖτε οὕτως καὶ οὕτως *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.32
νά τοὺς ψυχοπονῆτε *Log. parig.* L 733
καὶ ἐσεῖς ἀμεριμνεῖτε *Liv.* α 3081
νά πολεμῆτε *Achil.* N 259
ζεῖτε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 77
πορπατεῖτε *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 532
νά ὑψηλοφρονῆτε *Alex. Fyll.* 45.14; προσκυνεῖτε *ibid.* 45.14
ἐλᾶτε, μὴν ἀργεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 238
τον θεόν οὐοῦ επιορκεῖτε *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 24.8
περπατεῖτε *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 370

Addition of final /n/ or of -(v)ε to this ending occurs in texts from Chios (for details see I, 2.6.3.3 and I, 3.7.2.1): μὴν μὲ θωρῆτεν *KONDAR., Paidēs* 1; νά τὸν καταπατῆτεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 3030; πορπατεῖτενε *GERMANO, Grammar* 50.2.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οῦσι(v) -οῦσινε
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The inherited E-stem ending -οῦσι, which had started to replace the AG A-stem ending -ῶσι in the Hellenistic period, continues to be used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods, in texts from all areas:

E-stems

λαλοῦσι *NIKON, Logos* 9 310.29
ἐξαποροῦν καὶ φρίττουσιν καὶ λογισμομαχοῦσιν *PARASPOND., Machi Varnas* 83
καὶ κονταριῆς κτυποῦσι *Imb. Rim.* 462; κινοῦσι *ibid.* 566
κηλαδοῦσι *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 186; ὠφελοῦσι *ibid.* 190
νά λαλοῦσι *Defi. Par.* 20
ζητοῦσι με *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 56.5
δὲν ἀργοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 202; καὶ τοῦ βαροῦσι *ibid.* 1346; πιλαλοῦσι *ibid.* 1649
πουλοῦσι (1592, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 19, 74.8)
περιπατοῦσι *MOREZINOS, Klini* 262.8–9
ζιούσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.185; νά με προσκυνοῦσι *ibid.* I.280
ν' ἀθιοῦσι *Stathis* III.511 (< ἀνθῶ)
νά μιλοῦσι (1612, Naxos, *GRITSOPOULOS* 1994: 7, 361.15)
μαρτυροῦσι ἀντάμα καὶ οἱ τέσσερις (1613, Syros, *DRAKAKIS* 1967: 13, 316.5)
εὐλογοῦσι *Thysia Avr.* 857
παρακαλοῦσι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §14.8; τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦσι *ibid.* IV §18.2–3
κατοικοῦσι δύο γυναῖκες *Vios Aisop.* D 240.4

A-stems

ἀγαποῦσι *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 232
τιμοῦν τον καὶ ἀγαποῦσι τον *Byz. Il.* 641
καὶ χαιρετοῦσι σε (1502, Crete, *MANOUSSACAS* 1976: 6, 27.8–9)
ὅλοι τους τὴν γρικοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 642; νά τὸν ἀγαποῦσι *ibid.* 658
νά τὲς ἀγαποῦσι *Epain. gyn.* 122
τιμοῦσι *MOREZINOS, Klini* 262.8
χαλνοῦσι *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1412
κοπιούσι *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. theas* 68; τὰ φύλλα ὄντε μαδιούσι *ibid.* IV.46
μ' ἀναγαλλιοῦσι *Stathis* III.475
τιμοῦσι *Thysia Avr.* 858
καὶ δὲν τὸ ἀποχτοῦσι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §18.3
ἀφέντη με γροικοῦσι *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 58
ἀρποῦσι *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2345
νά περνοῦσι με τὰ πράγματά τῶνε (1686, Sifnos, *SYMEONIDIS* 1999: 6, 51.5)
γρινιοῦσι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1934; δειλιοῦσι *ibid.* V.40

Addition of final /n/ occurs before and throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

E-stems

ποιοῦσιν *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.36
καὶ ποῖοι ἀτυχοῦσιν *Log. parig.* L 111; μεριμνοῦσιν *ibid.* 731
ἔως ὅπου ζιοῦσιν *Assizes B* 381.3
χρωστοῦσιν *Achil.* L 1065; καταφιλοῦσιν *ibid.* 1070; λιγοθυμοῦσιν *ibid.* 1284
καὶ πιλαλοῦσιν τὰ φαριὰ *Imb. Rim.* 456; θωροῦσιν τὴν οἱ καλογρὲς *ibid.* 641
νά ποιοῦσιν μαλακίαν *Diig. Alex.* E 29.16 (Konstantinopulos)
σκοποῦσιν *Epain. gyn.* 121

παρανόμως λειτουργοῦσιν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 174.E.7
 νά μήν χρεωστοῦσιν (1599, Zakynthos, PLOUMIDIS 1995/98: 87.18)
 τὴν ὀνομαστικὴν ... εἰς -αδες περατοῦσιν οἱ νῦν Ἕλληνες KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 108.28
 (from the O-stem verb περατῶ)
 ζιοῦσιν (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 714, 968.30)
 νά ἀκλουθοῦσιν (1695, Sytos, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.6)

A-stems

προσκολλοῦσιν NIKON, *Logos* 1 108.15
 γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 228
 νά γεννοῦσιν Anak. *Konst.* 84
 χαλοῦσιν κάστρα Velis. *χ* 58
 παίζουν, χαρμογελοῦσιν Imb. *Rim.* 85
 γεροῦσιν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 567
 νά τὰ κοπιοῦσιν (1517 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 3, 51.17)
 ἀγαποῦσιν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 66.22; ἀποκοτοῦσιν *ibid.* 79.28
 κερδοῦσιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 310
 δὲν χαλοῦσιν Vios *Aisop.* D 225.39
 πολλὰ χαιρετοῦσιν (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/92: 3, 49.27–8)

The ending -οῦσινε, with added -(ν)ε, is attested in texts of south-western provenance (Crete, Heptanese) and in *Dig. O* (Chios), from the 16th/17th c. onwards. In literature, and especially in verse texts, it appears to have a broader geographical distribution than in non-literary texts. Its appearance in texts such as Ioakeim Kyprios's *Pali* may be due to literary influence from Cretan/Heptanesian texts. For details see I, 2.6.3.3.

ξυπνοῦσινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1; κινούσινε *ibid.* 66.10
 καὶ πόσοι πεθυμούσινε CHORTATIS, *Katz. Prol.* 19; σιγανοπορπατοῦσινε *id.*, *Panor.* I.423
 γελοῦσινε *Thysia Avr.* 1028
 νά μήν ἀποκοτοῦσινε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.80; γρικούσινε τὴ βράση *ibid.* III.205
 προσκαλοῦσινε TROILOS, *Rodol. Dedic.* 4; κερνούσινε *ibid.* I.636; πηδοῦσινε *ibid.* I.702
 μιλούσινε τοῦ νοδάρου (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.121)
 τὰ ζητοῦσινε (1639, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 6, 273.19)
 προσκυνούσινε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3733 and 4288; παρακαλοῦσινε *ibid.* 4365
 νά τὰ μολογοῦσινε (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.19)
 πηδοῦσινε BOUNIALIS M., *Kat. ofel.* 313; πετοῦσινε *ibid.* 317
 κτυποῦσινε PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1524
 κατοικοῦσινε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.683; ἀναγαλλιοῦσινε *ibid.* I.2189; κονταροκτυποῦσινε *ibid.* II.2066

Pl.	3	-ῶσι(ν)
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The residual A-stem ending -ῶσι(ν), which had started to disappear gradually from Hellenistic times onwards (see 1.1.4), is occasionally used in LMedG and EMG texts, with and without final /n/, with both A- and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

νικῶσι καὶ τὸν Ἄδη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 88
 συναντῶσιν *Dig. G* I.216; κατατολμῶσι *ibid.* II.219; δαπανῶσι *ibid.* VIII.279
 τιμῶσιν *Ptoch.* I 89

ὀρῶσιν καὶ τὰ σκύβαλα *Ptoch.* IV 566
 τὸ πρᾶγμα δειλιῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 11793; τὸν Ἄνθενῶρ τιμῶσιν *ibid.* 13096
 καὶ ἀγαπῶσι με πολλὰ *Diig. tetr.* 755 app. crit. (C)
 ὀρμῶσι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 192; ἐρωτῶσι *ibid.* 2141
 γελῶσιν *Spanos* D 114; ἡ ἀπαντῶσιν ἡ χαιρετῶσιν αὐτὸν *ibid.* 118–19
 νά τοὺς ἀγαπῶσι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 30

E-stems

ποιῶσιν ταῦτα οἱ Τατάριοι ὡς λέγουν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.15)
 ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπου κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν *Ptoch.* III 90
 οἱ πάντες ἐπαινῶσιν *Liv.* α 1082 app. crit. (P)
 ποσῶς νά μήν μπορῶσιν ERMON., *Ilias* 21.86
 ἔπεθυμῶσιν νά ἐρχωνται (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.5)
 εὐθύς ζητῶσι τὴν βουλὴν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 82
 καὶ ὅσα με καρτερῶσι (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 72.8)
 κατοικῶσιν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 214, 152.6)
 νά μήν καταφρονῶσι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 29

Pl.	3	-έουσι(ν)
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This rare uncontracted E-stem ending occurs in the *Itinerary* of Vasileios Vatatsis (18th c.). The form may have been created for metrical reasons, although it may also have been modelled on similar forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs, for which see 2.1.1.2 (cf. also -έουν, below): μαντζήδες τοὺς καλέουσιν VATATIS, *Periig.* II 80.

Pl.	3	-οῦν -οῦ -οῦνε
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The ending -οῦν first appeared with barytone verbs as the result of an analogy with the endings of the past tenses (see 4.1.1). First attestations of the ending -οῦν with oxytone (E-stem) verbs appear in the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c., preserved in an early 12th-c. ms), in 12th-c. documents from S. Italy and in *Spaneas* V (ms ca. 1200). First examples of this ending with A-stem verbs can be found from the 14th c. onwards.

The alternation between the inherited ending -οῦσι(ν) and the innovative ending -οῦν(ε) persists throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, and is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an intrinsic feature of the language, and certainly not an artificial metrical device (HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35). Both Sofianos and Germano give both alternatives: γελοῦσι καὶ γελοῦν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.13; τιμοῦνε, vel τιμοῦσι GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.15, though Germano mentions that Chiot displays a marked preference for -οῦν(ε) over -οῦσι (*ibid.* 87.10–11). Some representative examples are:

E-stems

καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.14–15; φιλονεικοῦν *id.*, *Logos* 31 818.14;
 ὁμολογοῦν *ibid.* 820.16
 ἄρκοῦν σε καὶ χορταίνουν σε *Spaneas* V 28

οἱ μὲν φιλοῦν τὰς χεῖρας του *Dig. G* I.204; φθοῦν *ibid.* IV.122
 περπατοῦν *Log. parig.* L 731
 κ' ἐξεζητοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 278; νὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦν *ibid.* 1283
 κρατοῦν *Arm.* 37; οὐκ ἔμπορουν περάσαι *ibid.* 39
 νὰ περπατοῦν, νὰ διακονοῦν *Chron. Toc.* 3207
 νὰ 'ποδεχθοῦν τοὺς ἀρχοντας LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 655
 νὰ τὸν θωροῦν *Achil.* L 26; προσκυνοῦν τον. *ibid.* 68
 πολλὰ πεθυμοῦν ὅλοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.14; νὰ ζιοῦν *ibid.* 168.12
 ὅσοι τὸ περικυκλοῦν (1528, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 75, 101.7-8)
 καὶ λαλοῦν φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην *Diig. Alex.* E 25.11 (Konstantinopulos)
 βουρβουρακιάζουν καὶ πονοῦν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.28; καὶ προσκαλοῦν *ibid.* III.315
 μιλοῦν *Bertoldos* 15.4; πῶς σὲ ζητοῦν ἐσέναν *ibid.* 23.18
 πιλαλοῦν τὰ φαρία τους PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 247; παρηγοροῦν *ibid.* 893

A-stems

ὅτι ἀγαποῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 3687; κ' ἐρωτοῦν τους *ibid.* 6369; νὰ μὲ γελοῦν *ibid.* 8447
 πλέον ἀγαποῦν τὸν πόλεμον *Pol. Tr.* 1593; ἐρωτοῦν τον *ibid.* 11466
 συναπαντοῦν τον *Liv.* α 4357
 πηδοῦν, καβαλικεύουν *Arm.* 79
 τοὺς ἀνδρας πρέπει νὰ περνοῦν *Dig.* E 1531
 οἱ λᾶς ν' ἀγαποῦν τοὺς γειτόνους τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.15-16
 καὶ ἀγαποῦν τον *Velis.* χ 203; χαλοῦν *ibid.* 277; ἐρωτοῦν *ibid.* 523
 καὶ οἱ γονεῖς τὸν ἐρωτοῦν *Achil.* L 894
 τιμοῦν τον καὶ ἀγαποῦσι τον *Byz. Il.* 641
 βαστοῦν ψωμί SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 166
 νικοῦν τους κατὰ κράτος LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 602
 σὲ χαλνοῦν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.68
 ῥωτοῦν τον γιὰ τὸν χαζανᾶν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 73
 κ' οἱ πέντε τους τιμοῦν τον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1196
 κολνοῦν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13)

The deletion of final /n/, resulting in -oῦ, is a common morphophonological phenomenon in southern regions and the Aegean, and not restricted to verb endings. Early examples occur in texts from Sicily and Asia Minor (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

νὰ μοῦ βοηθοῦ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον (1137, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 8, 628.23)
 ἀπὲ τὰ χέρια σου πέφτου καὶ κυλοῦ SULT. WALAD, *Poem* V 6
 πετοῦ με *Liv.* V 1796; καταφιλοῦ με *ibid.* 2175
 παρηγοροῦ οἱ ἀρχοντες *Byz. Il.* 119
 οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντες ζητοῦ σου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 280.15
 πολλὰ σὲ χαιρετοῦ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.5); καταφιλοῦ (1502, *ibid.* 6, 29.7)
 νὰ το κυβερνοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.8)
 νὰ μ' ἀγαποῦ, νὰ με τιμοῦ καὶ νὰ με προσκυνούσι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.280
 προσκינוῦ τὴν πανιερότη σου (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.2)
 κτυποῦ μου GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.19
 πουλοῦ καὶ παραδίνου (1667, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 37, 30.19-20)

An added /e/ to the ending -οῦν, resulting in -οῦνε, is first encountered in the 14th/15th c. (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἀκμήν τὰ ἔντερα ἡμῶν ποιοῦνε καὶ τὰς κόρδας *Diig. tetr.* 535 app. crit. (C)
 βοηθοῦνε *Theseid* I.96,8 (Follieri)
 νικοῦνε μας *Alex. Rim.* 940; νὰ χρωστοῦνε *ibid.* 2466; παιδιὰ γεννοῦνε *ibid.* 2490
 ζοῦνε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 238, 335.9)
 νὰ πουλοῦνε (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.25)
 παρακαλοῦνε σε πολλὰ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.587; καὶ σκιάς δὲ μὲ θωροῦνε *id.*, *Katz.* Prol. 3
 νὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.1; δὲ μὲ ἀγαποῦνε *ibid.* 37.34
 μαρτυροῦνε (1617, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 16, 320.27)
 κτυποῦνε μου GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.21
 ζοῦνε οἱ θυγατέρες (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 182.93)
 νὰ μεταμετροῦνε (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 68.30); νὰ τὰ κυβερνοῦνε (1644, *ibid.* 297, 233.22)
 νὰ μὲ τραβοῦνε (1659, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 29, 52.3)
 νὰ ἔμπορουν (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 312.6)
 καὶ μποροῦνε νὰ μπαρκαριστοῦνε (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.62-3) (author from Mani)
 ἀκτίνες ὀργῆς σπιθοβολοῦνε *Irodis* I.40

Pl.	3	-έουν
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This rare uncontracted E-stem ending has been found in a legal text from Cyprus with the verb ἐγκαλῶ (cf. 3 sg. in -έει). For similar forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs, on which this ending may be modelled, see 2.1.1.2: ἀπὲ τοῦτο τὸ σοῦ ἐγκαλέουν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.121-2).

Pl.	3	-ᾶν(ε)
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The ending -ᾶν, very common in MG, especially in its extended form -ᾶνε, is absent from LMedG texts, and very rare in EMG ones. Very few examples have been found, in 17th- and 18th-c. texts:²⁵ φυλαῖν τὰς ἐντολάς σου DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1074; πολεμᾶνε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 48.3.

Pl.	3	-ᾶ(γ)ουν
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Uncontracted A-stem endings, with or without anaptyxis of /y/ (see I, 3.5.2.1), are quite common for 2 sg. and 3 sg. (see above), but very rare for 3 pl.: ἐμολογάγουν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 205, 124.13); λιμοκτονοῦνται σαν σκυλιά καὶ πέφτουν καὶ ψοφᾶουν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1956.

²⁵ The following example is problematic: καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς φύσεως νικᾶν τὴν δυστυχίαν *Byz. Il.* 616; according to the app. crit. the ms has a singular form νικᾷ, which would make this an example of Attic syntax; there are more cases of so-called Attic syntax in this text (e.g. τὰ ξένα, τὰ παράδοξα τὰ γέγονεν εἰς Τροίαν *ibid.* 13).

4.1.2.2 Passive Voice

		General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	γρικοῦμαι	βαροῦμαι	γρικοῦμι γρικῶμαι	βαροῦμι βαρ(ε)ιόμαι/ βαρ(ε)ιδῶμαι βαρ(ε)ιοῦμαι	γρικ(ε)ιόμαι/ γρικ(ε)ιδῶμαι γρικᾶμαι	βαροῦμαιν βαρ(ε)ιόμαιν βαρᾶμαι
	2	γρικᾶσαι	βαρᾶσαι βαρεῖσαι		βαρ(ε)ιέσαι	γρικεῖσαι γρικ(ε)ιέσαι	βαροῦσαι
	3	γρικᾶται	βαρᾶται βαρεῖται	γρικᾶταιν γρικ(ε)(ι)έτι	βαρᾶταιν βαρ(ε)ιέται βαρ(ε)(ι)έτι	γρικεῖται γρικ(ε)ιέται	βαρίεται βαρέται βαριᾶται
Pl.	1	γρικούμεσθε(ν) ! γρικούμεσθε(ν)	βαρούμεθα βαρούμεσθε(ν) ! βαρούμεσθε(ν)	γρικούμεθεν	βαρούμεθεν βαρούμεσταν	γρικώμεθα γρικώμεσθε(ν) γρικόμασεν γρικόμασθε γρικ(ε)ιού- μασθε γρικιομάστενε	βαρούμεθαν βαρώμεθα βαρούμεθε βαρόμεσθε βαρούμεσθα ! βαρούμεστα βαρουμέσταν βαρούμεστανε βαρ(ε)ιού- μεσθα βαρούμενσθε βαρούμενστα βαρούμασεν ! βαρούμασθεν
	2	γρικᾶσθε ! γρικᾶσθε	βαρᾶσθε ! βαρᾶσθε	γρικᾶσθεν ! γρικᾶσθεν	βαρᾶσθεν ! βαρᾶσθεν		βαράστενε
			βαρεῖσθε ! βαρεῖσθε	γρικ(ε)ιέσθε ! γρικ(ε)ιέσθε γρικούσθε γρικούσθεν γρικούστενε	βαρ(ε)ιέσθε ! βαρ(ε)ιέσθε βαροῦσθε βαροῦσθεν βαρούστενε		βαρ(ε)ιέσθεν

3	γρικοῦνται	βαροῦνται	γρικοῦνταιν γρικῶνται/ γρικόνται γρικ(ε)ιδῶνται/ γρικ(ε)ιδόνται γρικ(ε)ιοῦνται	βαροῦνταιν βαρῶνται/ βαρόνται βαρ(ε)ιόνται βαρ(ε)ιοῦνται(ν)	γρικίωνται γρικιένται	βαρούνταινε βαρόται βαρ(ε)ιόνταιν βαριόται (βαριένται)
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Present subjunctive: For 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. of original E-stem verbs, the residual endings -ῶμαι, -ώμεθα and -ῶνται, which are identical to the corresponding residual endings of the present indicative and subjunctive of A-stem verbs, can sporadically be found. Other than that, all forms of the present subjunctive of both A- and E-stem verbs are identical to or homophonous with those of the present indicative. The only endings that are traditionally spelled differently from those of the present indicative are 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. of E-stem verbs. However, not all modern editors choose to make this graphematic distinction.

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1		βαρῶμαι	
	2	βαρῆσαι		
	3	βαρῆται		
Pl.	1			βαρώμεθα
	2	βαρῆσθε		βαρῆσθε
	3			βαρῶνται

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-οῦμαι(ν) ! - (ε)ιοῦμαι
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The inherited pres. ind. ending -οῦμαι of E-stem verbs, which had started to replace AG -ῶμαι with A-stem verbs from Hellenistic times onwards (see the introduction to Chapter 2), is used with all oxytone verbs throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

E-stems

ὅπως πληροφοροῦμαι NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.24; ἀκριβολογοῦμαι id., *Logos* 9 312.7–8
 χρέος οὐδὲν φοβοῦμαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
 βαροῦμαι το *Ptoch.* III 214
 ἀφηγοῦμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
 πλὴν τοῦτο ἐπιφωνοῦμαι *Liv.* V 1294
 νὰ ζωαρκοῦμαι (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.24)
 νὰ λυποῦμαι FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 7
 ἀθθυμοῦμαι τὸν βισκούνην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.27
 καὶ δὲν τὸ ἐπαινοῦμαι ZINOS, *Vatr.* 80
 πουλοῦμαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.8
 πῶς λυποῦμαι δι' αὐτά (1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 78.18)
 τῶρα λογοῦμαι βασιλὸς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 577.25
 θυμοῦμαι NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 74
 φοβοῦμαι σε *Thrinios Kypr.* 321
 ἀν δὲν κακοενθυμοῦμαι *Don Kis.* 177.34

A-stems

ἐπακροῦμαι NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.6 app. crit. (S)
 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπατοῦμαι *Dig.* G VI.50
 οὔτε καυχοῦμαι το *Chron. Mor.* H 5508
 μασοῦμαι κὰν ὀλίγον *Ptoch.* IV app. crit. (PK)
 κοιμοῦμαι μετὰ σένα *Achil.* N 1257
 ταῦτα σοῦ κατηροῦμαι *Porikol.* I 149
 ἄς κοιμοῦμαι *Paroim.* H 54
 νὰ βρουχοῦμαι *Alosis* 1000
 γελοῦμαι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22
 νὰ μὴ φουκροῦμαι *Thysia Avr.* 209; κι ὕπνο γλυκὺ κοιμοῦμαι ibid. 485
 γελοῦμαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.15; τιμοῦμαι ibid. 93.5
 καταροῦμαι λοιπὸν τὴν πατρίδαν σας *Vios Aisop.* I 283.1
 γρικοῦμαι τόσον ἀχαμνὸς *Bertoldin.* 151.24
 στὸ μαγερεῖο πετοῦμαι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.35
 ἐνδῶ εγὼ κοιμοῦμαι *Don Kis.* 540.31–2

Addition of final /n/ occurs occasionally: καὶ πάλιν ἐφηγοῦμαι τῶν τὴν ἐρωτοπλασίαν
Liv. E 833; καὶ νὰ σᾶς τ' ἀφηγοῦμαι ibid. 2774; ἀπιλογοῦμαι DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinios*
 1290 app. crit.; καὶ ἴδα τ' ἀναστοροῦμαι *Apoll.* Rim. N 593; καὶ τῶρα το ἔθυμούμαι ibid.
 594.

Forms with semivowel /j/ added after the stem consonant have been found with E-stem
 verbs in texts of southern provenance from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Chron.*
Mor. T and Falieros) (for a discussion of this semivowel, see 2.1.2.2.4):

καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ βαριοῦμαι *Chron. Mor.* T 845
 βαριοῦμαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 383
 μηδὲ βαριοῦμαι ἂν εἶμαι κολασμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 65.2
 νὰ τον ἴκαλιούμαι *Rim Apoll.* N 1027
 βαριοῦμαι *P&N Diath.* 244

περίσσα τη βαριοῦμαι CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* III.249; νὰ κρατιοῦμαι id., *Erof.* II.248 transcr. X
 (Legrand)

κρατιοῦμαι FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Interm.* I 20; βαριοῦμαι τσι ibid. III.88
 βαριοῦμαι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1174, II.908 and V.1000
 βαριοῦμαι σε σὰν τὴν ζωὴν μου *Irodis* III.307–8
 καὶ τυραννιοῦμαι ἀλύπητα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* I.120
 ἂν φιλειοῦμαι SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.1

Forms in -μι are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -μαι (for mid-vowel raising
 see I, 2.5.4): δὲν τ' ἄρνοῦμι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17α, f.45v.20);
 δὲν κοιμοῦμι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.16).

Sg.	1	-ῶμαι -(ε)ιόμαι(ν) -(ε)ιῶμαι(ν)
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The residual A-stem ending -ῶμαι, which had been replaced by -οῦμαι long before the
 LMedG period, is used occasionally throughout the LMedG and EMG periods with both
 A- and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

προτιμῶμαι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 551; ὀρῶμαι ibid. 557
 ἐγὼ οὐ καυχῶμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 6185
 καὶ οὐ καυχῶμαι *Diig. tetr.* 540
 ὅσα ἂν ἔχω καὶ κτῶμαι (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 72.8)
 ἀν δὲν ἀπατῶμαι RODINOS, *Martyr. Neof.* 323.20–1
 ἐγὼ οὐδὲν πλανῶμαι *Dig.* A 2890
 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπατῶμαι *Dig.* T 1930
 καταρῶμαι *Vios Aisop.* K 206.9

E-stems

τίθημι καὶ ποιῶμαι (1172, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 179, 234.11)
 κρατῶμαι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 349.19
 ἂν καλὰ θυμῶμαι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 90, 94.6); ἀκόμη θυμῶμαι (1641, ibid. 229,
 169.25)
 ἂν φιλῶμαι SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.1

In texts from the 14th c. onwards, the ending /'ome/ preceded by a semivowel /j/ can occa-
 sionally be found. The etymologizing spelling with <ω> in manuscripts and modern edi-
 tions disguises the fact that this is in fact an innovative ending borrowed from the barytone
 paradigm (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion):

κ' ἐγὼ πολλὰ βαρειόμαι *Chron. Mor.* H 845; βαρειῶμαι ibid. 1093, 5807, 7034 and 7803
 βαριῶμαι *Ptoch.* III 214 app. crit. (K)
 στὸν κόσμον τυραγνιῶμαι *Love poems* V 481
 ἀπὸ τί γενεὰ κρατιῶμαι *Ptochol.* A 237
 εὐχαριστιῶμαι *Bertoldin.* 150.1
 γελιῶμαι *Don Kis.* 49.16

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: βαριόμιν νὰ τὰ γράφω *Chron. Mor.* P 8450 app. crit. (βαρίομεν in the ms, but clearly to be read with synizesis; see II, 1.5 for a discussion).

Sg.	1	-ᾶμαι
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This ending, the most common SMG ending for the four deponent verbs θυμάμαι, κοιμάμαι, λυπάμαι, φοβάμαι, is absent from LMedG texts, and very rare in EMG ones. It has been found in the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi* (early 18th c., Central Greece): διηγᾶμαι *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 48.1; ἀφηγᾶμαι *ibid.* 59.16.

SMG -ιέμαι has not been found in the texts examined and is therefore likely to have come into being after the period covered by this Grammar, by analogy with 2 sg. -ιέσαι and 3 sg. -ιέται, for which see below.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ᾶσαι
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The inherited Koine A-stem ending -ᾶσαι is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods with both A- and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

νὰ τὸ καυχᾶσαι *Dig.* E 518; ἀμέριμνα κοιμᾶσαι *ibid.* 847
 τιμᾶσαι *Pol. Tr.* 8609
 κοιμᾶσαι, Λίβιστρε; *Liv.* α 1401
 σκανθάρους μασᾶσαι *Poulol.* 118 app. crit. (CP)
 πολλὰ καυχᾶσαι *Achil.* N 967
 αφικράσαι *Apoll. Rim.* V 491; ν' αγρικάσαι *ibid.* 499
 γελάσαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 68.22
 ἐγροικᾶσαι *Alex. Rim.* 1131
 νὰ κρεμνᾶσαι *Diig. Alex.* F 142.14 (Konstantinopulos)
 ν' ἀφουκρᾶσαι *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.986
 γελάσαι *GERMANO, Grammar* 76.15; τιμᾶσαι *ibid.* 93.5
 Σίμων, κοιμᾶσαι; *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 14.37
 θέλεις τιμᾶσαι *Bertoldos* 62.6; κυβερνᾶσαι *ibid.* 64.10
 ξέρε το πὼς γελάσαι *KONDAR., Paidēs* 684
 τί συχνοκαταρᾶσαι *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 115

E-stems

ὡς λυπᾶσαι *GLYKAS, Stichoī* 395
 πὼς διοικᾶσαι *SULT. WALAD, Poem I* 1
 πείναν οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι *Ptoch. III* 273.16 app. crit. (K)
 νὰ μνημονᾶσαι *Spaneas Z* 254 (ed. νὰ μνημονᾶ σε)
 οὐκ ἐνθυμᾶσαι *Dig.* E 236
 μὴ φοβᾶσαι *Pol. Tr.* 560; λυπᾶσαι *ibid.* 779 app. crit. (EV)
 θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾶσαι *Poulol.* 67 (mss CPV)

ἀρνᾶσαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 134; μοιρολογᾶσαι το *ibid.* 591; παραπονᾶσαι *id.*, *Thrinōs* 191
 ὅτι τοὺς ἐλεημονᾶσαι *Diig. Alex.* V 39.27
 θυμᾶσ', ἀφέντρα καὶ κυρά *Theseid Prol.* E 23
 φοβᾶσαι *Cypr. Canz.* 30.8; ξηγᾶσαι *ibid.* 75.9; θλιβᾶσαι *ibid.* 75.11
 καὶ νὰ θυμᾶσαι (1526, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 114, 208.18)
 νὰ θυμᾶσαι *Vios Aisop.* K 194.28; νὰ σωφρονᾶσαι *ibid.* 194.30
 καὶ ἐσὺ λυπᾶσαι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 16.25
 θὲ λογᾶσαι *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 103; εὐφημᾶσαι *id.*, *Paid. Makkav.* 1431; ὑμνολογᾶσαι *ibid.* 1432
 νὰ μὴν ἀπατάσαι ἀπὸ τὰ ψευδολογήματα (1692, Bucharest, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 4, 50.12-13)

Sg.	2	-εῖσαι/-ῆσαι
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The inherited Late Antique E-stem ending -εῖσαι is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods with E-stem verbs, but very rarely with A-stem verbs:

E-stems

φοβεῖσαι *GLYKAS, Stichoī* 152; στενοχωρεῖσαι *ibid.* 154; περιστατεῖσαι *ibid.* 297
 πείναν οὐδὲν φοβεῖσαι *Ptoch. III* 273.16 app. crit. (P)
 λυπεῖσαι *Pol. Tr.* 779 app. crit. (A)
 τιμωρεῖσαι *Liv.* α 466 app. crit. (P)
 ἀφηγεῖσαι *Liv.* V 3179; ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν τὸν Ἑρωτᾶν *ibid.* 3711
 οὐ φοβεῖσαι τὸν Θεόν (post 1461-ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 97.3d)
 καὶ προσκυνεῖσαι *Velth.* 144; ἀρνεῖσαι συγγενεῖς *ibid.* 148
 τί παραιτεῖσαι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1121
 καὶ μὴν χολομανῆσαι *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 68
 μὴν λυπεῖσαι *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 346.29; δὲν φοβεῖσαι τὸν Θεόν; *ibid.* 383.39
 πάντοτε νὰ παῖνῃσαι *Fyll. gadar.* 387B
 μὴν λυπεῖσαι τόσον *MOREZINOS, Klini* 4719-20
 καὶ μὴ φοβῆσαι, φίλε πόντικα *Vios Aisop.* K 204.6-7
 καὶ μὴν λυπεῖσαι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 281; ημάς νὰ ἐνθυμεῖσαι *ibid.* 282
 δὲν ευχαριστεῖσαι *Don Kis.* 106.31

A-stems

τιμείσαι *Pol. Tr.* 8609 app. crit. (A)

Sg.	2	-(ε)ιέσαι
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This innovative ending, the most common SMG ending for oxytone A-stem verbs, exists from at least the 14th c. onwards (the date of ms H of *Chron. Mor.* is 1375). In the EMG period this ending is used almost exclusively with E-stem verbs (for details and discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4):

E-stems

νὰ βαρεῖσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 203, 482, 584, 1092 and 2524; καὶ τί τὰ ἀγωνιέσαι *ibid.* 2505
 γαμιέσαι *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 15, 25 and 37

βαριέσαι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 315 and 547; *δτι ὁ καιρὸς χαρίσει θεὸς κι ἐσένα ν' ἀναπιέσαι* *ibid.*

316; *κιὰ δὲ βαριέσαι, κύρ Σαδόκ id., Thrinos* 331

κάλλιος κρατιέσαι νὰ 'σαι; *Apoll. Rim.* A 492

ἴτις νὰ βασανιέσαι *Apoll. Rim.* V 401; νὰ διακονιέσαι *ibid.* 402

κρατιέσαι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.6

μὲν βαριέσαι νὰ σωπάνης *Cypr. Canz.* 98.30

ἀπὸ τί γενεὰ κρατιέσαι *Ptochol.* A 209

βαριέσαι τὰ κοπέλια *Thysia Avr.* 511

νὰ τσι βαριέσαι *Pist. voskos* I 3.176; κρατιέσαι κακομοίρης *ibid.* V 6.135

πουλιέσαι GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.8 and 93.23

νὰ κρατιέσαι *Bertoldin.* 118.30

ἐτζι συγχωριέσαι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §3.20–1

καὶ δὲν ψηλοκρατιέσαι *Dimotika Ivir.* X.3

νὰ παραπονιέσαι *Don Kis.* 47.16

A-stems

ἐγγυέσαι GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. pieggiare*

γελειέσαι SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.20

The ending -ιέσαι can become -έσαι through post-consonantal /j/ deletion (for details see I, 2.4.7.3): *ἀν ἐσοῦ μόνος σου δὲ κρατέσαι κρυφὸς Fior Suppl.* 277.1–2.

In the following example the absence of <ι> or <ει> is likely to be graphematic, as /n/ is likely to have been palatalized before /e/ (see I, 3.8.2.3; for the same phenomenon in modern dialects, see KONDOSOPOULOS 2001: 97): *δὲν συγχωρνέσαι PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §3.20.

Sg.	2	-οῦσαι
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This is a rare and perhaps dubious ending, found in two “conversation books”. The first example could be viewed as an analogy on the basis of AG O-stem inflection (TZITZILIS 1999: 90), but the same cannot be said for the second (E-stem) example, taken from a text that is actually a method for learning Arabic, the Greek consisting of literal word-for-word translations, or glosses, rather than “real” Greek:²⁶ *τί ἀνανοῦσαι*; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2374) (= *ἀνανοεῖσαι* < *ἀνανοοῦμαι*); *μηδὲν ἀκριβοθωρετοῦσαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν* (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 147.2d).

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ᾶται -ιᾶται -ᾷται
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The inherited A-stem ending -ᾶται continues to be used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs:

²⁶ According to MINAS 1987a: 23, for barytone verbs, this ending can be found in the dialect of Farasa, Cappadocia.

A-stems

δτι τρυπάται ἡ πέτρα Liv. E 1646

καὶ πάντα δαπανᾶται *Achil.* L 710

νὰ γρικᾶται (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.41)

οὐδὲν κοιμᾶται SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 380

φυράται *Cypr. Canz.* 24.8; δὲν μοῦ ξηκολλᾶται *ibid.* 24.13

ἀναχασμᾶται *Krasop.* AO 3

νικᾶται *Diig. Alex.* F 92.4 (Lolos)

καὶ νὰ γροικᾶται καὶ τῶν δυὸ μας (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 272, 268.15)

πᾶσα ἕνας ἀγαπᾶται ἀπὸ τὰ ἔργα του MOREZINOS, *Klini* 49.35

νὰ γρικᾶται πρώτη, δεύτερη καὶ τρίτα στίμα (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.9)

γεννᾶται *Bertoldin.* 91.7

μετ' αὐτοὺς καυχᾶται PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* Proem §1.17

νὰ ἀγροικᾶται (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 115.14)

δὲν χαλνᾶται NEOFYTOS, *Achouri* 310

καὶ δ,τι ἄλλο γροικᾶται ἀπὸ δικὸν της (1697, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 1998/2000: 1, 117.16)

E-stems

ἐξηγᾶται NIKON, *Logos* 4 212.1 and *id., Logos* 9 316.4

ἀπολογᾶται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 19.85 and 23.155–6)

νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται *Chron. Mor.* H 1160; οἰκονομᾶται νὰ ἔλθῃ *ibid.* 3213

τὸ παιδὶν ἀνανογᾶται *Arm.* 68 (< ἀνανοῶ); νὰ τὸν ἐλεημονᾶται *ibid.* 172

διηγᾶται SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 200; νὰ μὴ λυπᾶται *ibid.* 310

ποττὲ μαντατοφόρος δὲν κατηγορᾶται MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 472.25–6

ὁποῦ λογᾶται ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη Ὁσφρίδα *Diig. Alex.* E 159.18–19 (Konstantinopoulos)

ζωοτροφᾶται (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 82, 272.19)

εὐχαριστᾶται (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 194, 118.12)

νὰ ἀπιλογᾶται (1597, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 41, 188.15)

ἂν καλὰ καὶ νὰ μὴν κινᾶται *Bertoldin.* 105.29

ὁποῦ μᾶς διηγᾶται PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* Proem §1.17

νὰ σὲ θυμᾶται MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1295

θρηνᾶται PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 891; παραπονᾶται *ibid.* 892

εὐχαριστᾶται (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.8)

Forms with /j/ inserted after the stem consonant are very rare, and are most likely the result of a conflation of inherited (A-stem) -ᾶται and innovative (E-stem) -ιέται (see below), rather than a “real” morphophonological variant. The fact that they have been found with two E-stem verbs illustrates the pressure that the E-stem paradigm was under from both the A-stem and the barytone paradigms (for a discussion, see 2.1.2): *νὰ τὸ συχνοασχολιᾶται Liv.* S 153 (Lambert-van der Kolf); *μοιρολογιᾶται Achil.* N 1851.

Addition of final /n/ can sporadically be found in Cycladic texts: *νὰ τῆς θυμᾶται* (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 37, 187.24).

Sg.	3	-εῖται / -ῖται
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The inherited E-stem ending -εῖται continues to be used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods with E-stem verbs, but is rather rare with A-stem verbs:

E-stems

ἐξηγεῖται ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 814.29
 ἀπολογεῖται (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 45.112 and 49.18)
 πωλεῖται τὸ τυρὶν *Ptoch.* IV 122 app. crit. (C); πουλεῖται τὸ τυρὶν *ibid.* 122 app. crit. (H)
 νὰ τὸ συχνοασχολῇται *Liv.* V 1130
 παραπονεῖται *Pol. Tr.* 9334; νὰ τὰ ἀφηγῇται *ibid.* 12712
 νὰ μὴ κρυβῇται *Byz. Il.* 328 (< κρυβοῦμαι)
 τινὰ νὰ μὴ φοβῇται *Achil.* N 274; κανεῖς νὰ μὴ ἀδικῇται *ibid.* 733
 δλους ἐλεημονεῖται *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 122
 δὲν ἐναντιεῖται *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 115.2 (< O-stem, see 4.2.1)
 λυπεῖται *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 48
 μιμεῖται *Bertoldos* 79.2
 εἶναι ἄξιος νὰ εὐφημῇται *LANDOS, Geopon.* 127.6
 ἐναντιεῖται τὸν πατέρα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §11.16; πολλὰ καλὰ ὑστερεῖται *ibid.* II §9.19
 κρατεῖται *Zinon* IV.253
 διηγείται *Don Kis.* 96.1

A-stems

ἐγγυεῖται τὸν ὁ Πόθος *Liv.* α 473
 κοιμεῖται *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 222 (rhymes with μιμεῖται)

Sg.	3	-(ε)ιέται -ιέται -έται -(ε)ι
		έτι

This innovative ending, the most common SMG ending for oxytone A-stem verbs, exists from at least the 14th c. onwards (the date of ms S of *Ptoch.* IV is 1364). For details and discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4. In the period covered by this Grammar the ending is much more common with E-stem verbs than with A-stem verbs, with which it does not start to appear until the 16th c. The first EMG grammar to give this ending for the A-stem paradigm is that of Kanellos Spanos (1749).

E-stems

πωλιέται τὸ τυρὶν *Ptoch.* IV 122
 πρέπει νὰ τὸ βαριέται *Chron. Mor.* H 5801; πουλιέται τὸ κρασί *ibid.* 8290
 νὰ κρατιέται *Pol. Tr.* 8992
 διαλαλιέται *Assizes* B 481.15
 καὶ ἔμορφα νὰ ὀρχιέται *Achil.* L 274
 δὲν πρέπει νὰ βαριέται *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 143
 νὰ ἀποκρατιέται τὸ παιδί μου (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 53, 101.30)
 κουνιέται *Epain. gyn.* 696
 βαριέται τὸ σκοτίδι *KORNAPOS, Erot.* I.1539
 νὰ μὴν πατιέται *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1591; νὰ καταφρονιέται *ibid.* 1592
 εὐχαριστιέται (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 85, 90.27)
 ἔτι τὸν ἀπαρνιέται *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §29.33
 νὰ τουραγνιέται *MONTSEL., Evgena* 953 (< τυραννῶ)
 νὰ καταπατιέται (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 668.2)
 καὶ νὰ παρακουιέται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 333.15

A-stems

τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁποῦ ἀγαπιέται *Theseid* IV.55,2 ms P
 γὰ ν' ἀπαντιέται *Alex. Rim.* 1070; ἀρχίζει καὶ βρουχιέται *ibid.* 1984 and *Diig. Alex.* K 376.31
 μαδιέται *Epain. gyn.* 697; πολλὰ πηδιέται *ibid.* 698
 ἐγροικιέται *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 355.4
 πετιέται ὁ Κουστουλιέρης *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.475
 νὰ ἀγαπιέται μὲ δλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.23)
 μιὰ φορά γελειέται ἡ γραῖα *Paroim.* (Warner) 53.27
 τὸ χωράφι ἀγροικιέται προικιό της (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 22, 44.9)
 γεννιέται *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §12.19 and III §12.20
 νὰ κυβερνιέται (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 297, 234.31)
 νὰ ἀγροικιέται τοῦ ἀνωθεν Μοναστηρίου (1664, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 9, 66.8–67.1)
 νὰ ἀγρικιέται (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.19–20)
 θέλει νὰ χαλάσει ἡ Ἀθήνα καὶ ὅσο πάει χαλιέται (1677, Athens, LAMBROS 1910: 302, 198.3)
 νὰ γροικιέται ἴδιος καὶ καθολικὸς νοικοκύρης (1692, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 35, 61.6–7)

Forms with the accent on the antepenultimate are most probably graphematic, as they are usually meant to be read with synizesis, as paroxytone, which becomes obvious when the form appears at the end of the political verse (*Theseid*). Only rarely do the forms need to be read as proparoxytone (*Pol. Tr.*, before the caesura). A few examples have also been found in prose texts (in *ZYGOM., Stef. Ichn.* and *Bertoldos*) (for a discussion of this spelling practice, see II, 1.5):

καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν κρατιέται *Pol. Tr.* 9067
 κρατιέται *Liv.* V 1228 and 1447
 τὸ πρᾶγμα π' ἀγαπιέται *Theseid* IV.55,2 (1529)
 τοῦτο πουλιέται ἕνα φλωρί *ZYGOM., Stef. Ichn.* 253.10
 πουλιέται *Bertoldos* 3.24; καὶ δὲν φτερνιέται *ibid.* 78.11

The ending -ιέται can become -έται through deletion of /j/ or depalatalization (see I, 2.4.7.3–4): δὲν θωρέται *Cypr. Canz.* 56.7; νὰ θωρέται ὁ ἥλιος *ibid.* 110.38; κρατέται *Fior* 143.26; ὅποιος παραφηκρέται *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §7.46.

In the following examples, the omission of <ι> is probably graphematic, since /g/, /k/, and regionally /l/ and /n/, will have been palatalized before /e/ (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details):

παραπονέται *Pol. Tr.* 9334 app. crit. (C)
 νὰ διαλαλέται *Assizes* A 63.23
 νὰ πουλέται *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 54.14
 γελέται *Diig. Alex.* K 376.17
 καὶ πουλέται στὸ παζάρι *Ptochol.* A 143 app. crit. (Z) (cf. κρατιέται *ibid.* 201)
 νὰ ἀγροικέται (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.26)
 δὲν ἀρνέται (1666, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 4, f.158v.21)
 κι ὁ Τοῦρκος νὰ μουγκέται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 281.8 (Xirouchakis)
 γροικέται (1699, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: XIX, 79.13)
 ἀγροικέται (1707, Dimitsana/Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 202, 333.5)
 νὰ γρικέται ἀνάμεσά μας (1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 18, 287.13)

The following examples involving /p/ cannot be explained along the same lines; they are either lexical, or simple errors: ἀναπέται *Pol. Tr.* 8684 app. crit. (A); ἀναπέται *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 40 (cf. also ἀναπέσαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 104); ἐπῆρε τὸν ὁ ὕπνος καὶ ἀναπέται

Theseid V.26,6 ms P (κοιμάται in the ed. of 1529) (oxytone variant forms of ἀναπεύω, see 2.1.3.1).

With /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable, the form is a phonological variant (raising of /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4): <δ>μολογία νά μὴν χαλνέτι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.52r.4); ἔτσι πουλέτι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.3); σὰν εἶνι καλὸ πράμα πουλέτι (1697, *ibid.* 2, 52.22).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ούμεθα(ν)
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The inherited E-stem ending -ούμεθα is quite rare in texts belonging to the vernacular register. It is rather more frequent in texts that aim at a higher register, such as monastic acts and the register of the Patriarchate, and there are a few instances in later mixed-register texts that tend to borrow certain features from a higher register, such as Sofianos's *Tre tiranni*, Damaskinos Stouditis's *Thisavros*, *Digenis* G and Ioakeim Kyprios, *Pali*. Nevertheless, since no alternative endings have been found before the 14th c., -ούμεθα will have been the ending for 1 pl. at the beginning of the LMedG period (cf. -όμεθα for barytone verbs, 4.1.1.2). However, no examples with A-stem verbs have been found (cf. the identical ending for the imperfect, 4.3.2.2).²⁷

αἰτούμεθα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 42.32; ἡγούμεθα *ibid.* 44.28

φοβούμεθα *Chron. Toc.* 2985 and 2989

παραδιδούμεθα σου ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 440.36;²⁸ φοβούμεθα *ibid.* 526.29

φοβούμεθα ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Tre tiranni* 63

εὐεργετούμεθα *Pist. kekoin.* 382

συγγνώμην ... αἰτούμεθα τοῖς πᾶσι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 4211; ὅλα τα παραιτούμεθα *ibid.*

4762; ἀρχὴν ποιοούμεθα *ibid.* 4764; εὐλαβούμεθα *ibid.* 5204; καὶ νὰ επικαλούμεθα *ibid.* 5479

Addition of final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.1), resulting in -ούμεθαν, is rare too; only a few instances have been found in Machairas (Cyprus): πολλὰ τὸ λυπούμεθαν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V. 330.13 and 372.9–10; παραδιδούμεθαν *ibid.* 380.27; ἐξηγούμεθαν *ibid.* 538.23.

Pl.	1	-όμεθα
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The residual A-stem ending -όμεθα is absent from the vernacular register. It is rather more frequent in texts that belong to a higher register, such as monastic acts and the register of the Patriarchate (with both A-stems and E-stems), and there are a few instances in mixed-register texts that tend to borrow certain features from a higher register:

²⁷ Upon closer examination, this ending sometimes proves to be a "phantom", as in: πολέμους οὐ φοβούμεθα *Dig.* E 193 (πολέμους ἐμεῖς οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν *app. crit.*); θυμούμεθά τον *Chron. Toc.* 1348 (θυμούμεθε τον *app. crit.*).

²⁸ In Cypriot Greek certain verbs have both barytone and oxytone variants, such as for instance δίδω > διδῶ (see 2.1.3.1).

A-stems

ἐγγυώμεθα *Dig.* T 2298 (*app. crit.*)

E-stems

ποιώμεθα (1067, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 27, 206.4)

Pl.	1	-ούμεθε(ν)
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The ending -ούμεθε(ν), rather more common with barytone verbs and especially with εἶμαι (see 4.1.1.2 and 4.8.1), is considered to derive from -ούμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm, while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 1 97 regarding the similar ending -μεσθεν): ἡ τόσσα τοὺς φοβούμεθεν *Pol. Tr.* 4945; καὶ πλανούμεθεν ΕΡΜΟΝ., *Ilias* 13.245; γυναῖων φύσιν ἔχομεν, φοβούμεθεν τὰ ξύλα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 119. Evidence for this ending without final /n/ is scarce: θυμούμεθε τον *Chron. Toc.* 1348 *app. crit.*

Pl.	1	-ούμεσθε(ν) -ούμεστε(ν) -ώμεσθε(ν) -όμεστε(ν)
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The ending -ούμεσθε(ν) is held to have been formed from -ούμεθα, with a change from /a/ to /e/ by analogy with 2 pl. and 3 pl., which also end in /e/ (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). The added /s/ is usually explained as being analogical from 2 pl., while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197). Its variant -ούμεστε(ν) is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). These endings are found with and without final /n/ with E-stem verbs from at least the 15th c. (though earlier with εἶμαι, see 4.8.1) in texts from various regions. They are less common for A-stem verbs:

E-stems

τὴν χαρὰν ἡγούμεσθέ την *Liv.* V 3861

φοβούμεστε (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.16)

μ' ἂν ἔναι νὰ φοβούμεστε FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 529

φοβούμεσθε *Theseid* I.27,8 (Follieri)

φοβούμεσθε ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 131.3

φοβούμεσθε τον ὄχλον ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΠ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 21.26

παρακαλούμεστε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 307.1)

πολλὰ λυπούμεστέ σε VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 654

ὡς καθὼς το φοβούμεσθε *Don Kis.* 124.7

ποτὲ νὰ μὲν φοβούμεσθεν *Achil.* L 169

διηγούμεσθεν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 369.41

νὰ φοβούμεσθεν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 33.5; νὰ ευχαριστούμεσθεν *ibid.* 53.10

φοβούμεσθεν ΜΟΡΕΖΙΝΟΣ, *Klini* 137.20 *app. crit.* (K); νὰ μὴν ἀρνούμεσθεν *ibid.* 171.13 (ms E)

νὰ διηγούμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P V 365.3

νὰ διηγούμεσθεν ΠΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron. Proem.* 7

διὰ νὰ βοηθούμεσθεν ΛΑΝΔΟΣ, *Geopon.* 130.19; ἐπιμελούμεσθεν *ibid.* 254.22

συλλογούμεσθεν VEST., *Pathi* 135; ἀρνούμεσθεν *id.*, *Paid. Makkav.* 1015

δὲν τὸ ἀρνούμεσταν PROSOPSAS, *Peri Tyflou* 737; νὰ διηγούμεσταν *ibid.* 881
νὰ ἐξομολογούμεσταν *Diig. Sant.* 61.28
μόνον αὐτὸ λυπούμεσταν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9637

A-stems

γελούμεσθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22; νὰ γελούμεσθεν *ibid.* 70.17
ἀντάμα ἐκοιμούμεσθεν *Dig. A* 603
τιμούμεσταν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.6
ἐκοιμούμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P VI* 369.35

This ending with /o/ for /u/ is quite rare and is possibly influenced by barytone verbs, since barytone verbs can also have both -όμεστε and -ούμεστε (see 4.1.1.2); generally there is much variation in the deployment of [o] or [u] as a thematic vowel. The "etymologizing" spelling with <ω> is entirely graphematic:

E-stems

θυμόμεστε (post 1524–ante 1640, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1993: 62, 526.f175b.iv.3)

A-stems

ἐὰν γελώμεσθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 70.10
ὅταν κοιμώμεσταν DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 5, ε1r.14 (1561)
μηδὲν πλανώμεσθ', ἀδελφοί *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 1404

Pl.	1	-ούμεστα(ν) ! -ούμεστανε ! -ούμεσθα(ν) ! -ουμέστα(ν)
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The ending -ούμεστα(ν) and its more formal variant -ούμεσθα(ν) are not attested very frequently with oxytone verbs. This ending occurs in texts of southern provenance (Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese) from the 15th/16th c. onwards with E-stem verbs only (for a discussion see 4.1.1.2; for its use with εἶμαι see 4.8.1):

φοβούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.14
χαλούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 314.29–30 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
παραδιδούμεσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 290.29
λυπούμεσταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20; νὰ μὴν ἀρνούμεσταν *ibid.* 171.13 app. crit. (K)

The loss of final /n/ with this ending does not appear to be very common: κρατούμεσθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.6; ὅλοι φοβούμεστά σε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 208.

With /j/ inserted after the stem consonant it occurs in a 17th-c. text written in Santorini (for this phenomenon, see 2.1.2.2.4): νὰ κρατειούμεσθα RICHARD, *Targa pisteos* I 251.5.

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in Morezinos (Crete) (see also I, 2.6.3.3): φοβούμεστανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 137.20 (reading of ms Ξ).

Surprisingly, a single instance of the same ending with perhaps a shift of the stress to the penultimate is found in a 12th-c. document from S. Italy, with the O-stem verb ζημιῶ: ἵνα μὴ ζημιούμεσταν (1114, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 19, 223.19).²⁹

²⁹ The editor prints ζημιούμεσταν; however, CARACAUSI, *Lex.*: ζημιούμεσταν; and MINAS 2003: 119 ζημιούμεσταν and elsewhere ζημιούμεσταν *ibid.* 120.

Pl.	1	-ούμενστε
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With a single occurrence in version A of *Anthos ton Chariton* (16th c.; provenance unknown), this ending looks like a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστε, but is probably due to the use of a combination of ligatures (cf. the ending '-ομένστα, 4.1.1.2): ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενστε νὰ θρηνούμεν *Anthos Ch. A* 49.15.

Pl.	1	-ούμενστα
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This ending, also found a number of times with the present and the imperfect of barytone verbs (see 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.2) in documents by the Cretan notary Maras, appears to be a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστα, but just like the previous ending it probably represents a graphematic idiosyncrasy and not an authentic ending (for a discussion see '-ομένστα in 4.1.1.2): νὰ σοῦ ἀπιλογούμενστα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 314, 313.16).

Pl.	1	-όμαστε(ν) ! -ούμαστε ! -όμασθε(ν) ! -(ι)ούμασθε(ν) ! -ιομάστενε
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The ending -όμαστε(ν) and its more formal variant -όμασθε(ν), which in the forms -ιόμαστε (A-stems), -ούμαστε (E-stems and deponent verbs) and -όμαστε (deponent verbs) eventually became the SMG endings, is found from the 16th c. onwards. The ending is possibly the result of an analogy with the barytone paradigm, in which it is rather more common (see 4.1.1.2 for discussion).

A-stems

καὶ νὰ μὴ καυχόμαστε *Vios Filaret.* 239.6
βρυχόμαστεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 914

E-stems

ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἀκούομεν καὶ φοβούμεσταν (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 220.10)
ἐνθυμούμασθεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4355 and 9630
φοβούμεσταν KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.341
[φιλοῦ]μασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.15

The form with insertion of /j/ after the stem consonant has not been found before the late 17th c. (for this phenomenon, see 2.1.2.2.4): γροικιούμεσθε (1697, Mani, PETRIDIS 1870: 431.5).

With addition of -(v)ε and a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate it has been found in a 17th-c. document from Corfu (for -(v)ε, see I, 2.6.3.3): νὰ μὴν ἀγρικιομάστενε (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 207.80).³⁰

³⁰ For such forms in the modern dialect of Corfu see AVLONITI 2006: 35–6.

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶσθε(ν) ! -ᾶστε(ν) ! -ᾶστε
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The inherited 2 pl.³¹ ending -ᾶσθε of A-stems is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods for A-stem verbs as well as E-stem verbs. The phonetic variant -ᾶστε, the SMG ending for the deponent verbs in -ᾶμαι (λυπάσθε, θυμάσθε, φοβάσθε, κοιμάσθε), is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). For the identical present imperative plural, see 4.5.1.2. Since 2 pl. is rather rare in documents, the number of examples found in non-literary texts is limited:

A-stems

- ἀλλήλως ν' ἀγαπᾶσθε *Chron. Mor.* H 3993
 τὸ τί πλανᾶσθε *Liv.* α 534; τί κοιμᾶσθε *ibid.* 3079 (κοιμᾶσθε in P)
 καυχᾶσθε *Diig. tetr.* 360; κύπτεσθε καὶ δομᾶσθε *ibid.* 736
 μὴ καυχᾶσθε *Spanos* A 81
 καὶ νὰ κοιμᾶσθ' ἀμέριμνα *Alosis* 885
 μὴ κοιμᾶσθε *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 518
 καὶ σεις με καταράσθε; *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 47.22
 κι ἀμέτε νὰ καυκάσθε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.401
 τιμᾶσθε *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.6
 πολλὰ πλανᾶσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark.* 12.27; ὅλοι μιᾶς λογῆς χαλάσθε *ibid. Louk.* 13.5; τί κοιμάσθε *ibid. Louk.* 22.46
 νὰ μὴ μοῦ καταρᾶσθε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 228.28; καυχᾶσθε 557.24

E-stems

- φοβᾶσθε *Log. parig.* L 740
 πρέπει νὰ τὸ ἐνθυμᾶσθε *Chron. Mor.* H 9171
 καὶ ἂν λυπᾶσθε *Liv.* E 2901; μὴδὲν φοβᾶσθε *ibid.* 2992
 νὰ μὲ ἐνθυμᾶσθε *Diig. Alex.* V 86.1
 ἀπὸ τὸ ξηγᾶσθε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 322.2-3
 ἐκ τὰ θυμᾶσθε *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 132 (θυμᾶσθε in V)
 νὰ μὴ τὸ ἀναθυμᾶσθε *Alosis* 1037
 ἔτσι νὰ μὴ φοβάσθε *Alex. Rim.* 973; καὶ δὲν θυμάσθε *ibid.* 1793
 πῶς δὲν ἀπηλογᾶσθε *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 69; νὰ τὸ θυμᾶσθε *ibid.* 517
 μὴ λυπάσθε! *Vios Filaret.* 241.16
 φοβᾶσθε (1574, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 2007: 149.28)
 καὶ τί φοβᾶσθε τῶν Φραγκῶν; *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap.* 98
 εὐχαριστᾶσθε *Bertoldin.* 169.13-14
 καὶ δὲν ἐνθυμᾶσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark.* 8.18; μὴδὲ ἐνθυμᾶσθε *ibid. Matth.* 16.9
 μὴ λυπᾶσθε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 183; μὴδὲ παραπεονᾶσθε *ibid.* 184; καὶ ὅσοι διηγᾶσθε *ibid.* 3063
 νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσθε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 228.27; νὰ τυραννᾶσθε *ibid.* 431.25

³¹ The MG ending -όσασθε, formed by analogy with 1 pl. -όμασθε (*PERNOT* 1907/46: II 292, who claims that the ending is of Peloponnesian/Chiot origin), has not been found in the texts examined, which is not surprising given the relatively late appearance of -όμασθε (see above). Examples have not been found before the 18th c.: it occurs, for instance, in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis's comedy *O Chasis* (φιλιόσασθε III.396), the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Z. Synodinos, Athens 1997).

Addition of final /n/ to this ending is occasionally found, especially in Heptanesian texts:

- καὶ νὰ γενολογᾶσθεν *Poulol.* 658
 ἀλλήλως νὰ ἡγαπᾶσθεν *Chron. Mor.* P 3993
 ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μὴδὲν φοβᾶσθεν *Diig. Alex.* V 50.20-1; νὰ μὲ θυμᾶσθεν *ibid.* 84.12
 θυμάσθεν ποῦ δειλιάζετε *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 γονέοι καὶ λογάσθεν *Apoll. Rim.* V 1284
 μὴ φοβᾶσθεν, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.42
 γελάσθεν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 68.22
 κ' ἐσεῖς ποῦ τὸ ξηγᾶσθεν *ZINOS, Penth. Than.* Prol. 15
 νὰ μὴ μοῦ καταρᾶσθεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 3064

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in a Heptanesian text, but it is likely to appear in texts from Chios and possibly other areas as well (see I, 2.6.3.3): μὴ λυπάσθενε *MONTSEL., Evgena* 632.

Pl.	2	-εῖσθε(ν) ! -εῖστε(ν) ! -ῆσθε(ν) ! -ῆστε(ν)
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The inherited 2 pl. ending -εῖσθε of E-stems is used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. The phonetic variant -εῖστε is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1) (for the identical present imperative plural, see 4.5.1.2). No examples have been found with A-stem verbs:

- λαλῶ σας καὶ οὐ λυπεῖσθε *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 115
 φοβεῖσθε *Log. parig.* O 756
 τίποτε μὴ λυπῆσθε *Pol. Tr.* 1904; τίποτε μὴ λυπῆσθε *ibid.* 1904 app. crit. (A); θάνατον μὴ φοβῆσθε *ibid.* 3962
 μὴδὲν φοβῆσθε *Liv.* α 3119; νὰ μὲ ἀφηγῆσθε *ibid.* 3030 app. crit. (N)
 καὶ ἂν λυπῆσθε τίποτε *Liv.* S 1744 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 τινὰ νὰ μὴ φοβῆσθε *Alosis* 885
 μὴδὲν φοβῆσθε τίποτε *Alex. Rim.* 1792
 μὴ φοβεῖσθε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.14-15
 καὶ τόσον μὴ λυπῆσθε *Thrinos patr.* 86
 μὴν φοβεῖσθε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark.* 16.6

Pl.	2	-(ε)ιέσθε(ν) ! -(ε)ιέστε(ν)
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This ending, which in its dissimilated form -ιέστε is now the most common for SMG A-stem verbs (e.g. ἀγαπιέστε, κρατιέστε), is found from at least the 15th c. onwards (the ms date of *Assizes B* is 1469). For a discussion on the appearance of /j/ after stem consonants in the passive imperfective stem see 2.1.2.2.4. (For the identical present imperative ending see 4.5.1.2.)

E-stems

- ἂν τύχη νὰ βαρεῖσθε *Chron. Mor.* P 8536
 κρατιέσθε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 66.6
 καὶ νὰ παραπεονιέσθε *Thrinos patr.* 85
 τὸ ἀρνιέσθε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 92.28
 πουλειέσθε *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.24
 μὴν κουνιέσθε μὲ τὸν λογισμὸν σας *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Louk.* 12.29

A-stems

ἐγγυέστε *Assizes B 309.24 and Assizes A 59.27*³²
 μὴν καταριέστε *PAPASYNAD., Chron. III §34.6*
 [γε]λειέθε *SPANOS, Grammar 41.21*

Addition of final /n/ is rare: πρέπει νὰ ἀπιλογιέσταν ἐσεῖς (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 133.30).

Pl.	2	-οὔστε(ν) ! -οὔσθε(ν) ! -οὔστενε
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This innovative 2 pl. ending appears in 17th-c. texts from Chios (the ms of this *Thrinok Konst.*, Ieros. Patr. 160, was copied by the Chiot Païsios Ligaridis), with A- and E-stem verbs. According to PERNOT (1907/46: I 472) it is the result of intervocalic /s/ deletion in an otherwise unattested ending *-οὔσεστε (for the identical present imperative plural, see 4.5.1.2) but perhaps analogical influence from the 1st and 3rd persons plural may be suspected. For insertion of /j/ after stem consonants (κρατειοῦστε) see 2.1.2.2.4: καὶ σεῖς νερά τρεχάμενα, σταθῆτε μὴν κινουῖσθε *Thrinok Konst.* (P-K) 8 app. crit.; κρατειοῦστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.9; τιμοῦστε *ibid.* 93.6; θυμοῦσταν PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 1233; μὴν φοβοῦσταν *ibid.* 1421. The ending also occurs with an added -(ν)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3): ἀν δὲν λυποῦστανε PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 865.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οῦνται(ν) ! -οῦνταινε ! -(ε)ιοῦνται(ν)
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The inherited ending -οῦνται is the most common ending for 3 pl. pass. throughout and beyond our period, with both E- and A-stem verbs:

E-stems

καὶ ἐξομολογοῦνται καὶ λυποῦνται *NIKON, Logos 3 166.16*
 φοβοῦνται *Ptoch. I 89*
 τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὰ πεντάλιτρα τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται *Paroim. H 19*
 ξηγοῦνται *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 2.14*; νὰ χειροτονοῦνται *ibid.* 26.22
 παραπονοῦνται *Cypr. Canz. 17.8*; ποθοῦνται *ibid.* 43.1
 νὰ μοῦ θυμοῦνται (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 14, 24.32); διὰ νὰ ἀποκρατοῦνται (*ibid.* 15, 26.25)
 νὰ λογοῦνται τὰ ἥμισα (1517 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 3, 51.15–16)
 φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν Σαψὼν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 278.34*
 καὶ τὸ Θεὸ φοβοῦνται *CHORTATIS, Katz. III.325*
 δίδουνται *Pist. kekoim. 392*
 ρηγάδες τὸν φοβοῦνται (17th c., Unknown, ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 152.26–7)
 δταν μοιρολογοῦνται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 154.20*; λέγει τως μὴ λυποῦνται *ibid.* 193.15;
 νὰ πὰ νὰ διακονοῦνται *ibid.* 193.16
 νὰ μὴ παραπονοῦνται *Don Kis. 47.19–20*

³² In the case of ἐγγυῶμαι the /l/ in ἐγγυέστε (for ἐγγυάστε) is in fact part of the stem, but the result is the same.

A-stems

κι ὅσοι γεννοῦνται *Chron. Mor. H 2725*
 ἵνα μᾶς καταροῦνται *Dig. E 538*
 καὶ νὰ καυχοῦνται οἱ ἄνομοι *Anak. Konst. 56*
 βρυχοῦνται *Imb. Rim. 209*
 νὰ κυβερνοῦνται *Achil. N 150*; χαιρετοῦνται *ibid.* 1520
 καὶ ὅπ' ἀγαποῦνται *FALIEROS, Ist. On. 657*
 βιγλοῦνται *Cypr. Canz. 43.5*
 νὰ γρικοῦνται (1518, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 52, 97.134)
 στέκουν καὶ ανερωτοῦνται *Apoll. Rim. E 1450*
 σὲ σπήλαια κοιμοῦνται *Alex. Rim. 1913*
 ἀγαποῦνται *Diig. Alex. Sem. S 421*; καταροῦνται *ibid.* 481
 πλανοῦνται *CHORTATIS, Katz. Prol. 7*; ὅποιοι σας αφογκροῦνται *id., Panor. II.520*
 νὰ χαλοῦνται (1647, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 1, 668.3)
 κοιμοῦνται *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 1815*
 νὰ κυβερνοῦνται (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 481.32)

With /j/ after the stem consonant, this ending is found from the 15th/16th c. onwards (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion):

τὰ δὲ αὐγὰ πουλιοῦνται (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 43, 36.1)
 κρατιοῦνται *Apoll. Rim. V 257*
 θέλω νὰ πουλιοῦνται (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 77, 145.19); νὰ ἀποκρατειοῦνται (1525, *ibid.* 100, 187.28)
 τότε βαριοῦνται *MOREZINOS, Klini 56.36*
 γεννιοῦνται *CHORTATIS, Panor. V.37*; δὲν ξοφλιοῦνται *ibid.* V.38; κρατιοῦνται *id., Erof. IV.733*
 δὲν δαπανιοῦνται εὐκολὰ *Vios Aisop. D 213.34*
 ἀγαπιοῦνται *Diig. Alex. Sem. S 440*
 ξοφλιοῦνται *Stathis Prol. 20*
 κι ὅχι νὰ σὲ βαριοῦνται *Pist. voskos I 3.176*
 βαριοῦνται τσι κ' ἐκεῖνοι *KORNAROS, Erot. III.179*
 δὲν δαπανιοῦνται εὐκολὰ *Vios Aisop. D 213.34*
 γρικοῦνται (1661, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 27, 383.22)

The addition of final /n/ to the ending -(ι)οῦνται can sometimes be found. There are several instances in *Liv. V* and in ms C of *Pol. Tr.*; single instances have been found as early as the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.), as well as in *Dig. O* (Chios) and in documents from Thrace, Macedonia and Chios:

ὅτι προσποιοῦνται ὡς δῆθεν ἀγαθοεργείας *NIKON, Prol. 16.30–1*
 ὅτι σθεναχωροῦνται *Liv. V 763*; τὴν γραβαν ἀπιλογοῦνται *ibid.* 2680; ὁποῦ σᾶς ἐνθυμοῦνται *ibid.* 3828
 ἐνθυμοῦνται *Pol. Tr. 8548 app. crit. (C) and 9651 app. crit. (C)*; φοβοῦνται *ibid.* 10517 app. crit. (C), 12787 app. crit. (C), 13070 app. crit. (C) and 13111 app. crit. (C); ἀφηγοῦνται *ibid.* 12425 app. crit. (C)
 ἐνοχλιοῦνται (1453, Thrace?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 3, 86.17–18)
 καὶ παρακιοῦνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι (1576, Macedonia, CHASIoTIS 1964/65: 3, 253.30)
 ὅπου ποτὲ δὲν ἐνθυμοῦνται τέτοιον θανατικόν (1621, Sicily, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 1, 90.10–11) (author from Chios)
 συναπαντοῦνται τὸ λοιπὸν *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 1367*

Addition of $-(v)\epsilon$ to this ending has been found in the work of Katsaitis (Kefalonia), but is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (for addition of $-(v)\epsilon$ see I, 2.6.3.3): $\kappa\iota' \delta\lambda\omicron\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ $\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.26.

Pl.	3	-ώνται -όνται -(ι)όται -(ε)ιδώνται -ίωνται
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The residual A-stem ending $-\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$, which had been replaced by $-\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ before the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2), is sometimes used, possibly helped by the fact that from about the 14th c. onwards oxytone E-stem verbs started to borrow the ending /onde/ from barytone verbs, with the insertion of /j/ after the stem consonant of the oxytone verb as an added feature (e.g. $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$, below). See 2.1.2.2.4 for details and discussion.

A-stems

$\tau\iota\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ NIKON, *Logos* 1 72.11–12; $\omega\varsigma$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ *id.*, *Logos* 31 826.13
 $\kappa' \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ $\delta\delta\upsilon\nu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 136
 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Dig. E 248
 $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Pol. Tr. 1008 app. crit. (X); $\chi\alpha\lambda\nu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 8307 app. crit. (C)
 $\alpha\pi\omicron\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Apoll. Rim. V 881; $\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 1450
 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu\iota\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Alex. Fyll. 53.18
 $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 68.22
 $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ $\upsilon\pi\nu\omicron\nu$ $\zeta\epsilon\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}$ LANDOS, *Geopon.* 178.20
 $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Bertoldin. 46.23
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Bertoldin. 129.6
 $\sigma\alpha\nu$ $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1043; $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\eta\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\chi\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 1761
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 176.23)

E-stems

$\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.45)
 $\delta\omicron\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ Achil. N 585
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ $\lambda\upsilon\pi\omicron\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\varsigma\omicron\nu$ BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 104 app. crit.
 $\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 125 app. crit.; $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 149 app. crit.
 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\nu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Rim. kor. V 85
 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Alex. Fyll. 97.19
 $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\upsilon\chi\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4089; $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 4520; $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$
 $\phi\omicron\beta\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 10080
 $\delta\iota\eta\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 175.7)

With /j/ inserted after the stem consonant the ending /'onde/ is found from the 14th c. onwards. The "etymologizing" spelling with < ω > is, of course, entirely graphematic:

$\omicron\iota$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Chron. Mor. H 7559
 $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Pol. Tr. 4374
 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Chron. Toc. 412; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ *ibid.* 1612
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1518, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 390.13)
 $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\alpha$ $\beta\alpha\rho\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Rim. kor. V 661
 $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Syndipas 117.22, 118.28 and 118.29
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\kappa\tau\upsilon\pi\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Kaloandros 406.7
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\eta\mu\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\Pi\gamma\kappa\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (1665, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 3, 189.19–20)
 $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\nu\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ DIAKR., *Diig.* Pol. 638

$\epsilon\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1682, Patras, TSELIKAS 1986a: 3, 672.14)
 $\epsilon\tau\acute{\zeta}\iota$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8)

Addition of final /n/ appears to be quite rare: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\iota$ $\chi\rho\epsilon\eta$ $\chi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 172, 222.18).

Forms with an ostensible shift of the stress to the antepenultimate (cf. 3 sg. $-\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$) are rare: $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ Bertoldin. 128.18 (see II, 1.5 for discussion).

Forms in $-\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\iota$ are phonetic rather than morphological variants of $-\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.13); $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.24).

Pl.	3	-ιένται
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The ending $-\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ has been found in documents from the northern and central Peloponnese (Arcadia and Achaia), both dating after the period covered by this Grammar. Its spelling $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ for $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ is graphematic, as /k/ before /e/ will have had a palatalized pronunciation (see I, 3.8.2.1; see also 2.1.2.2.4): $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1707, Dimitsana/Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 209, 334.4); $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1724, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 43, 143.12); $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (1754, Sopoto, PAPADOPOULOS 1977: 5, 68.7).

4.2 The Aorist Subjunctive

By the beginning of the LMedG period, the endings of the present and aorist active subjunctives ($-\omega$, $-\eta\varsigma$, $-\eta$, $-\omega\mu\epsilon(v)$, $-\eta\tau\epsilon$, $-\omega\sigma\iota(v)$) had long been replaced with those of the present indicative ($-\omega$, $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $-\epsilon\iota$, $-\omicron\mu\epsilon(v)$, $-\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, $-\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota(v)/-\omicron\upsilon\nu$) due to sound change and analogical levelling (a development that had begun in Hellenistic times; see e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 198–9 for examples from the New Testament onwards). Even though the indicative and subjunctive clearly make use of the same set of endings, there is a tendency in modern editions to apply a historical spelling to the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 1 pl. subjunctive, which essentially contradicts the development of the language. Not all editors, however, choose to make this orthographic distinction.³³ To form the aorist active subjunctive, the ending is added to the active perfective stem of the verb: e.g. $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\text{-}\omega$, $\gamma\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\text{-}\omega$, $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\omega$. For 2 pl. and 3 pl. of the active aorist subjunctive the residual endings $-\eta\tau\epsilon$ and $-\omega\sigma\iota(v)$ can sometimes be found.

The endings of the aorist passive subjunctive of AG ($-\acute{\omega}$, $-\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $-\acute{\eta}$, $-\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $-\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon$, $-\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$) had, again through sound change, become partially homophonous with the present active endings of oxytone E-stem verbs ($-\acute{\omega}$, $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$, $-\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$, $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\epsilon$, $-\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$). Through analogical

³³ In editions in monotonic the official spelling of SMG is applied (sometimes including an unhistorical spelling $-\omicron\sigma\iota(v)$ for the residual 3 pl. ending $-\omega\sigma\iota(v)$), whereas in editions in polytonic three systems are in current use: (1) historical spelling of subjunctive endings with iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg. and < ω > in 1 pl.; (2) the official spelling of the 1941 grammar of Triandafyllidis (historical spelling minus the iota subscript in 2 sg. and 3 sg.); (3) the official spelling of SMG, but with polytonic accentuation (sometimes without the grave).

levelling, the endings -οῦμε(ν) for 1 pl., -οῦσι(ν), and later -οῦν, for 3 pl. were also adopted in the aorist passive subjunctive paradigm (HORROCKS 2010: 317–18). Again it may be noted that applying a historical spelling to the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl. endings is, in fact, at odds with the development of the language. As mentioned in the General Introduction, the iota subscript has been omitted in the examples in this Grammar. Other than that, the spelling of the modern editions of literary texts has been preserved. In examples normalized by us, 2 sg. and 3 sg. examples of the subjunctive are spelled with <ει>.

The oxytone endings are added to the passive perfective stem of the verb, e.g. γραφθ-ῶ, γρικηθ-ῶ, βαρεθ-ῶ. For 1 pl. and 3 pl. of the passive aorist subjunctive the residual endings -ῶμε(ν) and -ῶσι(ν) can sometimes be found. For the passive subjunctive of ἐγείρω, which developed barytone forms while retaining its passive stem (ἐγέρθω), see 2.4.

A group of verbs, including certain verbs with a thematic or root aorist (second aorist) as well as the verb γίνομαι, may adopt endings from both the barytone and oxytone paradigms (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 133–4), e.g. εἶπω and εἶπῶ, ἔμπω and ἔμπῶ, εὖρω and εὖρῶ, γένω and γενῶ. These verbs will be discussed separately at the end of this section.

For the use of the subjunctive in periphrastic verb constructions, see introduction to Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Active Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γράφω	γράφου	γράφων
	2	γράφεις/γράφης/γράψης		
	3	γράψει/γράψη/γράψη	γράψειν/γράψην/γράψην γράψεινε	
Pl.	1	γράφουμε(ν)/γράφωμε(ν)	(γράφουμενε) γράφουμε(ν) γράφουμι	
	2	γράφετε γράφετεν γράφετενε	γράφητε γράψτε	
	3	γράφουσι(ν) γράφουν	γράφωσι(ν)/γράφουσι(ν) γράφουσινε γράφου γράφουνε	γράφον

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ω -ων -ου
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The ending for 1 sg. shows little morphological variation, before, during and after the period under investigation:

δπου κελεύεις Ελθω *Dig. G II.133*
 πῶς νά τήν ξεπλέξω *Eisit. 8r.16*
 εις τὸ νά δευτερώσω *LIMEN., Velis. (Λ) 212*
 ἄ γλιτώσω *Cypr. Canz. 9.4*
 διὰ νά ὑπάγω καὶ ἐγὼ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 339.8–9*
 ἂν τὰ κρατήξω (1565, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.17*)
 νά σέ θαραπαύσω *MOREZINOS, Klini 44.34*
 μήνα ἡμπορέσω νά τὸν ἐλευθερώσω (1620, Ioannina, *DOIKAS 1982: [6], 144.10*)
 νά σέ ρωτήξω *MONTSEL., Evgena 1052*
 ἄς πάγω πλιὸ σιμότερα *VEST., Prol. Theot. 284*
 ἂν ἀποθάνω ἐγὼ (1665, Vraniana, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 173.37–8*)
 νά αρχινήσω *Don Kis. 45.14–15*

Addition of final /n/ to 1 sg. is unusual. The forms, if they are not simple scribal errors, may represent a form of hypercorrection in varieties of the language that tend to drop final /n/: ἵνα ὀρίσων γέροντες, καλοὺς ἀνθρώπους (1570, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI 1999: 33, 398.10–11*). When the following word begins with a voiceless stop (/k/, /p/, /t/), the final /n/ may indicate that those stops were pronounced as voiced ([g], [b], [d]); see I, 3.7.2.1 for details: ἵνα τοῦ ποιήσων τὴν μπαροῦσαν κοντραντιτζιὸν (1688, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.3–4*); δε θέλω ἀφήσων κανέναν νά σιμώσιν (ibid. 1013.13).

1 sg. forms in -ου are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ω, the result of back-vowel raising, by which unstressed /o/ becomes [u] (for details see I, 2.5.4):

δὲν ἔχω τίποτες νά κάμου (1660, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 4, 312.29–30*)
 νά μεράσου (1694, Skyros, *ANDONIADIS 1990: 47, 76.12–13*)
 δὲν ἔλειπα νά σέ γράφου καὶ νά σέ φανερῶσου (1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS 2012: 4, 59.3–4*); νά ῥτου καὶ ἀτός μου νά σέ ἀπολάφου (1698, ibid. 9, 74.33)
 τὴν προίκα ποὺ θε νά τοῦ δώσου (1717, Skiathos, *KARAVIDAS 2004: 2, 249.7–8*)

The two verbs that have alternative perfective barytone vowel stems, namely ὑπά(γ)ω (ὑπα-/πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), have “uncontracted” forms for 1 sg.: e.g. εις τόπο θε νά πάω *CHORTATIS, Panor. I.15*; οὐδέ ψωμί νά φάω *ibid. I.16* (for forms with vowel deletion see 2.2.2.3).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-εις/-ης/-ης
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The ending for 2 sg. shows no morphological variation, before, during and after the period under investigation:

νά την πέμψης ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.16
 ἂν σὺ παράσχῃ μοι τροφήν, ἂν χορηγήσῃς πόσιν *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 33
 ἂν οὐδὲν τὸ στελεῖς (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.16)
 νά ποῖσεις ἕνα διαλαλήμῳ (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.2)
 νά ξηλώσεις τὲς δουλλίεις μου ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* O 92.7 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 μὴ μοῦ ζητήξῃς *Rim. kor.* A 72
 νά τοὺς κόψεις (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.14–15)
 ἂν δὲν τὸ βάλῃς εἰς τὸ στόμα σου ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 124.20–1
 ἂ τὰ στελεῖς (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.23)
 θέλω νά πάγῃς στὸ καλὸ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.457
 μὴ τὸ φάγῃς ὅλον *LANDOS, Geopon.* 151.26–7
 μὴν μ' ἀφήκῃς (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.4)
 ὅποθεν εξετάσεις *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 4339
 μὴδὲν παινέσῃς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστε νά δῇς τὸ τέλος *KONDAR., Paidēs* 945
 νά μὴ ξεσπαθώσῃς *Don Kis.* 48.22

The verbs ὑπά(γ)ω and τρώ(γ)ω, which have alternative perfective barytone vowel stems ((ὕ)πα-) and (φα-), can have “uncontracted” forms for 2 sg.: νά ὑπάῃς (1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.7); νά φάῃς (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.13); for forms with vowel deletion see 2.2.2.3.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ει/-η/-η ! -ειν/-ην/-ην ! -εινε
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The ending for 3 sg. shows little morphological variation, before, during and after the period under investigation:

ἵνα μὲ ἐλεήσῃ ὁ θεὸς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 315.31
 νά κάτῃ *Dig.* E 678
 νά μάσει τὰ ἐλαϊκὰ δένδρη (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.10)
 νά ῥετάξῃ (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.15)
 δια νά πάγῃ εἰς τὸ κάτεργον *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 48.13–14
 νά θελήσῃ ν' ἀρκοντύνη τινὰς ἀπὸ δικὸν ἄλλου *Fior* 99.26
 εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν σοῦ βολέσῃ (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.29)
 ὅτι νά ἀπεστελεῖ *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 1
 ὅταν ἀπεθάνῃ (1572, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 1, 17.16)
 χωρὶς νά τῆνε σείσῃ τινὰς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.4–5
 νά ξεστοματίσῃ ἔτοιον ψόμα (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.10)
 κ' ἐμένα ἂς ἀκολουθίξῃ *ΣΟΥΜΜΑΚΙΣ, Past. Fid.* A3v.13
 νά πέσῃ νά πεθάνῃ *PROSOPAS, Peri tyflou* 35
 μὴν ἔλθῃ αἰφνιδίως καὶ ἀλπάσῃ με (1684, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1956: [2], 348.15) (= ἀρπάσῃ, see I, 3.8.6.3)
 ν' ἀδυναμίσῃ τόσα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.35

Addition of final /n/ occurs occasionally, in a variety of texts from various regions:

καὶ νά τὸν βασανίσῃν *Log. parig.* L 439
 φοβᾶται νά τὴν πιάσῃν *Pol. Tr.* 3680 app. crit. (B); νά τὸν δημηγερεύσῃν *ibid.* 13128 app. crit. (C)
 νά μὴ χαλάσῃν *Achil.* N 1102
 διὰ νά τὸν συνερῇσιν *Achil.* O 45; νά δοκιμάσῃν *ibid.* 76
 καὶ νά ὀρθώσῃν τὴν δουλειάν *Chron. Toc.* 2743; νά τοὺς τὴν δώσῃν ὁ Θεὸς *ibid.* 3035
 νά ἀναγνώσῃν (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.15)
 διὰ νά φορτώσῃν σιτάρην (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.4)
 νά μὴδὲν δυναμώσῃν πολλὰ *Diig. Alex. F* 150.22 (Lolos)
 μήπως κ' ἔλθῃν ὁ Χάρος (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.5–6)
 τὸν ἐπολέμα τὸν αὐτὸν Στεφανὴ νά τῆνε γαμήσῃν (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 97.38)
 ἂν ἔχει νά σᾶς δώσῃν δέπετον (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.24) (= οὐδετίποτε)
 μήτε νά πουρκοδοτήσῃν (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.18–19) (< προικοδοτῶ); νά σιμώσῃν (1688, *ibid.* 743, 1013.13)

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a document from the Aegean, but is likely to occur elsewhere as well (see I, 2.6.3.3): ἂν κάμεινε τίποτι συγκατάβαση (17th c., Sifnos?, TSELIKAS 1986c: 4, 41.22).

Two verbs that have perfective barytone vowel stems, namely ὑπά(γ)ω ((ὕ)πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), can have “uncontracted” forms for 3 sg.: e.g. νά πᾶῃ *Assizes B* 359.28; νά φᾶῃ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 143.21; for forms in which vowel deletion occurs see 2.2.2.3.

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ομε(v)/-ωμε(v)
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For 1 pl. -ομε(v)/-ωμε(v), with or without the final /n/,³⁴ is by far the most common ending before, during and beyond the period under review:

νά κάτσωμεν *Ptoch.* I 243
 νά ἀργήσωμεν *Pol. Tr.* 206
 νά παραλάβωμεν (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.9)
 θέλοντας νά τότε εὐκαριστήσωμεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.5)
 νά τοὺς πτιάσωμεν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.8)
 νά τὸ ἐξετάσωμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 66.33
 ὅς τὸν ἀγοράσωμεν *Vios Aisop.* I 253.28
 ἄλλην καλύτερην βουλὴν νά πάρομε *Theseid* V.45,4 (1529)
 νά διορθώσωμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.7)
 εἰς τὸ νά ... ἡκούσωμεν (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.4)
 νά ἡμπορέσωμε (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.2)
 νά σὲ ἀπολαύσωμεν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.5)

³⁴ First attestations of the loss of final /n/, resulting in -ομε, can be found sporadically from the Koine onward (DIETERICH 1898: 249); see also I, 3.7.2.2.

νά ζητήσομεν τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 20.28
 νά τῶς δώσομεν (1607, Kalymnos, KOUTELAKIS 1981: 3, 31.5)
 νά τοῦ πέφομε *Bertoldin*. 147.3
 νά τὴν σκοτώσωμε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §36.208
 ἄς ἀρχηνίσωμεν ἀπ' ἐδῶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 58.28
 νά εἶναι δικά τους ζήσωμεν πεθάνωμεν (1667, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1960: II.A 6, 123.3–4)
 μὲ τὸ νά κληρονομήσομε (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADES 1980/81: 8, 331.2–3)
 νά δώκωμε (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 123.12)
 νά τῶν τὰ δώσωμε καὶ νά τῶν τὰ μετρήσωμε (1697, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 12, 27.9)
 ἀς το ἀφήσομεν εἰς τὸν Θεόν *Don Kis.* 47.5; νά συναπαντήσομεν *ibid.* 48.20

The verbs ὑπά(γ)ω (perfective stem πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), have “contracted” rather than “uncontracted” forms for 1 pl., for which see 2.2.2.3.

Addition of -(ν)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3), which occurs regionally with many verb forms, has not been found with the 1 pl. aorist subjunctive in the texts examined, though it is very likely to have existed, as it has been found with the present (see 4.1.1.1), as well as with verbs that have thematic perfective stems (for which see 4.2.3), with the passive voice (see 4.2.2) and in “contracted” forms of the verb ὑπά(γ)ω (see also 2.2.2.3), with which it appears in texts from the Heptanese, Crete and Chios:

κι ἄς πάμενε, συντρόφισσες *Zinon Prol.* 168
 ἄς πάμενε, μετὰ χαρᾶς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 273
 πῶς πάμενε στὸν πόλεμον BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 213.6; ὅλοι νά πάμενε γυμνοὶ *id.*, *Kat. ofel.* 161
 ἔλα μαζί νά πάμενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 682

Pl.	1	-ομε(ν) ! -ομι
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For a discussion of the ending -ομε(ν), which in its form without final /n/ has prevailed as the most common MG ending, see 4.1.1.1. As with the present, this ending is not very common with the aorist subjunctive and it appears quite late (15th/16th c.), usually alongside forms in -ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν):

νά πέψουμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 271.45–6 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) (not in Dawkins;
 πέψομεν in V and R)
 νά περάσουμεν ὁμοῦ *Fyll. gadar.* 81
 ἄς κόψουμε καὶ τὸ κεφάλιν του *Diig. Alex.* F 144.13 (Konstantinopulos) (hapax)
 εἰς τὸ νά ... ἡκούσουμεν (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 48,
 249.3–4) (hapax)
 νά πλύνουμεν τὰ ποδάρια τοῦ ξένου *Vios Aisop.* I 265.2 (hapax)
 νά κράξουμε τὸν μαστρο-Ματίο (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 20, 76.11)
 θὲ ν' ἀφήκουμ (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.16)
 ἀς δοκιμάσουμε *Don Kis.* 112.5–6; τι νά κάμουμ το κορμί του; *ibid.* 127.14–15
 νά τοὺς δώσουμε πρόσωπο καὶ νά τοὺς πολεμήσουμε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.10

Forms in -ομι show that mid-vowel raising has taken place (see I, 2.5.4 for details): τὶ νά ψουνίσουμι; (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.34); νά κερδέσουμι (1698, *ibid.* 9, 73.12).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ετε ! -τε ! *-ετεν(ε)
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For 2 pl. -ετε is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

εἴ τι κελεύετε καὶ ἐρωτήσετέ με NIKON, *Logos* 2 152.24–5
 τὸ πράγμα νά στερεώσετε *Chron. Mor.* H 198; νά σφάξετε τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς *ibid.* 4045
 ποτὲ μηδὲν ὀκνήσετε *Dig.* E 488; κ' ἔως νά καβαλικεύσετε *ibid.* 1714
 νά ἀκούσετε τὸ δίκαιον *Assizes* B 324.19; νά σκοπίσετε *ibid.* 331.18
 ὅτι νά προσκυνήσετε μὲ τὸ καλόν (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.14)
 νά προσέξετε ERMON., *Ilias* 2.6; νά θαυμάσετε πολλὰ γὰρ *ibid.* 2.7
 μὴ δειλιάσετε *Diig. tetr.* 1065
 νά ποίσετε πᾶσα σας ὄφελος (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.12); ὅταν ἐσεῖς
 θελήσετε (*ibid.* 99.13)
 ὅτι νά ἀλησμονήσετε *Chron. Toc.* 1394; νά πέψετε *ibid.* 1444
 ν' ἀκούσετε ὅσοι ἐπάθετε *Katal.* 598
 νά γρωνίσετε τὸ πρᾶμαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.12–13; τὸ χειρότερον τὸ νά μπορήσετε
ibid. 282.2
 νά σπουδάξετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45)
 μὴν τὰ ἀφήσετε (1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 250.62–3)
 νά τοῦ δώκετε (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.9); νά ζητήξετε (*ibid.* 262.11)
 νά φύγετε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 3.7; μὴν λογιᾶσετε *ibid.* 5.17; νά τὸν ζητήσετε *ibid.*
 6.8
 ἀνίσως καὶ κινήσετε *Don Kis.* 45.29

Syncopated forms in -τε have been found in two Heptanesian (Zakynthian) verse texts. Accommodation of the metre may have played a role, but interestingly syncopated forms also appear in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian prose comedy *O Chasis*³⁵ and in the 19th-c. linguistic satire *Vavylonia*³⁶ (cf. the imperative plural, 4.5.2.1, for which syncopated forms are more common; for syncope see also I, 2.7.2): αὐτεῖνον γιὰ νά πιάστε *Alex. Rim.* 805; θέλετε νά μὲ ντροπιάστε *ibid.* 806; νά τήνε θανατώστε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 411; νά τὴν χῶστε *ibid.* 412.

³⁵ E.g. θ' ἀκούστε χαμπέρια Gouzelis, *O Chasis* I.28 (ed. Synodinos); χέρι νὰν τοῦ φιλήστε *ibid.* II.162; τὰ μαγαζιά νά κλείστε *ibid.* II.163 app. crit. (ABΓΔ).

³⁶ E.g. νά βράστε κουκιά Vyzantios, *Vavylonia* IV, scene 6; νά πλακώστε τίς ἀδελλές *ibid.* These words are uttered by the quack doctor, whose provenance is not mentioned; judging from his language with its many Italianisms he may well be a Heptanesian. In *Vavylonia* syncopated forms also appear in the dialogue of the Chiot inn-keeper: ἔ θὰ μὲ πλερώστεν *ibid.* III, scene 10; νά μὲ πλερώστενε *ibid.*

The two verbs that have alternative perfective vowel stems, ὑπά(γ)ω (πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-), have "contracted" rather than "uncontracted" forms for 2 pl., for which see 2.2.2.3.

Addition of final /n/ and of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3 and I, 3.7.2.1) has been found in 17th-c. texts linked to certain Aegean islands (Chios, Syros):

σάν φᾶτεν τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 49; νὰ ζήσετεν αἰώνια *ibid.* 51

θὲ γροικῆσετεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 133

δπου κι ἂν πᾶτεν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 251

ἂν μὲ θελήσετεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 445; νὰ μάθετεν καὶ τ' ὄνομα *ibid.* 3072

νὰ λείψετεν καὶ νὰ ἀφήσετεν τέτοιο κρίμα (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8); νὰ κάμετεν τέλειαν καὶ σωστήν μετάνοιαν καὶ νὰ δώσετεν ἄλλο τόσο καλὸ ἐξόμπλι (*ibid.* 13.29–30)

νὰ μὲ ἀγκιουτάρετεν (1657, Ancona, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 8, 111.4) (< Ven. *agiutàr*); θέλει τὰ στελετεν (*ibid.* 111.9); μὴν τὸ πέμψετεν (1666, Rome, *ibid.* 11, 115.2) (both authors from Chios)

Pl.	2	-ητε
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The residual subjunctive ending -ητε is used in various, mainly literary, texts with the aorist subjunctive, though usually as isolated instances alongside forms in -ετε, which are more frequent (see above). In texts that display mid-vowel raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] elsewhere (e.g. *Diig. Alex. K*) it may be suspected that the unstressed /i/ in the ending is phonetic rather than morphological (cf. the present subjunctive, 4.1; for mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] see I, 2.5.4):

ζώην μὴ προτιμήσητε *Dig.* G I.76; εἰ τοῦτο οὐ ποιήσητε *ibid.* I.81

τυχαίνει διὰ νὰ δειξήτε *Pol. Tr.* 4969 app. crit. (V)

ν' ἀκούσητε πολλάκις *Diig. tetr.* 411 app. crit. (VCA)

ν' ἀκούσητε τὸν λόγον *Velth.* 23 (Cupane)

ὅταν ἀκούσητε τὰς φωνὰς *Achil.* L 178

καὶ μὴ νομίσητε *Achil.* N 1116

νὰ μᾶς δώσητε τὸ κάστρον *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 44.13

νὰ μὲ βοηθήσητε *Diig. Alex.* E 203.7 (Konstantinopulos)

νὰ ποιήσητε κάλλιον ἀνδραγαθίαν *Diig. Alex. K* 352.20 (hapax)

νὰ ὑπομείνητε τοὺς βασανισμοὺς *Vios Aisop.* K 190.3–4

ὅταν ἀκούσητε πολέμους *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 13.7

μὴν καταφρονέσητε τοῦτον τὸν θεόν *Vios Aisop.* D 243.14

νὰ μοῦ τὰ στείλητε (1687, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 6, 223.2)

3rd Person Plural

PL	3	-ουσι(v) ἢ -ουσινε
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The inherited ending -ουσι(v) is used throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, in texts from all areas:

εἰ τολήσουσι (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 6, 518.8)
καὶ τζαλαπατήσουσιν τοὺς *Vulgärorakel* VI.18

θέλουν ἀρματώσουσι *Chron. Mor.* H 368; εἰ τε κι οὐδὲν τὸ ποιήσουσιν *ibid.* 2639

συμπάθειον διὰ νὰ κάμουνσι *Pol. Tr.* 11656

νὰ ἐβγάνουνσι τὸ τετάρτι τῆς γῆς (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 3, 150.7)

νὰ λείψουνσι παντελῶς (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.46)

νὰ πέψουνσι BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 70

μηδὲ χέρια νὰ τὰ πιάσουνσι DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 9, 11r.21 (1561)

νὰ μᾶς δείξουνσι (1578, Cyprus, TSELIKAS 1977: 1, 253.17)

νὰ διώξουνσι τὸν Μιχαήλ STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 789 (Pidonia)

νὰ ἀφήκουνσι MAX. PELOPON., *Kata Ioud.* 330.2

νὰ μᾶσε κόψουνσι (1659, Hydra, KARATHANASIS 1972/73: 241.2)

νὰ τὸ ρεκουπεράρουνσι (1661, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 10, 106.125–6) (< Ven. *recuperàr*)

νὰ φορτώσουνσι σιτάρι (1671, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 3, 578.8–10)

ποῦ θὲν τὴν ἀγκαλιάσουνσι KONDAR., *Paidēs* 57

νὰ τὸ ἐπάρουνσι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.13

Third person plural forms of the alternative vowel stems of ὑπά(γ)ω (πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-) usually undergo vowel deletion.³⁷ See 2.2.2.3 for details.

The ending -ουσινε, -ουσι(v) with addition of -(v)ε (-ᾶσινε in the case of πᾶω and φᾶω, for which see also 2.2.2.3) has been found in Cretan texts of the late 16th and 17th centuries, as well as in a document from Mykonos, but is likely to have been in use in other areas as well (Heptanese, Peloponnese, certain other Aegean islands). Added second accents are usually editorial and quite unnecessary, since the vernacular permits the stress to fall on the syllable before the antepenultimate (see I, 4.2.3 for details):

ν' ἀλλάξουσινε τὴ χάρα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.145

νὰ πᾶσινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 232.5

ἂν τὰ δώσουνε (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 3, 5.20)

νὰ τὰ μολογήσουνε (1662, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 2, 413.17)

νὰ τὸ φᾶσινε (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.22)

νὰ ρίξουσινε τ' ἄρμενα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 336.18; νὰ στελουνε καὶ λαὸ *ibid.* 469.12

Pl.	3	-ουν ἢ -ου ἢ -ουνε ἢ -ον
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For a discussion of the ending -ουν see 4.1.1.1. This ending can be found with the aorist subjunctive in texts throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ἔαν καλῶς ἐκπληρώσουν (1059, Tayk province?, LEMERLE 1977: 25.171)

ἵνα οἱ μοναχοὶ ὑποδείξουν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 98.11)

νὰ εὐτιάσουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.49); καὶ ἄς ἐπάρουν τὰ βιβλία (*ibid.* 82.60)

μήπως χαώσουν καὶ αὐτόν (1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 289.14)

καὶ πρὶν ... δώσουν σε τὸ ὠγὶ *Ptoch.* IV 477

διὰ ν' ἀπαντήσουν *Chron. Mor.* H 4916

νὰ μὲ τὴν ἀφαρπάξουν *Dig.* E 1737

νὰ τὸν βουττήσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 72.9; μηδὲν πέψουν καὶ κολακέψουν τοὺς λαῖς *ibid.* 470.12

³⁷ One uncontracted form in *Voskopoula*, νὰ φάουσι τ' ἄρνι μου *Vosk.* 328, is the result of editorial intervention (φάγωσι app. crit.).

- νά ηκούσουν την άνωθεν διαφοράν (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 59, 65.8)
 άν άπεθάνουν τά παιδιά της (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.15)
 νά δώκουν (1549, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 51, 93.5)
 νά τόν στήσουν μπροστά εις τόν θεόν DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 4, 82v.14 (1561)
 δσα τό φάγουν, μεθύουσιν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 245.22
 νά μείνουν μονάχοι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.21–2
 νά μήν τό ήμπαρκάρουν *Leilasia Par.* 434

Deletion of final /n/, resulting in -ou, is a common morphophonological phenomenon in southern regions, the Heptanese and the Aegean, not restricted to verb endings (for details, see I, 3.7.2.2):

- νά μου την στρέψου *Pol. Tr.* 1512 app. crit. (B)
 νά τόν φουρκίσου, ου νά τόν κάψου *Assizes B* 446.16
 νά κάμου δύο κλιζιόλες (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 148.39)
 νά ποίσου στάβλους έκκλησιές *Anak. Konst.* 63
 ώσαν έργοικήσου (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.6); νά τόν φουρκίσου (1487, *ibid.* 17, 92.15)
 νά κηδεύσου τό πήλινό μου σώμα (1506, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: 1 [A], 223.11)
 νά ποιήσου *Diig. Alex. F* 192.5 (Lolos); θέλουν άρχιρίσου νά φεύγουν *ibid.* 246.11
 νά γερέψου νά πάρου τά χωράφια (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 10, 133.9)
 νά πουλήσου τώ Ραχιδιώ τό πρᾶμα νά πάρου τό άμπέλι (1573 [copy of 1650], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.22–3)
 νά την έταφιάσου (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 172, 141.28) (< ένταφιάζω)
 εις τά δσαν έχουν νά λάβου και νά περιλάβου (1636, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1993: 2, 291.10)
 νάν τά κάνου ώς θέλου και βούλονται (1644, Lefkada, RONDOYANNIS 2005: 2, 441.16)
 θέλουν άπογράφου έκατό τό δνομάν τως (1647, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 16, 88.17)
 νά τοῦ στιμάρου οί προεστοί (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [7], 25.16) (< Ven. *stimār*)
 νά έβγάλου (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.18)

Forms with an added -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3), resulting in -ouνε, are first encountered in the 14th c., with two instances in *Chron. Mor. H*. The ending -ouνε can be found in a variety of texts, both literary and non-literary, though especially frequently in texts from south-western regions and the Aegean:³⁸

- και φυλακέσουνέ τον *Chron. Mor. H* 4292; και πιάσουνέ μας *ibid.* 8312
 ὅς κρατήσουνε *Liv. E* 1616
 εἴτε και ζήσουνε (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 265.34)
 τί νά ποιήσουνε *Diig. Alex. F* 170.3 (Lolos)
 νά μέ μνημονεύσουνε (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.10)
 νά μή μέ γελάσουν ... και φέρουνε μας ψεύτικη γραφήν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.34)
 νά τά μαζώζουνε (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 14.36)

³⁸ Two examples in the Cypriot *Assizes*, διὰ νά ποίσουνε *Assizes A* 3.8 and νά τοῦς πλερώσουνε έπεσαῦτα *ibid.* 71.9, can be discarded as misreadings. In the first example the editor mistook the raised ligature for -ας in πάντας at the end of the line immediately below for an epsilon and the second example actually reads νά τοῦς πλερώσουν έπεσαῦτα.

- ὅσοι ήξεύρουνε νά γράψουνε (1587 [late 17th–early 18th c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 484.6)
 ὅτι νά στέρξουνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.6; δέν ήθελαν νά σμίξουνε *ibid.* 31.15
 δέν μπορούνε νάν τόνε καταλάβουνε (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.33)
 νά ντεσπενσάρουνε τό στάμπτελε (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 198.136) (< Ven. *despensār*)
 νά τό ξετιμώσουνε (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 105, 105.10)
 γιά νά τές άγαπήσουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 177
 μήν σου κάμουνε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.8)
 νά μιλήσουνε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.24)
 νά μέ ύπερετήσουνε (1682, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 8, 184.8)
 πού νά σέ κατακάψουνε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.8–9; θά τά μεράσουνε *ibid.* 42.21

A spelling -ον for -ουν may occur in varieties of the language that are prone to vowel raising (cf. δεύτιρου for δεύτερο; see I, 2.5.4), and must be viewed as a form of hyper-correction: νά βάλον δεύτιρου κουμέρκι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 73.11).

In 3 pl. forms formed from the alternative perfective vowel stems of ύπά(γ)ω (πα-) and τρώ(γ)ω (φα-) vowel deletion usually occurs (see 2.2.2.3 for details), although forms without it can sporadically be found:³⁹ νά πᾶουν έως τόν ρήγα (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 2, 282.7) (< πᾶγουν).

Pl.	3	-ωσι(v)/-οσι(v)
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The residual subjunctive ending -ωσι(v) can be found in various texts, though usually as isolated instances alongside forms in -ουσι or -ουν, which are more frequent (see above). Only texts and documents that aim for a higher register use this ending with any systematicity. The (unhistorical) spelling -οσι(v) for -ωσι(v) is usually adopted in monotonic editions.

- ἵνα ποιήσωσι (1117, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 3, 512.13)
 πρίν σέ καταδεσμήσωσι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 537
 τό πότε νά μέ κράξωσι νά φάγω προσεδόκουν *Ptoch. I* 263
 ὅπως νά καταλάβωσιν *Chron. Mor. H* 7853
 ὅς φθάσωσιν *Liv. V* 17
 νά μηδέν χολιάσωσι και καταλύσωσί σε *Pol. Tr.* 557
 (ἵνα ...) πουντελειάσωσιν κατά τό έθος τῶν πολεμούντων KANANOS, *Diig.* 59.143–4
 νά τό φυλάξωσι τελείως (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20)
 (μήπως ...) και τά έμά πρόσκαιρα άγαθά άδιόρθωτα μείνωσιν (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.3–4)
 όταν τύχοσι και τον εύροσι, τότε ζητοῦσι να φύγωσιν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 112.11
 νά τά ρουφήσωσιν *Pist. kekoim.* 6
 οι αμαθείς να τα καταλάβωσι DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.5
 ὅσο που να φοφήσωσιν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1892; έχουν καταντήσωσιν *ibid.* 8708
 θε νά μοιράσωσιν (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 303.46)
 έγδέχοντα νά άκούσωσι *Leilasia Par.* 160

³⁹ Often such uncontracted forms are graphematic, as becomes clear from the following example from the *Chronicle of Morea*, in which νά ύπάουν should be read as two syllables: είπαν κ' έσυμβουλευτήσαν νά ύπάουν κι αύτοί στην Πόλιν *Chron. Mor. H* 519.

4.2.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	γραφῶ		
	2	γραφτεῖς/γραφτῆς		
	3	γραφτεῖ/γραφτῇ	γραφτεῖν/γραφτῆν	
Pl.	1	γραφτοῦμε(ν)	γραφθῶμε(ν) γραφτούμενε γραφτοῦμι(ν)	
	2	γραφτεῖτε/γραφτῆτε	γραφτεῖτεν/-ῆτεν γραφτεῖτενε	
	3	γραφτοῦσι(ν) γραφτοῦν	γραφτούσινε γραφτοῦ γραφτοῦνε	γραφθῶσι(ν)

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ῶ
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For 1 sg. -ῶ is the only ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

νὰ λουθῶ *Ptoch.* IV 154
οὐ μὴ μαχεσθῶ αὐτὰ ποτέ (app. crit.) (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.34)
ὥσαν ὀρίσει καὶ πληρωθῶ ἱερὲς (1357–60, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 237, 364.3)
ἐὰν σοῦ ταχτῶ *Assizes* B 409.24
καὶ θέλω νὰ διατακτῶ *Achil.* L 233
νὰ κρυβηθῶ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1255
νὰ καλογερευτῶ *CHEILAS, Chron.* 352.8–9
νὰ κοιμηθῶ ἐθυμήθην *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 3
νὰ κρυπτῶ *Syndipas* 110.24
ὅταν ευρεθῶ ἐξω *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 2.7
νὰ σιχαθῶ *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 249
πιάσ' με, νὰ ζήσης, νὰ γερθῶ! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.513
νὰ ξεῖντριγαριστῶ (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.7) (< ξε- + Ven. *intrigār*)
ἀφόντις τήνε στεφανωθῶ *Bertoldos* 60.26
νὰ μὴ θαπτῶ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 928

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-εῖς/-ῆς
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The 2 sg. ending /'is/ shows no variation other than in spelling throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods:

μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸ σύνολον *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 536
ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ ὑποσχεθῆς *Spaneas* P 184
οὐδὲ νὰ τοὺς τακτῆς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 21.124)
σὺ μὲν μεγάλως τιμηθῆς *Ptoch.* III 75
νὰ δοξασθῆς *Dig.* E 750; νὰ στερηθῆς τὴν νεότην σου *ibid.* 861
τούτην νὰ ἀλειφθῆς *Pol. Tr.* 540; μὴδὲν σκιασθῆς *ibid.* 559
νὰ συγχωρεθῆς *Velth.* 555 (Cupane); νὰ πνιγῆς *ibid.* 639
καὶ δὲ νὰ 'φεληθῆς *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 642.31–2
γὰ νὰ χαρεῖς δουμάκι *KORONAIOS, Pittakin* 122
καὶ γὰ νὰ μὲν τὸ βαρεθῆς *Theseid* Prol. E 148
νὰ ἀποδεκτεῖς *MOREZINOS, Klini* 278.38
ἂν θυμηθῆς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1210
νὰ τὲς δεχθεῖς *Bertoldos* 66.30
ἔχεις νὰ κολαστῆς βέβαια *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §9.36
θέλεις πληρωθῆς (1685, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 31, 113.22–3)
θέλεις ἐπιμεληθῆς περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου (1699, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 8, 64.20)

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-εῖ/-ῆ ἢ -εῖν/-ῆν
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For 3 sg. the standard ending is stressed /i/:

ἂν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 128; κουκκῖν–κουκκῖν ἂν σωρευθῇ *ibid.* 183
νὰ κρυβηθῇ ἐγύρευσεν *Poulol.* 319
νὰ 'κανωθῇ *Assizes* A 160.6
δὲ δύναται νὰ βουθηθῇ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 190
καὶ εἶπεν του νὰ βλεπηθῇ *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 46.11
νὰ ρεβεζιαστῇ *Fior* 94.10–11 (< Occit. *revengear se*)
ἀφόντις στοιβαχτῇ ἢ πόλβερη (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.38); νὰ βραχῇ
(*ibid.* 66.1)
δ,τι τὼς φανῇ (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26)
διὰ νὰ μὴν καγεῖ ἡ γῆς *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 133.13
ἂν αὐξυνθῇ (1653–5, Venice, FONKID 2000: 240, f.1v.22)
ἀπ' δ,τι σπαρθῇ (1660, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 29, 176.29)
νὰ τελειωθῇ λόγος τῆς βασιλειᾶς σου *KONDAR., Paidēs* 169
ἂν εὐρεθῇ *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 45
νὰ ἐλευτερωθῇ (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.7)
νὰ ἐξαλειφθῇ *Don Kis.* 45.1

Addition of final /n/ occurs occasionally in texts from various areas:

μέλλει νὰ δουλωθεῖν εἰς ἐμὲν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 272.9–10)
καὶ ἂν ἐνὶ ὅτι τὸ μοναστήριον οὐδὲν τὴν δεκτεῖν *Assizes* A 124.2

ἡ κόρη νὰ ἀρμαστῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 8.36–7
νὰ βάλθῃν ἡ καινούρια καμπάνα (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.19)

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-οὔμε(v) ! -οὔμενε ! -οὔμι(v)
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The ending -οὔμε(v) is the normal ending for 1 pl. throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ὡς ἀγωνιστοῦμεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 316.19
μὴ ἀναπαγοῦμεν *Dig.* E 884; ὡς θαρραυθοῦμεν *Dig.* E 1382
πρὶν πνιγοῦμεν δὸς τὸν ναῦλον *Paroim.* H 36
να μὴν πνιγοῦμεν ὅλοι μας *Apoll.* Rim. A 920; α θες να μὴν χαθούμε *ibid.* 923
νὰ χωριστοῦμεν *Diig. Alex.* E 184.17 (Konstantinopulos)
νὰ θυμηθοῦμεν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 96
νὰ διαλεκτοῦμ' ἀντάμα *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Voen.* 141
πρῶτον να νιπτοῦμεν *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.4
εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄφνου ἀρπακτοῦμεν ἀτελείωτοι *Pist. kekoim.* 475
δτι νὰ κάμνωμεν καλὰ νὰ σωθοῦμεν (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.10–11)
νὰ λογαριαστοῦμεν (1613, Naxos, CHASIoTIS 1966: 15, 206.7)
νὰ βάλθοῦμεν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 12.5)
θέλει πειραχθοῦμεν (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 245.3)
ὥστε ποὺ συμμαζωχτοῦμε (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 8, 331.12)
διὰ νὰ σὲ δεχθοῦμεν *Alex. Fyll.* 90.20
αν κυβερνηθοῦμεν καλὰ *Don Kis.* 177.2

Forms in -οὔμενε have been found in texts from Crete and Chios but are likely to have had a wider geographical distribution (for addition of -(v)ε see I, 2.6.3.3): ἔλα νὰ παντρευτοῦμεν *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.594; μηδὲ χαθούμενε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 544.2; γιὰ νὰ μὴν στερευτοῦμενε τὴν ἀκριβὴ μας κόρη *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 760.

Forms in which /i/ is substituted for /e/ bear witness to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): νὰ μὴ ζημιωθοῦμι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 73.10).

Pl.	1	-ῶμε(v)
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The residual ending -ῶμε(v) can be found occasionally, especially in early and mixed-register texts:

ἀλλὰ σφαγῶμεν ἅπαντες *Dig.* G I.261 (same in A 481 and T 46); ἵνα μὴ χωρισθῶμεν *ibid.* VIII.112
δταν τὰ τρία δώσωμεν καὶ πάντες συναχθῶμεν *Ptoch.* IV 166
μὴ σταθῶμεν ἀμφοτέρω *Dig.* E 1778
μήπως ... ζημιωθῶμεν *Pol. Tr.* 840 app. crit. (BV)
ὡς στραφῶμεν *Velth.* 155
μὴ τώρα φονευθῶμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 570
εὐφρανθῶμεν πάντες *Spanos D* 1321
ἐξότου ἀναστῶμεν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2942

νὰ χωρισθῶμεν *Diig. Alex.* E 185.13 (Konstantinopulos)
νὰ διαλεχθῶμεν μετὰ τοῦ Αἰσώπου *Vios Aisop.* K 173.27
ὅπως συνευφρανθῶμεν *LANDOS, Geopon. Dedic.* 128.21
ἐὰν παραδοθῶμεν *Alex. Fyll.* 45.5

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-εἴτε/-ῆτε ! -εἴτεν/-ῆτεν ! (-εἴτενε/-ῆτενε)
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For 2 pl. the standard ending is /'ite/:

καὶ νὰ τὸ θαυμαστῇτε *Pol. Tr.* 7138
μηδὲν πλανηθῇτε εἰς τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15)
πᾶτε νὰ γλυτωθῇτε *Anak. Konst.* 34
κι εἰσμιὸ ν' ἀγαπηθῇτε *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 298
ὁποῦ νὰ χαθῇτε *Diig. Alex.* F 184.19 (Konstantinopulos)
μὴ λάχη ... καὶ κατασκοτωθῇτε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.438
να ελεγχθεῖτε *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 127.26
νὰ ἐπιμεληθεῖτε (1693, Nauplion, TSELENDI 1978: 5, 241.11)
να ετοιμασεῖτε ἀφ' εαυτοῦ σας *Don Kis.* 49.37–50.1

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a text from Chios; no forms in -εἴτενε have been found in the texts examined, but they are likely to have been in use, as the addition can be found with similar endings (cf. e.g. 4.2.3; see also I, 2.6.3.3): νὰ θαυμαχθῇτεν πάμπολλα *VEST., Prolog. Theot.* 392.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οὔσι(v) ! -οὔσινε
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The inherited ending -οὔσι(v), with or without final /n/, is very common and occurs in texts from all areas:

δ,τι δ' ἂν βουλευθοῦσιν (1234, Sicily, CARUSO 1976: 1, 323.16)
νὰ χωριστοῦσι *Assizes B* 364.29
νὰ τοὺς ἀποδεχθοῦσιν *Diig. tetr.* 47
νὰ τὴν περιχαροῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280 app. crit. (AV); νὰ κοιμηθοῦσιν *ibid.* 432 app. crit. (ABV)
πὰ ν' ἀναπαγοῦσι *Imb. Rim.* 565
δταν πωληθοῦσιν (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 230, 163.9)
νὰ ζαμηναριστοῦσι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.50) (< Ven. *esaminàr*)
νὰ χαλαστοῦσιν (1609, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 8, 3.9)
ἀνίσως καὶ οἱ συμπεθέροι μας ἀνακατωθοῦσι (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 316.75)
ὡς ξεκαθαριστοῦσιν (1613, Naxos, CHASIoTIS 1966: 15, 206.14)
νὰ μὴν χαλαστοῦσι (1654, Chios, ZERLENDIS 1917: 3, 244.20)
νὰ δικαιολογηθοῦσι (1668, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 12, 27.14)
νὰ στερκτοῦσι νὰ πᾶσι (1671, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 20, 91.17)
ἄχ, καὶ ὡς εἶχας πνιγοῦσι *Paidi stavr.* 4
νὰ σκιακτοῦσι *Leilasia Par.* 272

Addition of *-(v)ε* has been found in texts from Crete, but will have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.3):

- νά ἀποδεκτούσιν τὸν ἄρχοντα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 45.36–7
 (μὴ πὰ νὰ λάχη ...) καὶ καταξηλωθούσιν CHORTATSI, *Katz* V.143; καὶ ὅσες φορές
 στραφούσιν id., *Panor.* I.455; νὰ σκοτωθούσιν id., *Erof. Interm.* II.148
 καὶ ὅσοι ἀπ' αὐτὸ χαθούσιν *Stathis* Prol. 19
 ὅσοι καὶ ἂ γεννηθούσιν *P&N Diath.* 965
 διὰ ὅσο πούληθούσιν (1607, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 3, 5.21–2)
 νὰ ψυγούσιν TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.562
 ν' ἀναπαγούσιν FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.651
 νὰ γιαγερθούσιν (1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 6, 416.20–1)
 νὰ σταθούσιν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 153.10; νὰ μὴδὲν κουραστούσιν ibid. 265.7; νὰ
 συμβουλευτούσιν ibid. 513.20; τὴ χώρα ν' ἀρνηθούσιν ibid. 546.4

Pl.	3	-οῦν -οῦ -οῦνε
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The ending *-οῦν*, which with the active present of oxytone E-stem verbs first appears in written texts shortly before the beginning of the LMedG period (see 4.1.2.1) and which is now the SMG ending, is used with the passive subjunctive throughout the period covered by this Grammar:

- ἀφοῦ δὲ ἐκ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐγερθούν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ NIKON, *Logos* 1 100.31
 νὰ δοθούν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.38); ἂν χρειαστούν καὶ ἄλλα (ibid. 81.40)
 νὰ γομωστοῦν *Dig.* E 637
 νὰ σπαρτοῦν *Assizes* B 407.26
 νὰ μαδευθούν, νὰ συναχθούν *Diig. tetr.* 94
 νὰ δοθούν ὑπέρπυρα δεκαέξι (1436, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1960/61: 2, 146.3)
 δποθεν εὔρεθούν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.24)
 νὰ ξηλειθούν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 14.6; ν' ἀννοικτοῦν οἱ στράτες ibid. 200.8
 νὰ μαδευτοῦν LIMEN., *Velis.* (A) 518; νὰ ποδεχθούν ibid. 655
 νὰ δοθούν δουκάτα δύο (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.22)
 νὰ κλειστοῦν τὰ πηγὰδια (1563, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 238, 233.35)
 γὰρ δὲν τς ἀφήνει νὰ χαθούν CHORTATSI, *Katz* III.427
 νὰ δαρθούν ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 132.A.60
 νὰ παραδοθούν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.13
 γὰρ νὰ μὴν ντροπιαστοῦν KONDAK., *Paidas* 98
 καὶ δὲν εἶχαν σκλαβωθούν *Paidi stavr.* 3
 δὲν πρέπει νὰ καγούν *Don Kis.* 36.9; νὰ κτυπηθούν ibid. 52.8

Deletion of final */n/* has been found in texts from Crete and the Aegean, and in the Cypriot chronicle of Voustronios (end of sentence; see 3.7.2.2 for details):

- θέλου ἀνακατωθού οἱ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7)
 ἀρχέψαν ν' ἀνακατωθού VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.11
 νὰ φανοῦ ἐμπροσθεν (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 162.90)
 ἂν μπατρευτοῦ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 423, 643.27)

Addition of *-(v)ε* occurs in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean (see also I, 3.7.2.2):

- μ' ἐσένα νὰ χαροῦνε *Alex. Rim.* 2734
 νὰ ἐξετασθούνε (1607, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 37, 251.8)

- νὰ ἐλετζερστοῦνε (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.10–11) (= ἐλετζερστοῦνε < Ital. *eleggiere*)
 νὰ γκρεμιστοῦνε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 412
 νὰ ξεκαθαριστοῦνε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.8–9)
 μποροῦνε νὰ μπαρκαριστοῦνε (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.63) (< Ital. *imbarcarsi*);
 θέλει ἄρριβαριστοῦνε ὁμπροστά (ibid. 508.63) (< Ital. *arrivare*) (author from Mani)

Pl.	3	-ῶσι(ν)
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The residual 3 pl. subjunctive ending *-ῶσι(ν)* is sometimes used, but mainly in mixed-register texts:

- ὅς περισυναχθῶσιν *Liv.* V 17
 νὰ τὴν περιχαρῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280; νὰ κοιμηθῶσιν ibid. 432
 ὅς δοθῶσιν πρὸς ἐκείνους ERMON., *Ilias* 12.158
 διὰ νὰ βοηθηθῶσι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.4); νὰ μὴδὲν μεταβληθῶσιν
 (ibid. 285.20–1)
 ἵνα χωρισθῶσιν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.11)
 διὰ νὰ μὴ μιανθῶσιν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 363.27
 ἔαν κυβερνηθῶσιν ὡς πρέπει SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 98.12–13
 νὰ δαρθῶσι ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 132.A.60
 ἵνα καὶ οἱ χριστιανοὶ σωθῶσι *Vios Ioann. Eleim.* 266.43–4
 παρὰ νὰ φανισθῶσιν ἐναντίοι MAKOLAS, *Ioust.* 424.29

4.2.3 Verbs with Barytone and Oxytone Forms

As mentioned in the introduction to 4.2, a small number of verbs have both barytone and oxytone subjunctive forms for the active voice. This group of verbs includes certain verbs that originally had thematic aorists and prefixed forms of βαίνω, as well as the verb γίνομαι, which originally had aorist middle forms (γένωμαι), for which see also 2.4.

Verbs that had thematic aorists, among which ἦλθον (ἐρχομαι), ἤρην (εὐρίσκω), εἶπον (λέγω), ἔμαθον (μανθάνω/μαθαίνω), εἶδον (ὁράω/βλέπω), ἔπιον (πίνω) and ἔφαγον (τρώγω), originally had paroxytone subjunctive forms, which made use of the endings of the first aorist since Antiquity (e.g. ἔλθω, εὐρω, εἶπω, μάθω, ἴδω, πῖω, φάγω), and they continue to do so throughout the period under review. Some of these verbs developed oxytone variants (ἐλθῶ, εὐρῶ, εἰπῶ, μαθῶ, ἰδῶ, πῖῶ) before the period under review.⁴⁰ The verbs βλέπω, ἐρχομαι, εὐρίσκω, λέγω and πίνω continue to have both variants throughout the period covered by this Grammar; cf. the infinitive of these verbs, which also has

⁴⁰ Oxytone forms can for instance be found in papyri, e.g. ἐλθῶ in *PLips.* 110.16–18 (probably 3rd/4th c.) and in *PAmh.* 144.13 (5th c.), both quoted in GIGNAC 1981: 289; and in other early texts, e.g. ἵνα μαθῆς *Acta Alexandrinorum* 18. col.2.12 (2nd/3rd c.; ed. Musurillo); in John Chrysostom we find ἵνα μαθῆς ὑπομονὴν *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* 8, 7.9 (4th/5th c.; ed. Malingrey); ἔαν ἐπελθὼν ὁ θάνατος λαβῇ id., *In Genesim* PG 54, 629A; in Romanos the Melode (6th c.), *Ἐτι ἀπᾶς ἂν εἰπῶ, μὴ ὀργισθῆς μοι Romanos, Hymns* 19.11.3; ἵν' ἰδῶσι ibid. 27.13.7; ὡς γὰρ ... εὐρῇ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ibid. 54.13.1 (ed. Grosdidier de Matons); and in Photios (9th c.) citing Iob Monachos, *Oikonomiki Pragmateia* (6th c.): «ἵνα δὲ ἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου» Photios, *Bibliotheca* cod. 222, 195b.10–11 (ed. Henry).

both paroxytone and oxytone variants (4.6.2.3), as well as the imperative, which, however, shows a marked preference for the oxytone forms (4.5.2.4). These oxytone subjunctive endings are identical to those of the present of oxytone E-stem verbs, and are also used for the passive subjunctive of the first aorist (see below).

Similarly, the verb γίνομαι, which also has a monosyllabic perfective stem (γεν- or γιν-), displays both stress patterns, though this may also be attributed to the fact that in the period covered by this Grammar this verb has active and passive variants for most of its perfective forms (inf. γένει(ν) and γενεῖ(ν); aor. ind. ἔγινα and ἐγένην/ἐγίνην/ἐγένηκα/ἐγίνηκα); for more information on this verb's rich morphology see 2.4.

Prefixed forms of βαίνω, which originally had oxytone subjunctive forms, developed alternative barytone forms (e.g. καταβαίνω, καταβῶ and κατάβω).⁴¹ These barytone forms often have a pseudo-augment (see the introduction to Chapter 3) which bears the stress, e.g. ἀνέβω, ἐξέβω,⁴² κατέβω, which is more or less obligatory when the prefix is συν- or ὑπερ-: we thus find συνέβει, but not *σύμβει, ὑπερέβω, but not *ὑπέρβω. The oxytone forms, too, may occur with (unstressed) pseudo-augment (ἀνεβῶ, ἐξεβῶ, κατεβῶ), though not when the prefix is συν- or ὑπερ-: συμβεῖ, not *συνεβεῖ, ὑπερβῶ not *ὑπερεβῶ.

Barytone forms of which the stem starts in a vowel (e.g. ἔβγω, εἶπω, ἔλθω/ἔρθω, ἔμπω, εὔρω, ἴδω) may lose their initial vowel after a word ending in a vowel with which they form a phonological unit (typically a conjunction, relative or clitic pronoun). The stress of the verb form then transfers to the last syllable of the preceding word, e.g. καθέζου ἐσὺ καὶ τό 'δης *Achil.* O 659 (see also I, 2.9.2 and 4.2.2). Oxytone forms, too, may lose their initial vowel, e.g. νὰ μὲ δοῦσιν *Dig.* E 1441; νὰ βγῆς ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *Peri xen.* 325; νὰ δῆτε [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 2218; νὰ 'ρθῇ (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.13). This leads to the development of monosyllabic singular and disyllabic plural forms in the EMG period, which can even appear after a word ending in a consonant, for all verbs but ἔρχομαι⁴³ (cf. the imperative and infinitive of these verbs 4.5.2.4, 4.6.2.3), e.g.:

εἵτιναν δὲ εἰς τὴν μάχην τοῦ πολέμου *Achil.* L 158; καὶ νὰ τὸν πῶ ἀκάρδιον *ibid.* 197
καὶ ἄς ποῦν τὸ δίκιον πασανὸς καὶ ἄς ποῦσι τὰ γρικήσου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 674
διὰ τινὰν μὲν πῆς κακόν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 466.1
γυρεῦει λόγια νὰ τοὺς πῇ *Fyll. gadar.* 44
να σας 'πὼ *Apoll. Rim.* N 1070
ας βγούσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.408
στὸ σπῆτι μέσα ἄς μποῦμε *Stathis III.* 572
καὶ κύμινον ὅσον βρῆτε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1116
ἄν πῆς *MONTSEL., Evgena* 397
ὡς δούμεν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4378
ἴσοι κι ἄ βγῆτε ζωντανοὶ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 316.17
νὰ μᾶς δοῦσιν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 2677

⁴¹ Early examples include: δεῦρο, ἀδελφέ, κατάβωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱορδάνην *Moschos, Leimon Suppl.* 370.3 (ed. Nissen 1938; 6th c.; 11th-c. ms); ὅτε κατάβῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς *De Ceremoniis* 477.19 (ed. Reiske; 10th c.; ms 10th c.).

⁴² When the prefix is ἐκ-, the pseudo-augment is often present: ἐξέβω not ἐκβω, though we do find ἔβγω and, of ἔμπαίνω, ἔμπω.

⁴³ The consonant clusters /lθ/ and /rθ/ in ἐλθῶ/ἐρθῶ cannot appear word-initially in Greek.

Barytone and oxytone forms appear side by side throughout the LMedG and EMG periods and are equally frequent for all verbs but βλέπω (ἴδω/(ἰ)δῶ) and λέγω (εἴπω/(εἰ)πῶ), for which oxytone forms are clearly more common. Barytone and oxytone forms can often be found side by side, especially in verse texts, for which the different stress patterns are particularly convenient – ἄς κατεβοῦν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, καὶ ἄς ἔμπουν οἱ χαμένοι *Def. Par.* 323 – but also in prose texts and in non-literary sources: εἶχε νὰ γένῃ *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 37.34 and ἴντα μέλλει νὰ γενῇ *ibid.* 38.15–16; ἔαν ἐρθοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν σκλαβιά (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.9–10) and εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρθουν (*ibid.* 227.11); ποῖος ἤθελεν νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ εἰπῇ (1653–5, Venice, FONKIS 2000: 239, f.1r.17).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	-ω -ῶ		
	2	-εις/-ης -εῖς/-ῆς		
	3	-ει/-η -εῖ/-ῆ	-ειν/-ην -εῖν/-ῆν	
Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν) -οὔμε(ν)		-ῶμε(ν)/-όμε(ν) -οουμε(ν)
	2	-ετε -εῖτε/-ῆτε	-ητε -ετέν -ετένε -εῖτεν/-ῆτεν -εῖτενε/-ῆτενε	
	3	-ουσι(ν) -οὔσι(ν) -ουν -οῦν	-ουσινε -οὔσινε -ου -ουνε -οῦ -οῦνε	-ωσι(ν)/-οσι(ν) -ῶσι(ν)

Singular

1st Person

Sg.	1	-ω
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Barytone forms in -ω appear throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas, though mostly in literary texts:

- καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα εἶπω NIKON, *Logos* 2 152.28; εἶτε γραφὴν ἂν εὖρω id., *Logos* 9 312.5
 νὰ ἀπέλω (1144?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.5)
 καὶ εἶπω ὅτι μάθε το γραμματικά νὰ ζήση *Ptoch.* III 110
 νὰ εἶπω σαρακηνικά RUMI, *Poem I* 2
 μὴ ἴδω τοῦτον ἄφωνον *Chron. Mor.* H 1853; τὰ οὐκ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶπω ibid. 5557
 νὰ ῥθω *Dig.* E 381
 μέλλει νὰ ἔλω (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.10)
 ὀλίγα λόγια καὶ καλὰ θέλω δι' αὐτοὺς νὰ εἶπω *Alosis* 70
 νὰ τοῦ εἶπω τὴν ἀλήθειαν SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 62 transcr. N (Lendari)
 ἐγὼ νὰ σὲ εἶπω *Achil.* N 312; καὶ ἂν οὐκ ἴδω σε σύντομαν ibid. 1105
 οὐκ ἴδω τὸν πατέρα μου [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 126
 ὅταν ἔλω νὰ τὸν πάρω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.11; μήνα εὖρω καλὸ ξύλο ibid. IV §15.33
 καὶ λέγει μου γὰ νὰ ῥθω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 348
 διὰ νὰ εἶπω καὶ τὰ ἐπιλοιπα *Diig. Sant.* 59.74-5
 τὴν πρώτην βαλανιδιάν οποῦ νὰ εὖρω *Don Kis.* 46.36-47.1
- ἄς διάβω *Vios Philaret.* 236 app. crit. (G) (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
 νὰ ἀνάβω εἰς τὸν ξενῶνα *Ptoch.* IV 442; ἄς διάβω ἀπὸ τὸν Φόρον ibid. 456
 παρὰ νὰ διάβω ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 8397
 νὰ μὴ ἔβγω *Pol. Tr.* 6881
 νὰ ἔμπω εἰς τὸ κάστρον *Liv.* V 1235
 μὴδὲ ἔμπω εἰς ἀγάπην *Achil.* L 642
 εἰς Ἄδην συγκατέβω *Velis.* 63
 νὰ ἐξεβῶ εἰς ἀναγύρευσιν *Imber.* 810
 ἄλλ' ἔμπω πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1632
 νὰ μὲν ἔβγω ἀππῶδε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 380.2-3
 δὲν μὲ ἄφηναν νὰ σέβω DAM. STOUDE., *This.*, *Logos* 27, Γ6ν.36 (1561); ὥσάν ἐξεβῶ ibid. Γ7r.11
 καὶ νὰ ῥγω δὲν ἐμπόρου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.167; κ' ἀνέβω ἀπάνω σπῖτι τση ibid. III.480;
 τ' ἄλλα, σὰν ἔμπω σπῖτι τοὺς ibid. V.446
 ἄς σέβω καὶ ἐγὼ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.50
 ἔαν κατέβω εἰς τὴν γῆν *Alex. Fyll.* 93.12
- ἐκκλησιαστικὸς διάκονος νὰ γένω *Ptoch.* III 219
 νὰ γένω *Liv.* V 274
 ἐγνώριμη νὰ γένω *Pol. Tr.* 334 app. crit. (BE)
 νὰ γένω βασιλέας *Chron. Mor.* P 956
 ἐπειδὴ μέλλω νὰ γένω φαγὶ σου ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 79.3
 μὲ ἔδιδαν μαρτύριον νὰ γένω Τούρκισσα (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.17)
 τι νὰ γίνω ο ἐπτωχὸς *Vios Filaret.* 239.36
 νὰ γίνω βασιλέας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 139.12-13
 νὰ μὴν γένω κεφίλης PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §30.7
 κ' ἐγ' ἀφορμὴ νὰ γίνω KONDAR., *Paides* 126
 ἀν γίνω ἐγὼ το ὄργανον τοιοῦτου μεγάλου κακοῦ *Don Kis.* 102.17

Sg.	1	-ω
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Oxytone forms in -ῶ are no less frequent than paroxytone forms throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. As noted in the introduction to this section, for the stems ἰδ- (βλέπω) and εἰπ- (λέγω) oxytone forms are more common than barytone forms, especially in the EMG period:

- νὰ εἰπῶ *Achil.* N 2; νὰ ἰδῶ τοὺς ἀντρειωμένους ibid. 257
 νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ τὸ τί ἴδα *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 1
 νὰ εἰπῶ (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.31)
 νὰ σᾶς τοὺς εἰπῶ *Vios. Aisop.* K 201.1
 νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ μὲ τὸ Χάροντα *Nov.* II 162.35
 νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.164
 λαλήσετε νὰ τὸν ἰδῶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 224
 νὰ ἰδῶ ἀστενημένον PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §7.2; νὰ σὲ τὸ εἰπῶ ibid. III §22.1
 καθ' ὑπόθεσιν νὰ εἰπῶ (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.16)
 δὲν ἠμπορῶ νὰ σε τα εἰπῶ *Don Kis.* 136.31
- καὶ ἄφες ἐμὲ νὰ κατεβῶ PARASPOND., *Machi Varnas* 353
 πριχοῦ ἐμπῶ στὸν τάφον LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 833
 εἰς ἀγκάλες νὰ σεβῶ *Achil.* N 1052
 δίχως σκάλες ν' ἀνεβῶ SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 21 transcr. P (Lendari)
 νὰ κατηβῶ ἐβιάσθην BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 53
 ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ οπου ἐβγήκα νὰ ἐμπῶ *Synax. gyn.* 376
 νὰ ἐξεβῶ *Diig. Alex.* F 148.18 (Lolos)
 δῶτε μου τόπο ν' ἀνεβῶ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.25; θα διαβῶ id., *Panor.* I.395
 καὶ πὰ διαβῶ KONDAR., *Paides* 15
- τὸ νὰ γενῶ τσαγγάρης *Ptoch.* III 145
 νὰ γενῶ βασιλέας *Chron. Mor.* H 956
 θέλω γενῶ ἐγνώριμη *Pol. Tr.* 334 app. crit. (A)
 περὶ νὰ γενῶ γυνὴ ἀλλουνοῦ ἀνδρός *Diig. Alex.* V 87.6
 γὰ νὰ μὴν γενῶ συγκελέτι (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.19)
 νὰ γενῶ *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 107
 κ' ἴντα νὰ γενῶ; *Zinon* II.97

Vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, but subsequently also after consonants (with the exception of ἰθῶ/ρῶ), resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδῶ > δῶ, εἰπῶ > πῶ, εὖρῶ > βρῶ, ἐβγῶ > βγῶ):

- ποῦ νὰ ἰθῶ *Pol. Tr.* 419 app. crit. (V)
 τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 46
 νὰ δῶ κι ἐγὼ παρηγορία LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 833
 μόνον νὰ δῶ τὴν κόρην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2569
 τί νὰ σοῦ πῶ, γογγυλοπίγουνε ὑγιέ BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.5
 ἄς δῶ ἴντα θέλει ὁ φαφλατᾶς *Stathis* I.182; ποιά νὰ τὴν πῶ ibid. *Interm.* II 82
 θε νὰ τὸ βρῶ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 71
 θὰ σᾶς-ε πῶ καὶ ἓνα κακὸ EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 48.1-2

- νὰ βγῶ νὰ περπατήσω *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 5
 δὲν θέλω νὰ μπῶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 380.3
 νὰ μπῶ στὸν φόβο τούτουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 424

2nd Person

Sg.	2	-εις/-ης
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Barytone forms in /is/ appear throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas:

- καὶ νὰ εὖρης τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ ρητοῦ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.4
 πουλὶν ἂν ἴδης, τρέμεις GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 148; καὶ πάλιν νὰ ἐπανέλθης *ibid.* 265
 εἶπὶ κακὸν ἂν εἶπης *Log. parig.* L 361 (ed. εἶποις)
 νὰ μὴ ἴδης τὴν Συρίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 454; ἂν οὐ τὸ εἶπης σύντομα *ibid.* 6053
 ἂν οὐδὲν ἔλθης τὸ γοργόν *Dig.* E 288; νὰ μὴ ἴδης *ibid.* 454
 νὰ εὖρης τὸ γυρεῦεις *Liv.* V 618; εἰς τὸ νὰ ἴδης ἄνθρωπον *ibid.* 1815; εἰς εἶπὶ εἶπης *ibid.* 2132
 νὰ εἴπῃς τὴν ἀλήθειαν *Diig. Apoll.* 69
 ὥσαν ἔλθεις με τὸν Θεόν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.39)
 εἰς τὸ κρεββάτιν μόνον νὰ ἔλθης *Diig. Alex.* E 99.7–8 (Lolos); ὅπου εὖρης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον *ibid.* 243.17
 νὰ ἔλθεις μοναχός σου DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 19, σ1v.19 (1561)
 νὰ σηκωθεῖς νὰ ἴθῃς (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.13)
 ἂν ἔρθῃς CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.111
 νὰ καταπίῃς *Bertoldos* 13.28
 μὴ εἶπῃς ἔτζι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §7.8; θέλεις νὰ πίῃς; *ibid.* II §7.31
 κ' εἶπα κ' ἐγὼ στὰ γηρατειὰ θεὸς ἔρθῃς νὰ μὲ πάρῃς *Alfan.* 11 8
 εἰ δὲ ἔρθῃς εἰς ἀχαμνωσύνην (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 223.34–5)
 νὰ ἔβγῃς κρυφῶς *Dig.* E 348
 ὅταν ἐμπῇς, πρόσεχε *Liv.* V 259
 νὰ ἔβγῃς *Flor.* L 1020
 ἂν ἐμπῇς εἰς ὑποταγὴν FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 151; ἦρθῃς νὰ διάβῃς *ibid.* 307
 κι ἐκεῖ σαν ἐμπῇς CHORTATIS, *Panor. Dedic.* 15
 ἀπὸ τὴν τάξιν σου νὰ μὴν ἔβγῃς (app. crit.) (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 224.4)
 νὰ ἔβγῃς ἔξω PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §7.59–60
 γὰ νὰ ἔβγῃ ἀπὸ τὴ χώρα τὸ δαιμόνιο EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 61.28
 τί κάμνει χρεῖα νὰ ἐμπῇς ... εἰς τέτοια καλαπαλίκια; *Don Kis.* 41.21–3
 νὰ γένῃς βασιλέας *Alosis* 113
 θέλεις νὰ γένῃς ἄνθρωπος τῆς Αὐλῆς; *Bertoldos* 10.1; νὰ γίνῃς ... αἰτία μεγάλης ἀταξίας *ibid.* 20.34–5
 νὰ γένῃς σακελλάριος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §27.26
 νὰ γένῃς πατέρας εἰς αὐτὸν (1695, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 1 [A], 251.21)

Sg.	2	-εἰς/-ῆς
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For most verbs, oxytone forms in /is/ are as frequent as paroxytone forms; however (εἰ)πεῖς and (ι)δεῖς are more common than their paroxytone counterparts (see above):

- πρὶν τὴν εὖρης, ἔχασες τὴν, πρὶν τὴν ἴδῃς, ὑπάγει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206
 νὰ τὴν ἴδῃς μετὰ Θεόν *Eisit.* f.1v.13
 νὰ μὲ τὸ εἰπῇς *Chron. Mor.* H 8216
 νὰ μὴδὲν πιῇς *Dig.* E 662; νὰ ἴδῃς κύρκαν τὸν φιλεῖς *ibid.* 960; μὴδὲν τὰ εἰπῇς *ibid.* 1240

- νὰ ἴδῃς τὸ ἐπιχείρημα *Liv.* V 1053; ἂν μὲ εἰπῇς τὰ ἔπαθες *ibid.* 2393
 ὅταν τὸν κριὸν ἴδῃς *Pol. Tr.* 555
 θέλεις νὰ ἴδῃς τὴν ἀλήθειαν; DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 5, ε1v.30 (1561); τὸν ἀράπην, δὲν
 δύνασαι νὰ τὸν εἰπῇς ἄσπρον ἢ μαῦρον *ibid.*, *Logos* 9, 08v.24–5 (1561)
 εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν σοῦ βολέσει νὰ ἔρθῃς (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.29)
 σηκώσου νὰ ἴδῃς *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 846
 νὰ ἴδῃς τὴν καλὴν μου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 337.24
 ἐντρέπουν νὰ τὸν ἴδῃς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §14.41; ποτέ σου νὰ μὴν εἰπῇς ἐνάντια *ibid.* II §11.80
 καὶ νὰ ἴδῃς τ' ἀποταχία πόσος ἀσβέστης ἔρχεται *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 91–2
 ἤλθῃς νὰ τὲς ἴδῃς *Don Kis.* 47.4

- μὴδὲν ἐβγῇς εἰς αὐτοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 1125
 μὴ μὲ ἀπεβγῇς *Liv.* S 3090 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 δὲν ἐντρέπῃς νὰ ξεβγῇς *Poulol.* 172 app. crit. (A)
 νὰ ἐξεβῇς ἔξω *Diig. Alex.* F 140.10 (Konstantinopulos)
 ποτέ σου νὰ μὴδὲν ἐβγῇς *Thysia Avr.* 1000

- ἴνα ... γενεῖς μοι πρόξενος ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 30 794.15–16 app. crit. (S)
 νὰ γενῇς ρήγαινα *Chron. Mor.* H 6073
 σγκαλά καὶ γενεῖς ὥσαν ασκοτύμπανος ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 26.9
 θέλεις γενεῖς καὶ καλλιώτερος *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.6
 γὰ νὰ γενῇς ἴντα; VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.33
 νὰ θὰ γενῇς πρᾶματευτῆς ΦΟΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Fort.* III.16
 ἤπρεπεν νὰ γενῇς σὰν ἐμᾶς *Irodis* II.344

Vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖς > δεῖς, εἰπεῖς > πεῖς, εὐρεῖς > βρεῖς, ἐβγεῖς > βγεῖς), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of λθεῖς/ρθεῖς):

- διὰ τινὰν μὲν πῆς κακὸν ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 466.1
 ἔξεύρεις νὰ μᾶς ᾤπῃς *Apoll. Rim.* 800
 ἂν θέλεις τώρα νὰ τὴν βρῇς ΑΧΕΛΙΣ, *Malt. Pol.* 1369
 δεῖς ἤθελες πῶς τ' ἀνοιγὰ CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.197
 μὴδὲν παινέσῃς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστε νὰ δῇς τὸ τέλος ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paidēs* 945
 ᾤσαν ᾤδῃς πρᾶγματευτάδες PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1471
 θεὸς νὰ ᾤθῃς (1683, Glarentsa, KONOMOS 1969e: 63.6)

- νὰμπῇς πολλὰ μετὰμελος *Liv.* S 615 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 νὰ βγῇς εἰς ἀναγυρευμὸν *Florios* 1027
 νὰ βγῇς ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *Peri xen.* 325

3rd Person

Sg.	3	-ει/-η ἢ -ειν/-ην
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Barytone forms in /i/ appear throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar in texts from all areas:

- νὰ ἀπέλθῃ *Chron. Mor.* H 1083
 ὥστε νὰ εἴπῃ "ἔχετε ὕγειαν" *Arm.* 29

τὸ νὰ τὸν ἴδῃ ὁ ἀμύρας *Dig. E 594*
 ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ σταχυῦτης *Vulgärorakel VI.11*
 καθάρια νὰ τὰ εἶπῃ *Achil. L 490 ms (ed. νὰ τὸ εἶπῃ)*
 νὰ ἴδῃ καὶ ὁ ἀφέντης μας *Chron. Toc. 1445*
 ὁπότεν εὐεργετήσῃ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔλθῃ (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.14)
 εἰ μὲν ... ἔλθῃ χρεῖα (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.23)
 νὰ ῥτῇ ομπρός του *VOUSTR., Chron. A 22.6-7*
 διὰ νὰ μὴν ἔλθῃ κακὸς γείτονας (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.44)
 μέλλει νὰ πῇ τὸ ποτήρι *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §31.214*
 θέλει νὰ τὸ ῥεῖ μέσα (1667, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [7], 25.24)
 μὴν ἔλθῃ ἀφινιδίως (1684, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1956: [2], 348.15)
 νὰ τὸν καταπῇ *Alex. Fyll. 93.11*
 τί τρόπον νὰ εὕρῃ *Don Kis. 124.24*; νὰ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ἐγλήγορα *ibid. 125.30-1*
 νὰ διάβῃ ἐκ τὸ φουσσᾶτο *Chron. Mor. H 3916*
 ὅταν ζυγῶνῃ πέρδικα καὶ ἔμπῃ *Dig. E 967*
 νὰ ἔβγῃ *Pol. Tr. 655*
 νὰ ἔμπῃ (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 85, 189.3)
 ὥστε νὰ διάβῃ μέσα *Achil. L 993*
 ἂν συνέβῃ τίποτας, τὸ φτασίμο θέλει εἴσσαι ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.8)
 γιὰ νὰ ῥγῇ ἡ βρύση τῆς ζωῆς *FALIEROS, Thrinos 376*
 οὐτὰ ῥγῇ *Theseid VI.33.5 (Olsen)*
 ἂν μοῦ συνέβῃ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 55.14)
 καὶ νὰ ὑπερέβῃ ὅλους τοὺς πρωτύτερούς του βασιλεῖς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 38.17-18*
 τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσαν νὰ ἔβγῃ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 8.34*; ἄς κατέβῃ τώρα *ibid. Mark. 15.32*
 ὅσο νᾶμπῃ νᾶβγῃ ἡ νύφη, ἦβγαν τοῦ γαμπροῦ τὰ μάτια *Paroim. (Warner) 92.6*
 πλοῖον νὰ διάβῃ ἀπεκεῖ *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 5164*
 εἰς καμῖνι | νὰ ἔμπῃ *KONDAR., Paidēs 29-30*
 καράβι νὰ ἔβγῃ ἀπὸ τὴν Βινιτιά (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 55.9) (= Βενετία, see I, 2.5.4)
 νὰ γένῃ καλοπαιδευτὸν *GLYKAS, Stichoi 275*
 νὰ γένῃ πρωτοστράτορας *Dig. G II.69*
 τί νὰ γένῃ *Pol. Tr. 8822*
 νὰ γένῃ μοῦρτος μοχθηρὸς *Alosis 951*
 (ἂν εἶναι καὶ ...) γένῃ καλογραῖα (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 159.19-20)
 βουλή νὰ γένῃ σύντομα *ZINOS, Vatr. 186*
 πᾶσα ὁποῦ νὰ γένῃ νέος καρδηνάλες (1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1)
 εἶχεν πάγῃ εἰς τὸ Κιαπὲ νὰ γένῃ χατζῆς *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §18.11*
 νὰ γένῃ δένδρον μεγάλο *LANDOS, Geopon. 151.27-8*
 νὰ γένῃ κανεῖς ἱερέας (1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 108.19-20)
 πριχοῦ νὰ γίνῃ ἡ ἀμαρτία *Don Kis. 123.30*

Addition of final /n/ may occasionally occur in texts from diverse areas (for more information see I, 3.7.2.1): ἂν εὐρην πρᾶξιν καὶ ὁρμὴν *Chron. Toc. 1131*; ἐὰν τύχῃ ὅτι ... ὁ ἄλλος οὐδὲν ἔλθῃν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν του *Assizes A 94.30-1*; φοβῶντας τὸν θάνατον μήπως κ' ἔλθῃν ὁ Χάρος (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.5-6).

Sg.	3	-εῖ/-ῃ -εῖν/-ῆν
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Oxytone forms in /i/ are used throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods for all verbs belonging to this category, and especially (ι)δεῖ and (εἰ)πεῖ are more common than their paroxytone counterparts (see above):

πάλιν νὰ ἔλθῃ γαλήνη *GLYKAS, Stichoi 314*
 νὰ σὲ ἴδῃ *Eisit. f.3r.13*
 νὰ εἰσελθῇ *Diig. sevast. Thom. 246*
 νὰ τὴν ἴδῃ *Assizes B 360.12*
 νὰ ἴδῃ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον *Pol. Tr. 578*
 ὡς ἵνα ἔλθῃ (14th-15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4)
 νὰ τὸν ἴδῃ *Chron. Toc. 869*
 ὁποῖος ἔλθῃ *Diig. Alex. F 236.18 (Lolos)*
 νὰ πῇ οἱ τοῦ διαβαίνει *Diig. Alex. K 377.6*
 νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν χριστιανικὴν πίστην (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.5)
 νὰ ἴδῃ τὰ ἄλογα (1591, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1949: 162.15-16)
 δὲν θέλω νὰ μ' ἴδῃ πιλιὸ *SOUUMAKIS, Past. Fid. D4r.5*
 καὶ ἂ δὲν ἐρτῇ *KATSAITIS, Thyest. V.437*
 νὰ ἴδῃ αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον *Don Kis. 52.15*; νὰ τοῦ εἰπῇ τὴν πίκραν του *ibid. 138.8*

καὶ διαβῇ ὁ ρεματισμὸς *GLYKAS, Stichoi 283*
 εἰ μὴ τι ἕτερον συμβῇ *Dig. G IV.660*
 νὰ ἔβγῃ (1355, Palatia (Militos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.12)
 ἐὰν συμβῇ ὑπόθεσις *Chron. Mor. H 366*
 ὑπάει νὰ ἔβγῃ *Pol. Tr. 961*
 ἐὰν συμβῇ κίνδυνος (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.14)
 ἵνα καλῶς ἐμβῇ *SFRANTZIS, Chron. 62.1*
 εἰ γὰρ συμβῇ καὶ πόλεμος *Velth. 103*
 νὰ μὴ ἐμπῇ *Achil. N 314*
 καὶ ὥσαν ἐμπῇ κανεῖς *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis 283*
 δὲν ἡμπορεῖ νὰ ἀνεβῇ *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth. 26.5*
 ὁποῖος ἔβγῃ (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.31)
 ἂν κατεβῇ *CHORTATIS, Katz. III.462*
 σήμερον νὰ ἔβγῃ, αὐριον νὰ ἔβγῃ *PAPASYNAD., Chron. III §29.24-5*
 πρὶ ἐμπῇ στὸ ἀρχοντικὸ τῶς (1646, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 22, 163.15)

ἡ τίποτε ἐκ τὰ ἐπώδυνα | γενῇ *Eisit. f.5v.1-2*
 ἀφ'οὔ ὀρίζεις νὰ γενῇ *Chron. Mor. H 6966*
 τὸ θέλημά σου νὰ γενῇ *Pol. Tr. 4190*
 καὶ αὐτὸ τυχαίνει νὰ γενῇ *FALIEROS, Ist. On. 601*
 τίνα μέλλει νὰ γινῇ *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 252.16*; διὰ νὰ μὴδὲν γενῇ τίποτες παραχῇ *ibid. 268.2*
 τοῦτο νὰ γενεῖ (1524, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 86, 162.93)
 εἰ δὲ πορευθῇ ὁ κράλης καὶ γινῇ ἄλλοτρόπως *Ekt. Chron. 9.25 app. crit. (L)*
 νὰ γενῇ καταπῶς αὐτὸς θέλει (1653-5, Venice, FONKID 2000: 239, f.1r.20)
 ὅ,τι μοῦ μέλλει θὰ γενεῖ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 499.7*
 νὰ γενῇ φονιάς *Irodis I.22*

Vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἴδεῖ > δεῖ, εἰπεῖ > πεῖ, εὐρεῖ > βρεῖ, ἔβγῃ > βγεῖ), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἄλθῃ/ρθεῖ):

νὰ πᾶ νὰ δῇ *Byz. Il. 132*; νάλθῃ καὶ ὁ Πάρις *ibid. 288*
 διὰ νὰ μὴδὲν ἴδῃ τὸ τέλος *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 10.12*; εἰ δὲ καὶ τινὰς πῇ *ibid. 222.13*

τό να δει ο φρε Γιλιάμ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 58.17
 σ' ό,τι του 'πει *Apoll.* Rim. V 664
 έως ού να 'ρθή εις νόμου λικίας (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.13)
 δς δῆ *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 38
 να πάγη να δει και να σπιμάρη (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.6)
 πριχού να βγή ή ψυχή μου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 53
 πρι να βγή *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56.25
 έως να βγή ή ψυχή της (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.8)
 κι άπου τες σάϊκες καμιά, άν βγει *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 394.28
 να θέ να βγει *TROILOS, Rodol.* IV.462

Plural

1st Person

Pl.	1	-ομε(ν)/-ωμε(ν)
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For 1 pl. the ending of the barytone paradigm /ome(n)/ is not uncommon for most verbs belonging to this category, though most examples come from literary sources:

ν' απέλθωμεν δια κοῦρσο *Chron. Mor.* H 2704; κι άν εύρωμεν τόν βασιλέα *ibid.* 3650
 να έλθωμεν 'ς τόν οίκον σου *Dig.* E 1003; άν ού τόν εύρωμεν εκεί *ibid.* 1394
 τότε κ' έμεις να είπωμεν *Liv.* V 2541
 και ίδωμεν *Diig. tetr.* 66; ήμεις να είπωμεν δαμιν *ibid.* 461
 τώρα να εύρωμεν την άλλην (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 57, 46.4)
 δς εξέλθωμεν με τὰ φουσάτα μας *Diig. Alex.* V 22.4-5
 πάλε δς έρτωμεν εις τόν ρήγα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 230.14; ανισως και εύρωμεν *ibid.* 250.32
 ας έλθομεν στον κύρη της *Apoll.* Rim. V 1441 (same in A; έλθομε E; έρθομεν N)
 άν θέλτε να 'βρομεν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 147
 μήνα εύρωμεν τίποτες *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 23, X8r.38 (1561)
 να 'ρθωμε κι' οί τρείς *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.103
 να 'ρθωμε και εμείς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 37.21
 να έλθομεν έδω κάτω *Bertoldin.* 116.13
 να εύρωμε σπουδακτικά αυτά τὰ τρία παιδιά μας *KONDAR., Paides* 66
 χωρίς να εύρωμεν ποτέ άνάπαυσιν *Alex. Fyll.* 110.28

ώστε ν' άνέβομεν κι έμεις *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 93 (facs.; ed. -ωμε)
 στον Άδην να κατέβωμεν *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 352 and V 352
 πλέον μην κατέβομεν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 26.4
 άν έμπωμεν 'ς τὰ χέρια τους *Theseid* I.78,6 (Follieri)
 με τόν νούν δς άνέβωμεν *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 11, k7r.7 (1561)
 δς έβγωμε από δώ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.480
 να 'βγωμεν από την σκλαβιάν *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 6
 στον πόλεμο να έμπωμεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 214

και δούλοι του να γένωμεν *Achil.* L 74
 και θέλομεν να γένωμεν δούλοι τῆς αὔθεντιᾶς σου *Chron. Toc.* 2718
 να γένωμεν άφέντες *Alex. Rim.* 1338
 ήμεις τώρα τί να γένωμεν; *Alex. Fyll.* 64.6

Pl.	1	-ουμε(ν)
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Forms in -ουμε(ν), without the final /n/ now one of the two SMG endings, are rare in the EMG period (cf. the same ending for the present 4.1.1.1 and the subjunctive of the first aorist 4.2.1): νάρθουμεν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 315 (facs.; ed. -ουμε); να έλθουμε (1537, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 25, 32.4); άν εύρωμε (ibid. 32.5); να κατέβουμε *Pent. Gen.* 11.7.

Pl.	1	-οῦμε(ν) ! -οῦμενε
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The 1 pl. ending of the oxytone paradigm -οῦμε(ν), without the final /n/ now one of the two SMG endings for all verbs but γίνομαι, is the most common for all verbs in this category throughout and beyond the period under review:

δς άποϊδοῦμε τόν καιρόν να ιδοῦμε τόν λαόν μας *Chron. Mor.* H 4993; να είποῦμεν *ibid.* 8277
 να εύροῦμεν τό άδελφιν *Dig.* E 91; έπήγαμεν να ιδοῦμεν *ibid.* 430
 να τόν είποῦμε *Liv.* α 417; ποίαν όδόν να εύροῦμεν *ibid.* 2881; έλα να τόν ιδοῦμεν *ibid.* 2894
 ίνα ... ιδοῦμεν τόν τόπον (1494-6, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 37, 181.2)
 θαρῶ καθολικῆς χαρᾶς ποτήριον να πιοῦμεν *Cypr. Canz.* 133.12
 να ιδοῦμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.4)
 εις τό να ιδοῦμεν (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.4)
 δέν δυνόμεσταν να τόν ιδοῦμεν *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 12, λ8v.22 (1561)
 να έρθοῦμεν αὔτου (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.28)
 να ιδοῦμε τέτοια καλοσύνη (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.7)
 πάλι έδεπᾶ δς έλθοῦμε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.204
 έάν είποῦμεν *KALLIOUR., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 11.31; να ιδοῦμε και να πιστεύσομεν *ibid.* 15.32
 να ιδοῦμεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 464
 μά δς έλθοῦμεν σ' έκεινούς *Diig. Vefa* 1398
 να ιδοῦμεν *Don Kis.* 41.1; να ειπούμεν *ibid.* 228.30-1

άν κατεβοῦμεν *Dig.* E 5 app. crit.
 να έμποῦμεν εις τό μέσον *Liv.* V 2122
 και τότε ήμεις να έβγοῦμεν *Achil.* N 532
 έξω δια να βγοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1675
 μην κατεβοῦμε έκ τό βουνι *Thysia Avr.* 982
 να έβγοῦμεν από τό χρέος *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §6.11
 να εύγοῦμεν και ήμεις από κάθε λογῆς ύποψίαν (1645, Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 10.27)

και να γενοῦμεν δούλοι; *Pol. Tr.* 6657
 πῶς και γενοῦμεν έγκρατεῖς [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1033
 και Φράγκοι να γενοῦμε *Chron. Mor.* P 2094
 σκλάβοι να μη γενοῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1896
 να γενοῦμεν δμοιοι όλοι μας *DAM. STOD., This., Logos* 31, H3r.7-8 (1561)
 δς γενοῦμεν πρᾶσι *MAXIMOS, Synax. Ag. Nik.* 144.290
 πῶς μέλλομεν να γενοῦμεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P X 412.4
 πρόθυμοι δς γενοῦμεν *KONDAR., Paides* 146

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδοῦμε(ν) > δοῦμε(ν), εἰποῦμε(ν) > ποῦμε(ν), εὐροῦμε(ν) > βροῦμε(ν), ἐβγοῦμε(ν) > βγοῦμε(ν)), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἄθοῦμε(ν)/ῥθοῦμε(ν)):

- ἀρχεῖομεν νὰ ποῦμεν *Assizes* B 284.29
 ἄς ποῦμε *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 163
 ὁ,τι βροῦμε *Alex. Rim.* 1724
 στράταν ἄλλη ας βρούμε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.139
 νὰ τον βρούμε *Apoll. Rim.* V 818
 νὰ δοῦμε τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.11)
 νὰ δοῦμεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 372; νὰ βροῦμεν *ibid.* 379; νὰ ποῦμεν *ibid.* 380
 νὰ μποῦμεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν *Pol. Tr.* 11909
 οὐδεποσῶς νὰ βγοῦμεν *CHOUNOS, Kosmog.* 144
 στὸ σπῖτι ὁμπρὸς ἄς μποῦμε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* V.101

The ending -ούμενε, with addition of -(ν)ε, is attested in Cretan and Chiot texts of the 17th c., but may have had a wider geographical spread (for -(ν)ε see also I, 2.6.3.3):

- ἀνισωστὰς καὶ βγοῦμενε μὲ νίκη *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.130; μήπως καὶ βρούμενε *ibid.* II.98
 νὰ δοῦμενε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 182.14 and 230.25
 καὶ ὀλπίζω νὰ τὴν δοῦμενε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 378; ἄς διαβούμενε *ibid.* 1826

Pl.	1	-ῶμε(ν)/-όμε(ν)
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Residual forms of root aorists (among which βαίνω and its compounds) are very rare in the LMedG and EMG periods. As the ending is clearly residual, in mixed-register texts it may extend to other verbs such as λέγω and ἔρχομαι, which in their perfective forms have morphological characteristics in common with βαίνω (forms according to the barytone and oxytone paradigms). Its appearance in Voustronios is surprising, as this is not an archaizing text.⁴⁴ There is no strong evidence that the form ἐρτῶμεν/ἐρτόμεν is specifically Cypriot, though cf. the present indicative (4.1.1.1) for this stress pattern in Machairas:

- ἄς καταβῶμεν *Dig.* E 691
 νὰ σὲ τὸ εἰπῶμεν *Liv.* S 1623 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἡμεῖς νὰ εἰπῶμεν δαμῖν *Diig. tetr.* 461 app. crit. (P)
 νὰ ἐρτόμεν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 214.15; ἀν ἐρτόμεν ὅλοι με τὰ κορμιά μας *id., Chron.* B 265.9
 ὅταν, Θεοῦ θελήματι, εἰς Ῥωμανίαν ἐλθῶμεν *Dig.* T 478

2nd Person

Pl.	2	-ετε ἰ -ετεν(ε)
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Proparoxytone forms in -ετε can be found in texts throughout the centuries, but are clearly less common than paroxytone forms in -εἴτε/-ῆτε (see below), especially for βλέπω, λέγω

⁴⁴ Voustronios usually has barytone forms for this verb (ἐρτω, ἐρτει), only showing some variation in 3 pl.: ἐρτουν and ἐρτούν. The only other 1 pl. form is ἐρτομεν. It cannot be excluded that the two instances of ἐρτόμεν are simple writing mistakes.

and compounds of βαίνω. Most of the modest number of examples found are of ἔρχομαι and εὐρίσκω:

- ἀν εὔρετε τὸ ἀδελφί σας *Dig.* E 64; μὴ εἰσελθετε *ibid.* 1763
 ἀν τὸν εὔρετε *Pol. Tr.* 9741
 ἕως οὗ νὰ ἔλθετε (1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 99.15)
 νὰ ἔλθετε (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.10)
 ἀν τοὺς εὔρετε ὄλους *Achil.* L 366
 νὰ ἔλθετε στὴν Ῥωμανίαν *Chron. Mor.* P 3761
 νὰ σπουδάξετε νὰ ἔλθετε (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45)
 δσες φάλιες καὶ ἀν εὔρετε (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.17)
 γιάντα νὰ ῥθετ' ἐδεπὰ *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 53
 νὰ ἔλθετε μετ' αὐτὸν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 387.19
 νὰ μὴν ἔλθετε *Alex. Fyll.* 50.35
 νὰ μὴν ἔβγετε ἀποκεῖ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 160.25
 σὺν ἔμπετε στὴν κάμινον *KONDAR., Paides* 738

Addition of final /n/ has been found in the Oxford version of *Digenis* (Chios) (cf. the present 4.1.1.1 and the aorist indicative 4.4.1.1), and in the Andros/Athens version of the same text, which is considered to have been written in the same region (Andros?), although linguistic evidence for this is otherwise quite scarce: καὶ ὅπου ἀν τὴν εὔρετεν *Dig.* A 411 app. crit.; ἀν εἶν' καὶ σφάλμα εὔρετεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 3064.

A form with a shift of the stress to the penultimate (but without synizesis of /i/ and /e/) has been found once in the *Chronicle of Morea*, clearly to accommodate the metre (verse end): μὴ πιάση καὶ πιέτε | τοσὸν κρασὶν *Chron. Mor.* H 8302-3.

Pl.	2	-ητε
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The residual ending -ητε can occasionally be found in literary texts, usually alongside other, more common endings (see above):

- νὰ ἔλθετε στὴν Ῥωμανίαν *Chron. Mor.* H 3761
 εἰ δ' ἴσως ἀμετάτρεπτον ἴδητε τὴν βουλὴν του *Velth.* 117
 καὶ τὸ πουργὸ νὰ ἔλθετε *Byz. Il.* 277
 ὅλες ἐμπρὸς μου νὰ ῥητε *SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 235 (Papadimitriu); νὰ μάθητε τὴν τάξιν της, νὰ μάθετε τὸ ποιά εἶναι; *id., Katalogi* 40 (Papadimitriu)
 ἀν ἔβγητε ὡς πρέπει *Theseid* V.21,6 (1529)
 ἐὰν γένητε ἀπειθεῖς τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ μου *Vios. Aisop.* K 190.2

Pl.	2	-εἴτε/-ῆτε ἰ -εἴτεν/-ῆτεν ἰ εἴτενε/-ῆτενε
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The ending /'ite/ of the oxytone paradigm, is the most common for all verbs in this category throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ As noted in the introduction to this chapter the form ἰδῆτε, for example, can already be found in the EMedG period.

νά εἰπῆτε καὶ νά κρίνετε *Chron. Mor.* H 2360; ἐλάτε ἐδῶ νά ἰδῆτε *ibid.* 6918
 νά εὐρήτε ἀδελφὴν σας *Dig.* E 169
 μὴ ἐβγῆτε νά ἰδῆτε *Liv.* V 2714; ἀφὸν εὐρήτε τὴν ὁδὸν *ibid.* 2757
 σᾶς ἐμήνυσσα νά ἐλθῆτε *Pol. Tr.* 4579; νά εἰπῆτε τί νά γένη *ibid.* 8822
 καὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆτε *Achil.* L 734
 ὅτι νά τὸν εὐρήτε *Chron. Toc.* 1407
 καὶ τὴν βουλὴν νά εἰπῆτε *Velis.* p 178; εἴτι ἰδῆτε εἰς ἐμὲν *ibid.* 263
 ἀμέτε νά τὸν εὐρεῖτε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.1; ἐλάτε νά μοῦ τὸ εἰπεῖτε *ibid.* 339.8–9
 νά εὐρεῖτε τὴν μητέρα του DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, α8ν.32–3 (1561); νά ἐρθεῖτε πρὸς
 ἐμένα *ibid., Logos* 19, σ1ν.28
 ὅς πλιότερα μὴν ἐρθῆτε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.338; νερό γλυκύ μην πιεῖτε *id., Panor.* II.518
 μηδὲν εἰπῆτε οὕτως *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.7–8
 τί τρόπον νά εὐρήτε (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 221.34)
 νά μοι εἰπῆτε τὴν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν (17th c., ŠANGIN 1936: 4, 136.18–19)
 ἐλάτε νά ἰδῆτε ἕναν ἀσεβὴν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.7
 νά ἰδεῖτε ἐτοῦτες μας τὲς δικαιολογημένες ζήτησες (1716–29, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 38,
 96.13)

ἀν ... ἐμπῆτε εἰς τὴν βουλὴν μου *Dig.* E 1340
 ἀν καταβῆτε *Liv.* α 593a
 μὴ ἐβγῆτε νά ἰδῆτε *Liv.* V 2714
 οὐ θέλω νά ἐμπῆτε *Pol. Tr.* 9600
 σὲ πόλεμον νά βγῆτε *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 μὴ θέλετε νά μπῆτε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.600
 εἰς ὅποιον σπῖτι ἐμπῆτε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 10.5
 ὁπόθεν διαβῆτε *Alex. Fyll.* 37.12
 νά γενῆτε πολλῶν χρονῶν *Achil.* L 1130
 νά γενεῖτε μαθηταὶ του DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 32, Θ8r.33–4 (1561)

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖτε > δεῖτε, εἰπεῖτε > πεῖτε, εὐρεῖτε > βρεῖτε, ἐβγεῖτε > βγεῖτε), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἰθεῖτε/ρθεῖτε):

νά δῆτε θαῦμαν μέγα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2218
 ἀν θέλετε νά βρῆτε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 306
 νά δῆτε κατορθώματα ZINOS, *Alex. Rim. Epil.* 24
 καὶ κύμινον ὅσον βρῆτε *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1116
 δὲν πᾶτε νά τσι βρῆτε *P&N Diath.* 5173
 κ' ἐξέταση νά δῆτε CHORTATSI, *Erof.* L544
 θεῖ δῆτε ὅλοι KONAR., *Paidēs* 53

Addition of final /n/ and of -(v)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3 and I, 3.7.2.1) has been found in texts from Chios: μὴν ᾗπτεν πῶς μ' ἐστεῖλασι KONAR., *Paidēs* 5; τῶρι θεῖ ᾗπτεν *ibid.* 737; σὰν ἐμπτε στήν κάμινον καὶ ἀχυλιὰ γενῆτεν *ibid.* 738; αὐριο θέλει δῆτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1424.

3rd Person

Pl.	3	-ουσι(v) ! -ουσινε
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The ending -ουσι(v) of the barytone paradigm is used throughout the period covered by this Grammar, especially of ἐρχομαι and compounds of βαίνω, but much less frequently of the other verbs in this category, for which other endings are clearly preferred (see below):

ἐκείνες ὅπου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἔλθουσι *Assizes* B 273.12
 τὰ ἔθνη ὅλα νά ἔλθουσιν PLOUSIAD., *Thrinis* 173 (Vasileiou)
 νά ἔλθουσιν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 151
 εἰ δὲ εἰς το κλινάρι σου, κόρη, καὶ εὐρουσί με *Achil.* O 488
 ὅσους ἄλλους χριστιανούς εὐρουσί *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.14
 ὅλα λοιπὸν ὅσα σᾶς εἰπουσι νά φυλάγετε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.3
 ὁμπρὸς σ' ἐμὲν νά ἔλθουσι KONAR., *Paidēs* 223; νά πέμψω νά ᾖρουσι ἐδῶ *ibid.* 620

μηδὲν ἔβγουσιν ἔξω *Chron. Mor.* H 1117
 νά ἐξέβουσιν ἀπέδω *Pol. Tr.* 7898
 νά ἔβγουσιν *Achil.* N 1341
 νά τσ' ἔβγουσι μεγάλο CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.409
 μέλλει νά συνέβουσιν VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 467.30
 εἰ δὲ ... καὶ πάλε ἔμπουσι (1642, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1958/59: 19, 159.15)
 στὸ πόρτο μέσα νά ᾖπουσι *Leilasia Par.* 1

μηδὲν πάθουν κακὸν καὶ γίνουσιν τοῦ Διαβόλου *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 686
 χαντζήδες πῶς νά γένουσιν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 123

Addition of -(v)ε appears to be quite rare (see also I, 2.6.3.3): γιὰ νά ᾖθουσινε κι ἄλλοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 457.7.

Pl.	3	-ουν ! -ου ! -ουνε
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Barytone forms in -ουν can be found throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods (for a discussion of this ending see 4.1.1.1):

πρὶν ἔλθουν οἱ τῶν Τουρκῶν πειρασμοὶ NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.8
 νά σὲ ἴδουν ἅπαντες *Eisit.* f.3 r.19
 νά φάγουν καὶ νά πῖουν *Dig.* E 679
 νά εἰπουν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις *Pol. Tr.* 2715 app. crit. (BV)
 ἀν οὐδὲν ἔρτουν *Assizes* B 337.14
 τα κάτουρα ἤθελαν νά πῖουν *Diig. Alex.* K 377.3–4
 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρθουν (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIDI 1996: 16, 227.11)
 νά μὴν ἔλθουν DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 21, φ4ν.31 (1561); δὲν εὕρισκαν νερόν νά πῖουν
ibid., Logos 26, Γ3r.14
 νά ἔλθουν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.54
 γλήγορα νά ᾖρτουν ἐδῶ KONAR., *Paidēs* 648
 καρτερῶ νά μοῦ ἔρθουν καὶ ἄλλα (1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.3)
 νά μὴν εὐρουν πολλὰ καὶ διάφορες τύχες *Don Kis.* 46.25

ποτὲ νά μὴ ἔβγουν *Chron. Mor.* H 4422; νά σέβουν εἰς τὸν κόρπον *ibid.* 8788
 νά ἔβγουν τὰ λεοντάρια *Dig.* E 663
 νά ἔβγουν οἱ σύνταξες ὅλες *Pol. Tr.* 3243
 διὰ νά ἔμπουν *Assizes* B 449.23
 τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ ἐξέβουν Spanos A 64
 ὅσα ἔβγουν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 37, 168.11)

νά ἔμπουν ἐκ τούς Ρωμαίους *Chron. Mor.* P 8349
 ἔπρεπε νά κατέβουν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 133
 ἤθελαν νά ἔβγουν τὰ πουλιά *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 334.26–7
 νά σέβουν εἰς τὴν χώραν *Varl. & Ioas. (Lavras)* 89.31
 νά ἔμπουν εἰς καράβι *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §7.76
 ἔμελλαν νά τὸν συνέβουν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark.* 10.32
 ὅσα συνέβουν ἀπαντα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6868; ἔχουν νά κατέβουν *ibid.* 7154

ὅσα γένουν εἰς αὐτούς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 226.25–6)
 νά γένουν *Assizes B* 378.23
 νά γένουν δύο σαραταήμερα (1436, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1960/61: 2, 146.5)
 ὅσοι λοιπὸν ἐπιθυμοῦσι νά γένουν πατέρες *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 95.9
 ὅσα γένουν (1550, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 31, 70.3)
 νά γένουν καλὲς ροδακινίες *LANDOS, Geopon.* 151.23–4
 νά γένουν χριστιανοί *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §22.54

Deletion of final /n/ has been found mainly in Cretan texts (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

κι ἂν εὖρου εἰς συναπαντὴ τοῦ βασιλέως φουσσᾶτα *Chron. Mor.* P 3506
 νά πέψου γῆ νά ῥθου (1602, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 132, 146.11)
 κι ἂς ἔβγου μὲ πολλὰς τιμὲς *Stathis Interm.* II.130
 νά διάβου μονιτάρου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 331.11

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in texts from south-western areas and certain Aegean islands (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

νά γένουε τρία μερδικά (1585, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 23, 41.17)
 νά ἔρτουε (1655, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001b: 2, 188.10)
 νά ἔρθουε νά μάσε κόψουσι (1659, Hydra, *KARATHANASIS* 1972/73: 241.2)
 ὅσα πράγματα ἀκουγα νά συνέβουε *MATESIS, Chron.* 63.1–2

Pl.	3	-ωσι(v)/-οσι(v)
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This residual ending of verbs that in AG had thematic aorists (βλέπω, λέγω, etc.) can occasionally be found in the period under review, usually alongside other endings. Given its residual status, it sometimes occurs with the other verbs that belong to this category as well (compounds of βαίνω and γίνομαι):

νά τὴν ἴδωσι *Pol. Tr.* 280; ἅμα ταῦτα γένωσιν *ibid.* 580 app. crit. (A); νά διάβωσιν *ibid.* 5958 app. crit. (C)
 ὅσοι ἀπὸ ξένης διάβωσιν *Liv. S* 2215 (*Lambert-van der Kolf*)
 ἂς ἔλθωσιν *Liv. V* 17
 καὶ νά ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἀρχοντας *Diig. tetr.* 46
 νά σηκωθῶσι καὶ νά εἴπωσιν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 140.16
 νά ἔλθωσιν *Assizes A* 214.12
 εἶτι ἀν εὖροσι *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 37.4

Pl.	3	-οῦσι(v) ! -οῦσινε
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The ending -οῦσι(v) of the oxytone paradigm is not uncommon for most verbs in this category throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, though for γίνομαι a modest number of examples has been found:

ὅτι νά ἀπελθοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 145; νά μὴ τὸ εἰποῦσιν *ibid.* 1129
 νά εἰποῦσιν τὰ ἐδικά των *Liv. V* 3848
 νά ἰδοῦσιν τὸ σημάδι μου *Achil. N* 532
 νά τὴν ἰδοῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 280 app. crit. (V)
 ἀκαρτεροῦν τάχα νά σᾶς ἰδοῦσι *LIMEN., Than Rod.* 63
 ἐκ τὸ νερὸ νά πιοῦσι *Alex. Rim.* 1582
 νά πιοῦσι τὸ φαρμάκι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.444 app. crit. (N)
 οὐκ ἤρχονταν ποτὲ νά σὲ ἰδοῦσιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 305
 ἐτόλμησαν νά εἰποῦσι *LANDOS, Geopon.* 129.32
 ὄντα τῇ θέλου ἰδοῦσι *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1265
 ἔστοντας νά ἔλθοῦσιν εἰς τὸ σπῆτι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 2.11; ὅταν ... σᾶς εἰποῦσι *ibid.* 5.11
 γυρεύοντας νά ἰδοῦσι λογαριασμό (1663, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 1, 11.4)

τὸ πόθεν νά σεβοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 5641
 νά ἐξεβοῦσιν ἀποκεῖ *Chron. Toc.* 1716
 ἀφήκεν νά βγοῦσι *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 148.8
 ὥσάν ἐμποῦσι εἰς τὸν καρπὸ (1603, Crete, *VIOLIDAKIS* 2006: 2, 265.16–17)
 ἔχουν νά κατεβοῦσι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 8934
 νά πᾶσι νά ἐμποῦσι *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1833
 ἀφοβα γὰρ νά μποῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 162.5

συμπεθερεῖον νά ποιήσουσιν, τὸ ἓνα νά γενοῦσιν *Chron. Mor.* H 6357
 κομμάτια νά γενοῦσι *Spanos D* 313
 θὰ δῶ τί θὰ γενοῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 165.16

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδοῦσι(v) > δοῦσι(v), εἰποῦσι(v) > ποῦσι(v), εὐροῦσι(v) > βροῦσι(v), ἐβγοῦσι(v) > βγοῦσι(v)), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of ἄθοῦσι(v)/ῥθοῦσι(v)):

νά μὲ δοῦσιν *Dig. E* 1441
 νά πᾶσι καὶ νά δοῦσι *Assizes B* 361.12
 ὥς σὲ ῥδοῦσιν *Spanos A* 88–9; νά ποῦσιν *ibid.* 121
 νά ῥθοῦσιν οἱ θωριές σου *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 290
 μὲ πεθυμὰ νά ῥθοῦσι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.143
 εἰς τὸ φως νά ἄθοῦσιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6057; οὐδέ νά δοῦσιν θέλουσιν *ibid.* 6826
 καὶ παιδευμούς νά δοῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Kat. ofel.* 408; νά ῥθοῦσι *id., Diig. Pol.* 162.8
 μὴν τοὺς δοῦσι *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 641
 νά τῶς ποῦσι *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.1285
 οἱ Ἐρωτες ἀς βγοῦσι *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.408; ἀνάπαψη κάτω στη γῆν ἀς βροῦσι *ibid.* II.478
 κ' εἰς τὸ κακὸ θὰ μποῦσι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.568

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in Cretan texts, but is likely to have been employed in the wider south-western area (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

να πιούσινε φαρμάκι CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.444; να δούσινε id., *Erof. Dedic.* 10; να τσι
βρούσινε ibid., III.138; ἄς γενοῦσινε πουλιά id., *Erof. Interm.* I.61
δυὸ γάμοι θὰ γενοῦσινε *Stathis* III.357
να βρούσινε νὰ τὴν μπουλήσου (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 180.52)
σε πόλεμον να βγούσι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8734
να δούσινε τὸ Ἀγαρηνοῦς BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 149.22; να βρούσινε τὸρνέσα ibid.
225.22; ἀπάνω ν' ἀνεβούσινε ibid. 292.3; να μπουσινε στὰ κάτεργα ibid. 299.15; σ' τσι
Μεσαρῆς να βγούσινε ibid. 313.18; να φᾶσι καὶ να πιούσινε ibid. 465.4
να δούσινε τὸν κύρη σου KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.1840; να πούσινε τὰ χελῆ σου ibid. II.922

Pl.	3	-οῦν -οῦ -οῦνε
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Oxytone -οῦν occurs throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

πολλά να ἔλθουν, πολλά να εἰποῦν KAMAT., *Astron.* 1996 (but read ἔλθοῦν)
διὰ τὸ να εἰποῦν *Ptoch.* III 265
ὅσοι τὸ εἰποῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 1002
ἕως οὐ να ἔλθοῦν *Pol. Tr.* 3700 app. crit. (V); να εἰποῦν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις *Pol. Tr.* 2715
να με εἰποῦν τί να ποιήσω *Liv.* S 1682 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
να πᾶν να δοῦν *Assizes* B 359.18; οὐ να φᾶν, οὐ να πιοῦν ibid. 381.3–4
να τὸν ἡύροῦν *Chron. Toc.* 307
ἂν τὸν ἰδοῦν *Achil.* N 1280
να σὲ ἰδοῦν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1523
τὰ κάτουρά τους γὰ να πιοῦν *Alex. Rim.* 2048
διὰ να εἰποῦν τὰ μέλλοντα DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 6, ζ2ν.34 (1561)
να ἰδοῦν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 2, 81.9–10)
να ὑπᾶν να ἰδοῦν (1600, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 17, 14.9)
ἄς εἰποῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 55.30–1
να μὴν με γδοῦν KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.348 (= δοῦν)
διὰ να ἰδοῦν τὴν συμφορὰν τοῦ Ἀνσέλμου *Don Kis.* 139.22

καὶ ἀφὸν διαβοῦν οἱ ἡμέρες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 19.108–12)
ὅταν ἐκβοῦν καὶ τρέχουσιν αἱ δύο αἱ καροῦχαι *Ptoch.* III 200
κι ἄς διαβοῦν *Chron. Mor.* H 6983
εἰς Ρωμανίαν να ἐβγοῦν *Dig.* E 197 app. crit.
να λάβουν τὰ μέλλει να τοὺς κατεβοῦν *Assizes* B 378.24
διὰ να ξεβοῦν ἔς τὸν ἄμμο *Theseid* I.48,3 (Follieri)
να μὲν ἐμποῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 395.16–17; πρὶ να βγοῦν οἱ Γενουβίσοι ibid. 544.30
ἄφες τα ὀπίσω να διαβοῦν *Defi. Par.* 366
να βγοῦν να διαλαλήσουν ZINOS, *Vatr.* 185
να ἐσβοῦν εἰς τὸ παλάτιν *Diig. Alex.* F 94.6 (Lolos); μήνα ξεβοῦν δξω ibid. 170.11
μήτε ἡμποροῦσαν να σεβοῦν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.24–5

φίδια μαῦρα να γενοῦν *Peri xen.* 278
ἕως ὅπου να γενοῦν ζ' ἐτῶν *Assizes* A 124.12
καὶ να γενοῦν μυρσίνη *Rim. kor.* A 23
να γενοῦν μία ποσότης (1611, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936a: (1), 19.3)
να γεννηθοῦν καὶ να γενοῦν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 129

Vowel-initial forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, initially when preceded by a vowel, resulting in disyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδοῦν > δοῦν, εἰποῦν > ποῦν, εὔροῦν > βροῦν,

ἐβγοῦν > βγοῦν), which may then also appear after consonants (with the exception of γθοῦν/ρθοῦν):

Deletion of final /n/ has been found mainly in Cretan texts (for details see I, 3.7.2.2):

μουσουλουμάνοι να γενοῦ *Anak. Konst.* 85
κι ἀφότου φᾶν καὶ πιοῦ καλὰ FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 222
καὶ να γενοῦ κλαδιά φυλλαδωμένα CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 73; να τὴν ἰδοῦ τ' ἄμμάτια
μου id., *Erof.* I.536
γὰ να τὸ δοῦ τὰ μάτια μου *Stathis* III.87; να βγοῦ τὰ μουχλιασμένα του ibid. III.371
να γενοῦ κάποιες γραφεῖς (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.10)
να βγοῦ να μασέ κόψουνε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 164.22

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

τίποτες μὴ εἰποῦνε *Alex. Rim.* 1299; οὐδὲν μποροῦν να δοῦνε ibid. 1674; να βροῦνε ibid. 2010
μέλλει να ἔλθοῦνε (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.24)
ν' ἀνοίξουσιν τὰ χελῆ σου να ποῦνε *Stathis* II.23
να γενοῦνε συντρόφοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 57.32
να δοῦνε ἂν τσι ρεστάρει ἐλίγο τίβοτσι (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.61)
να βροῦνε γρὲς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 179; να τὸ ἰδοῦνε ibid. 1539
τὴν ἐδικὴν μου γύμνωσιν τὰ μάτια σου μὴ ἴδοῦνε VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 70
να ἰδοῦνε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.24); θάρθοῦνε καράβια (ibid. 306.14)
ἂν δὲν ἐβγοῦνε (1685, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1980/81: 8, 331.16)
να ἰδοῦνε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.19)

Pl.	3	-ῶσι(ν)
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This residual ending of verbs with root aorists (βαίνω in the examples below) can occasionally be found in the period covered by this Grammar, usually alongside other endings. Given its residual status, it sometimes occurs with other verbs that belong to this category as well:

να διαβῶσιν *Pol. Tr.* 12093 app. crit. (B) and 12533 app. crit. (CV)
ἵνα ἀναβῶσιν ἐπάνω KANANOS, *Diig.* 546–7
εἰς ἔγκρυμμαν ἐλθῶσιν ERMON., *Ilias* 8.131; ὥς τοὺς φύλακας ἰδῶσι ibid. 14.108e

τοῦ να γενῶσιν ERMON., *Ilias* 17.256
εἰ γενῶσιν ἱερεῖς οἱ ἀνεψιοὶ μου (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 73.37)
να γενῶσι ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 159

4.3 The Imperfect

By the beginning of the LMedG period a common set of past-tense endings, combining elements from the aorist, the imperfect and the perfect, was already firmly in place for the active voice of barytone verbs: -α, -ες, -ε(ν), -αμε(ν), -ετε (/ατε, see 4.3.1.1), -αν/-ασι(ν) (see 1.1.4). Following the loss of distinction between the strong and the weak aorist paradigms in the Hellenistic period, by the EMG period /a/ had started to become a past-tense

marker, spreading to the imperfect as well. It began with 3 pl., then spread to 1 pl. and 1 sg.; e.g. forms in -αν and -αμεν already occur in Hellenistic papyri. For obvious reasons, i.e. the need to keep 1 sg. and 3 sg. clearly distinct, in the imperfect (as in the aorist) 3 sg. retained -ε(ν). The spread of /a/ to 2 sg. and 2 pl. would have been expected, but 2 sg. has retained -ες until the present day, and 2 pl. -ετε is the common ending throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see also JOSEPH 1980a). The breakthrough of -ατε for 2 pl., now SMG, did not come about until after the EMG period, probably necessitated by the loss of the unstressed augment, which was still used routinely throughout the period covered by this Grammar (see Chapter 3). Variation is fairly limited in the active paradigm of barytone verbs.

Historically the set of endings employed for the active imperfect of oxytone verbs is identical to those of barytone verbs: -ον, -ες, -ε, -ομε, -ετε, -ον. Contractions with the stem vowel /a/ or /e/ had led to /a/-forms and /i/-forms for 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl., and /o/-forms and /u/-forms for 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. Long before the LMedG period a generalization had occurred of /u/ instead of /o/ (the so-called /u/ dynamic, see BABINIOTIS 1972: 189–92), leading to identical endings for A- and E-stem verbs for 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl.⁴⁶ Heavy mutual influence between A-stems and E-stems for the other persons began before the LMedG period, but in the period covered by this Grammar a clear tendency develops for E-stem verbs to adopt A-stem endings rather than the reverse. Various imperfect markers evolve from specific endings: /us/ from 3 pl.; /un/ from 1 sg. (singular only) and /ay/ and /iy/ from 2 sg./3 sg. forms with intervocalic /y/ (see 2.1.2.2.3), after which the common set of “past tense” endings (-α, -ες, -ε, -αμε, -ετε(-ατε), -αν/-ασι) could once more be employed (for an overview of such markers in modern dialects see PANDELIDIS 2008; see also PANTELIDIS 2003).

For the barytone paradigm some of the old middle endings (-όμεν, -ου, -ετο, -όμεθα, -εσθε, -οντο) gradually fell into disuse in favour of innovative ones, the most common of which are 1 sg. -ομουν/-οουσιν, 2 sg. -εσουν/-ουσιν, 1 pl. -όμεστε/-όμεσθε and 3 pl. -ονταν/-ουνταν. The oxytone paradigms, which employed these same endings but showed contraction with their stem vowels (-ώμεν/-ούμεν, -ῶ/-οῦ, -ᾶτο/-εῖτο, -ώμεθα/-ούμεθα, -ᾶσθε/-εῖσθε, -ῶντο/-οῦντο), develop new endings too, the most common of which are 1 sg. -οῦμαι, 2 sg. -οῦσαι, and 3 pl. -οῦνται. The passive paradigms of both barytone and oxytone verbs show great regional variation.

Various processes of analogical levelling are at play in barytone and oxytone verbs and active and passive endings, whereby active past-tense endings are added to the form to make it less opaque (cf. KOURMOULIS 1956), e.g. 1 sg. ἐβάρουν > ἐβάρουνα.

To form the imperfect, the past-tense endings are added to the imperfective verb stem (for which see 2.1). For “contracted” forms of barytone vowel-stem verbs see 2.1.1.2.

For the aspectual properties of the imperfect see IV, 4.4.2; for its use in conditional constructions, see IV, 1.2.2.2.

⁴⁶ See JANNARIS 1897: 216 for examples from the Old and New Testaments and GIGNAC 1981: 363–4 for examples from papyri as early as the 2nd–3rd c. AD.

4.3.1 Barytone Verbs

4.3.1.1 Active Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἔγραφα	ἔγραφον	ἔγραφαν -ουνα
	2	ἔγραφες	ἔγραφῖς	
	3	ἔγραφε(ν)	ἔγράφεν ἔγραφε νε ἔγραφι	
Pl.	1	ἐγράφαμε(ν)	ἐγραφέαμε(ν) ἐγράφαμε νε ἐγράφαμι(ν) ἐγράφομεν	ἐγράφεμεν
	2	ἐγράφετε	ἐγράφετε νε	ἐγράφατε
	3	ἔγραφαν ἐγράφασι(ν)	ἔγραφα ἔγράφα(ν) ἔγράφανε ἔγράφασινε ἔγραφον	ἔγράφε νε ἔγράφανσι ἔγραφο ἔγραφονε ἔγραφουν ἔγράφουσιν ἔγράφασον

Forms of the active imperfect are proparoxytone in principle, though sometimes the stress may shift to the penultimate, whereas in other cases forms may carry the stress on the fourth syllable from the end when a suffix is added to the verb form. For the presence/absence of the unstressed augment, see Chapter 3.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-α -αν
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The ending -α is by far the most common ending for 1 sg. throughout our period. Some representative examples are:

νά ἤνοιγα τὸ ἀρμάριν μου *Ptoch.* III 92; ὡς γὰρ ἐδιέβαινα προχθές *ibid.* 167
 ἡῦρα κείνον τὸν ἐγύρευγα ἐγὼ *SULT. WALAD, Poem I* 19
 ἀναγύριζά σας *Dig.* E 168
 εἰς ἀέραν ἤλεγά το *Liv.* V 1549; ἔτρεχα ὡς κύριος καὶ αὐθέντης *ibid.* 2249
 ἐὰν σοῦ ἔγραφα λεπτομερῶς τὲς πράξεις *Chron. Mor.* 7031
 εἶχα το, τύχη, κάλλιον, κάλλιον ἔκρινά το [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2373
 οὐχ εὔρισκα *Pol. Tr.* 378; ἤθελα νὰ ὠμοίαζα *ibid.* 8900
 τὸ τί ἤθελα εἰς τὸν γάμον *Poulol.* 156
 οὐκ ἔλεγά σε *Achil.* N 1122; ἐὰν οὐ τὸν ἐθανάτωνα *ibid.* 1790
 ἤβλεπα διὰ νὰ ἰδῶ τὰ γένια του τὰ πανάσχημα *Spanos A* 28
 μαυλίστριες καὶ πολιτικές ἤθελα νὰ γυρεύω *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 49
 ἀπόβλεπα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.3)
 ὅπου ἐδίδαχνα δύο χρόνους *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 3
 ἔρραφτα (1659, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 2, 29.15)
 τὸν ἐκατάκαια (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992:
 84, 217.48)

Addition of final /n/ is very rare and may represent a form of hypercorrection, since Cretan tends to drop final /n/ where other varieties of the language do not (see I, 3.7.2.1.3 for details): τὴν εἶχαν στο Κουμούνι μου *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1311 app. crit.

Sg.	1	-ον
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The residual ending -ον is not used very frequently, though it can be found in a variety of higher- and mixed-register texts, especially of the early period, usually alongside forms in -α (see above):

καὶ τὰς κεντούκλας νὰ ἔπαιρον *Ptoch.* III 197; εἶχον *Ptoch.* I 6, 72 and 73, and *Ptoch.* III 244
 φοβεῖσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελον *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 49; ἔπασχον, ἔτρεμον *ibid.* 54
 δούλην σε ἔχειν ἤθελον, μᾶλλον εἶχες με δούλον *Dig.* G II.189
 ἀμὴ ἐγὼ, εἰ ἤθελον, ἀπέφευγά σας *Velth.* 211
 ἤθελον ἵνα τὸν ἐρωτήσω *Liv.* α 55 app. crit. (P); ἔβλεπον *ibid.* 2809 app. crit. (P)
 ἔθαλλον, ἔσπατάλουν *Liv.* V 2250
 ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἔφευγον καὶ ἐμπροσθέν μου λειτουργίαν εὔρον *Paroim.* I 75
 ἐγὼ ἐὰν ἤθελον βασιλεῖον *Alex. Fyll.* 48.13–14 (hapax)

Sg.	1	-ουν(α)
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Regionally (Heptanese) an innovative variant of the old form εἶχον can be found, namely εἶχουνα, with addition of the 1 sg. past-tense ending -α (cf. the same development in the imperfect of oxytone verbs (4.3.2.1) and the aorist indicative of λέγω (4.4.1.2)): ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχουνα, ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει *Bertoldin.* 96.20.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-εῖς -ις
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There is no real variation in the 2 sg. ending before, during or after the period under investigation.⁴⁷ Some representative examples are:

ἐκέρδαινές τους παρευτός *Chron. Mor.* H 4939
 τὰ δριζες ἐγίνουντα *Dig.* E 358
 νὰ γύριζες *Spanos D* 409
 καὶ ὅ,τι ἄλλο ἤθελες πορέσει (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.35)
 ἂν εἶχες εὔρει κι ἄλλους *KORONAIOS, Pittakin* 36
 ἤστεκες νὰ μισέψης (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.6)
 ἐκλεφτες *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 131.8
 τὸ πουλίον, ὅπου μ' ἔλεγες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1063
 ὅπου γυναῖκα στὸ στενὸ δὲν ἤβλεπες ἐτότες *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.304
 ἐσὺ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους *Nov. I* 156.14
 ὅσα ἐπρομετάριζες (1612, France, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 23, 270.6) (< Ven. *promèter*)
 ἐκοφτες τὸ κεφάλι τοῦ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1590
 διατὶ ἀμφίβαλλες; *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 14.31
 σκόνταυγες κ' ἔπεφτες *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 210
 τὸ πρόσωπο ἐκοκκίνιζες *KORONAIOS, Erot.* III.1156

Forms in /is/ instead of /es/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, the result of mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): εἶχis ἐκατὸ σακιά κιπl (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 6, 61.34).

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ε(ν) -εῖ -ι
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The ending -ε, with or without an added final /n/, is the normal form before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar:

καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἐξέχεε κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 386
 ἀναστέναν *Dig.* E 486
 ἤβλεπε *Chron. Toc.* 1659
 εὔρισκεν *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 34.6
 ἔπεφτεν *Achil.* N 603
 καὶ ἐδιδέν μας λάχανα *Paroim.* H 10
 ἀστραπτε κατ' ἀνατολὰς *Spanos D* 116
 ἴτις ὁκ' ἔδειχνε καθεῖς *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 8
 ἔδειχνε ὅτι νὰ τὸ εἶχαν φέρει *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 334.37
 ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἀνέβρυνε *Dig.* T 1889
 καὶ ἤπαιρνε κάθε εἰς (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.9)
 τσῆ τ'ασσε καλὰ νὰ τὴν πληρώση *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.366
 ἐκαταρῆμαζε τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς ἐρήμου (17th c., Palestine?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 24, 197.2.2)
 ὅπου καὶ ἂν ἐπάγαινε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.14
 ἐκαίε *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 18.21

⁴⁷ One instance of ἔλεγας found in a 1st-c. papyrus (*BGU* 595.9, AD 70–80, quoted in DEISSMANN 1901: 191, MOULTON 1901: 36, PSALTES 1913: 210 and GIGNAC 1981: 332) does not suffice to speak of a tendency. One further instance occurs in *Bertoldinos*, which is perhaps a simple typo: καὶ ποῦ θέλας ἐσὺ νὰ μᾶς φέρεις; *Bertoldin.* 109.20 (ποῦ θέλας in the edition).

A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate can occur in 3 sg. forms in texts of Cypriot origin, possibly influenced by the corresponding forms of oxytone E-stem verbs, e.g. ἐκράτεν *Assizes* A 79.17. In the Cypriot dialect certain verbs, such as δίδω – διδῶ, λύω – λυῶ, have both barytone and oxytone variants, which makes a certain degree of confusion between these paradigms plausible. In the example from Koronaios the stress shift accommodates the metre, as Koronaios generally avoids a stress on the 11th syllable:

ἐκοῦζεν *Assizes* B 267.29

καθῶς τὸ ἐκράτεν καὶ ἐνομεῦγεν τὸ ὁ πατήρ του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 308.1

δεν αφήνεν νὰ τους πάρει VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.8; εδείχνε του *ibid.* 50.4; δεν εθέλεν *ibid.* 34.1,

but also: ωσγοιόν εθέλεν *ibid.* 26.8

δλους ἐρίπτεν κάτω KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.342

ἐτζί ἐγράφεν τὸ χαρτίν *Thrinios Kypr.* 51

Forms with an added -(v)ε occur in texts from Crete, Chios, the Heptanese and certain islands in the Aegean. These forms must be seen in the light of a broader tendency to add -(v)ε (or -(v)α) to certain verb forms, pronouns and adverbs, which can be observed in the above areas (see I, 2.6.3 for details). The single example in *Thrinios Kypr.* serves to accommodate the verse, as Cypriot texts do not usually display this feature. Some characteristic examples are:

τὴν χαρὰ τὴν εἶχενε φερμένη FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 19

τό ἔλενε πεῖ P&N *Diath.* 443 and 574

ἔλεγενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.32 (but also: ἔγραφε *ibid.* 87.31)

δλες τὲς λωλάδες ὅπου ἐκεῖνος εἶχενε κάμει Bertoldin. 131.31; νὰ τοῦ εἶχενε συνέβη *ibid.* 146.3

εἶχενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 22; ἔσειενε *ibid.* 283; ἐγύρευενε μὸδο *ibid.* 2250 app. crit.; καὶ

σῆμαινένε εὐρυθμα *ibid.* 2435

δεν εἶχενε ριζικό (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.8)

τὰ ἔρωγενε (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 141.24) (τὰ τρώγενε in the ed.)

ἔλειπενε στὴ Μυτιλήνη (1700, Andros, POLEMIS 2001: 16, 121.4)

δεν εἶχενε προκοσῦμφονο (1708, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 85, 95.20–1)

τὰ εἶχενε καμένα *Thrinios Kypr.* 535

Forms in /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4: εἰς δ,τι πείραξη ἤθελι τοῦ ἐλάχει (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.14); εἶχι κριθῇ (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.6); τοῦ εἶχι ἀφήσει (*ibid.* A 4, f.40r.12); ὡσὰν ἤθελι ὁ θεὸς (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 49.6).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-αμε(v) -αμενε -άμεν -αμι(v)
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For 1 pl. -αμε(v), with and without final /n/, is the most commonly used form throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἐκατεμπλέκαμεν *Ptoch.* III 273

εἶχαμε (1360, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 49, f.236r.6)

εἶχαμεν *Dig.* E 120; ὅτε εἶχαμε τὸν πόθον *ibid.* 1773

τὸ πῶς ἐπεριπλέκαμε καὶ μετὰ πόθου ποίου *Liv.* E 2214

αὐτὰ ἔσαν τὰ πιττάκια τὰ ἐγράφαμεν ἀλλήλων *Liv.* V 3776

καὶ δίδαμέν του γέννημαν *Paroim.* H 10

δνταν ἐμπαίναμε στὴν πόρταν FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 277

νὰ καβαλικεύγαμεν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 248

σκόλαν ἐκατεβαίναμε, εἶχε στενὰ σκαλέρια ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 275

ἃ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε *Alex. Rim.* 906; ἠθέλαμε ἔξω διὰ νὰ βγοῦμε *ibid.* 1675

ἐγράφαμεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.17–18

ἐπηγαίναμεν (1551, Venice, COUROPOU/GÉHIN 2001: 3, 161.10)

πῶς ἠθέλαμε παχύνει CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.135

τὴ λαμπυράδα ἐβλέπαμε κι ὄχι τὸ πρόσωπό τως KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.622

ἀπού τ' ἀμνέγαμε στὴν ψὴ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.410

An added -(v)ε occurs in texts from Chios, Crete and possibly elsewhere (see I, 2.6.3.3): ἐλέγαμενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.32–3; ἂν εἶχαμενε πεῖ P&N *Diath.* 772.

Sometimes 1 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. In these cases there is usually a second stress on the penultimate, and sometimes the notation of the first stress is omitted. It has been found in texts of northern provenance (cf. 4.4; see also I, 4.2.3). The provenance of *Dig. P* is unknown, but there is no linguistic evidence to corroborate its supposed Chiot origin:⁴⁸

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔπαιζάμεν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* VII 377.19

ἐμάζωνάμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ ἄσπρα PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 84.9 (Kaftantzis)

ἔδινάμεν (1697, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13, f.190r.12); δλον ἐπλέρωνάμεν τὸ νοῖκι (*ibid.* f.190v.29–30)

ὡς ἤλπιζάμεν VATATIS, *Periig.* I 521; πδλεγάμεν *ibid.* 779; κατέβαινάμεν *id.*, *Periig.* II 903

Forms in /i/ instead of /e/ in the final syllable are phonetic variants. They are the result of mid-vowel raising (for which see I, 2.5.4): δὲν ἠύρισκαμι (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.7) (but perhaps read: ἠύρισκάμι, with the northern stress pattern (see above); the original letters lack notation of stress); ὡς καθῶς εἶχαμιν τὸν λόγου (1697, *ibid.* 6, 63.15–16).

Pl.	1	-εμεν
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With /e/ for /a/ in the first syllable, this ending has been found in a 15th-c. Russian–Greek conversation book that is of northern provenance (Athos?) but probably written by a Russian with a very good knowledge of Greek. It is likely to be the result of assimilation (see I, 2.8.5; and cf. 4.4.1 and 4.4.2): ἐκάμνεμέν το τοῦτο (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1821).

Pl.	1	-ομεν
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⁴⁸ The Chiot origin of *Digenis P* was hypothesized by the editor, D. Paschalis, but refuted by POLITIS 1973: 332 and KECHAGIOGLOU 1993: 122, fn. 12.

The residual ending -ομεν, identical to the standard present 1 pl. ending, is used sporadically in texts belonging to the early part of the period under review, and in later texts that generally display archaizing tendencies. Contrary to present tense forms, in the imperfect final /n/ is retained:

καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑπῆρχομεν στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὰς ἄκρας *Dig.* G I.273
 κ' ἐβλέπομεν τὸ κάστρον *Liv.* V 668
 κόσμον ἀνεγυρεύομεν *Liv.* α 811 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ἐχαίρομεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόσμῳ *Dig.* T 69
 καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖ ἐτυγχάνομεν δὲν εἶχεν γένει τοῦτο *Dig.* A 499; ταχέως ἐποχοῦμενοι ὠδεύομεν
 σπουδαίως *ibid.* 2589
 ἐδιάγομεν *CANTEMIR, Krit.* 447.14

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ετε -ετενε
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The inherited 2 pl. ending -ετε is used almost exclusively throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

εἶχετε *Dig.* G I.275
 ἐμένετε *Pol. Tr.* 1179
 καθὼς τὴν εἶχετε πρὸ τῆς μάχης (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.44)
 νὰ εἶχετε εἴσταιν σκοτωμένοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 396.31
 θυμάσταν πού δελιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε; *Alex. Rim.* 1759
 εἶχετε δώσει (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2006: 345, 328.6)
 ἐχθὲς ὅπου ἐπίνετε *Vios Aisop.* K 180.13
 ἐλέγετε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 92.28
 ἐγράφετε *GERMANO, Grammar* 89.8
 ἐτρέχετε καθημερούσιον *VAROUCHAS, Logoi* 469.30–1
 εἶχετε ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ *KYPR., Pali* 4360
 ὅταν τὸν εἶχετε σφικτὰ στὸ ἐδικό σας χέρι *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 844
 νὰ δίνετε ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἐδίνετε (1684, Preveza, CHAVIARAS 1879: 1, 251.9)
 ἐκαταρπάζετε (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.13)
 πού λείπετε *Thrinis Kypr.* 546 (ms)
 ἐγινεν ὡς ἐγράφετε (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 13, 129.28–9)

An added -(v)ε occurs in texts from Chios and possibly elsewhere (see I, 2.6.3.3): ἐλέγετενε *GERMANO, Grammar* 86.33. An added final /n/, resulting in -έτεν, is well attested in the same area for the aorist indicative and subjunctive (4.4.1.1, 4.2.1) and the present (see 4.1.1.1), but has not been found with the imperfect in the texts examined.⁴⁹

Pl.	2	-ατε
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⁴⁹ An instance in *Rodolinos* is the result of editorial intervention (to avoid hiatus): εἶχετεν ἀφανίσαι *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.45 (Aposkiti).

The SMG ending -ατε, which appears to have made a first appearance with the imperfect in the Koine (GIGNAC 1981: 332 and MANDILARAS 1973: 127 both give the same example: εἶχατε *POxy.* 1585.2, 2nd/3rd c.), is extremely rare in the period under review. There are two instances in *Pol. Tr.* ms A (15th c.), but no other examples have been found before the late 16th c. The first Modern Greek grammar to make mention of the ending -ατε for the imperfect is that of Mitrofanis Kritopoulos (1627). Sofianos (mid-16th c.),⁵⁰ Germano (1622), Thomas Parisinus (1708) and Kanellos Spanos (1749) only give forms in -ετε.

ἀν εἶχατε ὑπᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 2950 app. crit. (A); ἠθέλατε ἀκούσει *ibid.* 4320 app. crit. (A)
 ἠθέλατε κάμει (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.113)
 νὰ ᾿χατέ μου πέψει (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 359.2) (author from Nauplion)
 ἐδέρνατε *KRITOPOULOS, Grammar* 111.15 (author from Veroia)

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-α(ν) -ανε
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The ending -αν is, alongside -ασι (see below), the most common ending for 3 pl. in the period covered by this Grammar:

οἱ σκώληκες ... ἀν μὲ ἔτρωγαν (11th c., S. Italy, NITTI DI VITO 1900: 46, 93.29–30) (μὲ = μέ, see I, 2.5.4)
 πόσῃν ἀκρίβειαν εἶχαν *NIKON, Logos* 6 278.3
 ὡς ἔβλεπαν οἱ ἕτεροι *Chron. Mor.* H 4030
 ὑπέσκαφταν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.20)
 ἔδερναν *Achil.* N 571; ἤστεκαν, διελογίζονταν *ibid.* 1223; ἤλεγαν *ibid.* 1517
 ἐπροεκάτεχάν τινες (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 290.9)
 ἔδιδαν τὸν πατέρα μου (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.27)
 ἐγέμιζαν *Ptoch. IV* 300 app. crit. (C); κ' ἐμογεῖρευάν τας *ibid.* 248.5 app. crit. (K)
 ἐπαρέσυρναν *Dig.* E 1050
 τοὺς ἤφερναν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 78
 καθὼς ἠπῆγαιναν τὰ κατζίβελα (1543, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 48, 249.11)
 τοῦτοι ὅλοι ἤστεκαν ἀντάμα *SANKTAM., Praxeis apost.* 17.33
 ἔγραφαν καὶ ἐγράφασιν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 53.17–18
 ἀλιάδες ἐσυραν δίκτυον *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 146.1
 μ' ἤθελαν κράζει *Vask.* 73
 ἀμφίβαλλαν *Don Kis.* 143.28

A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate occurs in prose and non-literary documents from southern areas such as Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese, and certain islands in the Aegean. It is probably an attempt at homogenization of stress of the plural (-εύγαμε, -εύγετε, -εύγαν instead of -εύγαμε, -εύγετε, -εὐγαν; see I, 4.2.4.2 for details):

⁵⁰ The form ἐγράφατε that can be found in Papadopoulos's so-called reprint of Legrand's second edition of Sofianos (53.17), and, sadly, in numerous modern publications that refer to it, is one of the edition's several typos: both mss and Legrand's edition have ἐγράφετε.

"Έλληνες έφεντεύγαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.4; οί Σαρακηνοί έσφάζαν τους *ibid.* 190.23–24, but also: και έδοξευγάν τους *ibid.* 190.30 (έδοξευγάν τους)
 εγυρεύγαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.1–2
 και από 'κεϊ έμοιράζαν (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 53.9)
 έθελαν ρεπρεζεντάρει (1549, Chanda, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.19)
 όπου 'πεθάναν *Pist. kekoim.* 77
 έπληρώναν γή δέν έπληρώναν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 55, 118.7)
 δέν ήθελαν νά σμίξουνε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.15
 τοῦ αύξάιναν την υπόληψιν *Bertoldos* 70.27
 έθελαν νά έρτουν (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 507.25–6) (author from Mani)

It also occurs in poetry from various areas, mainly to accommodate the metre:

και ως είδασιν παράνομα, τὰ ποῖα οὐδέν έλπίζαν *Dig.* E 88; και όσοι τόν έγνωρίζασιν
 έστρωναν και άποστρώναν *ibid.* 926
 ήθελαν οὐκ ήθελασιν, έξηλθον την έσπέραν *Pol. Tr.* 224; πολλά παιγνίδια εύρήκασιν, έπαίζαν
 και έχαιρόντα *ibid.* 1302 app. crit. (B)
 στραφήν ήθελαν άπρακτοι με έντροπήν μεγάλην *Velis.* χ 215
 εκείνος και τὸ ίππάριν του και οὐδέν τόν έγνωρίζαν *Achil.* N 154
 υίέ, πρῶτον νά έβλεπες τὸ πῶς γάρ τοὺς έφέρναν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 77
 και σεις, όπου τὰ άκούγετε, λογιάσετε τί έκάμναν *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 259
 τοιαύτην έβαλαν βουλήν στο φανερόν ελέγαν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 8177
 ένίβγαν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1381
 κι έβλέπαν την άρμάδαν του *Thrinios Kypr.* 64

Deletion of final /n/ appears in texts from insular areas such as Crete, Cyprus and the Heptanese and from certain Aegean islands (see I, 3.7.2.2.2 for discussion):

εδιάβαινα άδιάβατον καλάμιν *Dig.* E 513 app. crit.
 εστέκα πολλά χαΐριασμένοι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 92.15
 τόν είχα έβγάλει οί σύντιχοι (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.8) (= σύνδικοι)
 έγύρευγά τους και έκαυγά τους (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.3)
 όμολογοῦν ... πῶς είχα ένα κομμάτι χωράφι (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 94, 126.2–3);
 έδωσά το οί άνωθεν (*ibid.* 126.5)
 κ' έδίδα πάνω τῶν Τουρκῶ και πλιότερους σκοτώνου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 7267

In verse texts from these areas, final /n/ is often omitted at the verse end, sometimes to accommodate the rhyme:

τὰ όψάρια ... τὰ έψένα *Alex. Rim.* 1632
 τα δεντρά εκαρπίζα *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.318
 παρηγοριά τσ' έδίδα *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.11 (rhymes with όλπίδα)
 όλοι τους έτρομάσσα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 21 (rhymes with τὰ 'χάσα (1 sg.))

Regionally, addition of -(v)ε to this ending is not uncommon (see also I, 2.6.3.3). The ending -ανε is mostly southern and is especially frequent in *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* and *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.*:

οὐκ έξυγώνανέ τους *Chron. Mor.* H 1074; έπροβεδίζανέ του *ibid.* 4677
 παιγνίδια παίζανε *Imb. Rim.* 48
 στο στήθος είχανε αύτεΐνοι τὸ κεφάλι *Alex. Rim.* 1656
 έγράφανε, vel έγράφασι *GERMANO, Grammar* 89.8

ήθελανε τὸ λέγει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.973
 και τόν έβλέπανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.17; έγογγύζανε *ibid.* 31.36; όσοι ήξέρανε και έπλέανε
ibid. 52.30; άντιστέκανε *ibid.* 60.10–11
 πέφτανε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 145.23; έτρέχανε *ibid.* 148.24; έκοιτάζανε *ibid.* 167.19
 κάνανε (1674, Milos, IMELLOS 1985/90: 329.7)
 έκαταβαίνανε (1731, Kefalonia, TSITSELIS 1904: App. 12, 913.4); εκυτάζανε (*ibid.* 913.16)

Pl.	3	-ΕΝΕ
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This ending has been found in a document written in Sicily by a person originally from Sifnos. As no other examples have been found, it is perhaps simply a writing mistake for -ανε: έτσι μοῦ έτάσσενε οί έπίσκοποι (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2, 182.37).

Pl.	3	-ΑΣΙ(ν) ! -ΑΣΙΝΕ ! -ΑΝΣΙ
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The alternation between the endings -ΑΣΙ and -ΑΝ persists throughout the MedG and EMG periods, and is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an inherent feature of the MedG language, and not an artificial metrical device (see HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35). Forms in -ΑΣΙ(ν) can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar in texts from various regions:

έσουνάγασι *Pol. Tr.* 6547
 ένεγνώθασι *Anak. Konst.* 76
 ύψώνασι με *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 52
 κ' έλέγασι οί συντρόφοι μου *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 264
 όθεν τόν ήβλέπασι *Alex. Rim.* 250; ούτε τη γή έβλέπασι *ibid.* 875
 σόδιδασι *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.214; νά λείπασι *ibid.* III.194
 είχασι (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 78.42)
 έγράφανε, vel έγράφασι *GERMANO, Grammar* 89.8
 άφίνασι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.7; άλλους εκόφτασι και άλλους επιάνασι σκλάβους *ibid.* 33.8–9; έγλυτώνασι *ibid.* 52.30; έσύρνασι *ibid.* 90.4
 ήφτασι *Fallidos* 50

Forms with an added final /n/ occur in various texts throughout the period under review:

ας με έγεμιζασιν *Ptoch.* IV 300
 ήπτασιν *Dig.* E 1347
 ήλπιζασιν *Velth.* 203
 άνάβγασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 3718
 ήθελαν οὐκ ήθελασιν *Pol. Tr.* 224
 έστέκασιν *Achil.* N 515
 ήφερασιν *Achil.* O 16
 έδεσπόζασιν *ERMON., Il.* 3.277
 κι έβγαίνασιν από τὰ στόματά των *FALIEROS, Thrinios* 7
 νά με τόν έγεμιζασιν *Krasop.* AO 93
 είχασιν (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 45, 87.16)
 ήθελασιν (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.23)

ἔγραφαν καὶ ἔγραψαν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.17–18
 τὸν ἐδιδάχνασιν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 43.29–30
 δὲν τοῦ ἐρέσσασιν (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 177, 351.8) (< ἄρῃσω)

A syllable -(v)ε added to the ending -ασι can be found in texts from Crete (sporadically in some, e.g. *Erotokritos*, rather more frequently in others, e.g. Bounialis), Santorini and Chios, and possibly in texts from other regions such as the Heptanese and other Cycladic islands (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἐκλαίγασινε ἀπαρηγόρητα MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.25; ἐδοξάζασινε ibid. 90.37
 νὰ κάνασινε κρίμα Pist. *voskos* IV 5.59
 εἶχασινε νὰ κάμουσιν (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 211, 200.5)
 ἐκλαίγασινε τὰ παιδιὰ Rim. *Sant.* 733
 ἐπομένασινε σοσπέζοι (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.133–4)
 ἐκόφτασινε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 188.6; εἶχασινε ξαμώσει ibid. 149.27; τοῖ ρίχνασινε
 κάτου ibid. 210.8; ἐδίδασινε ibid. 435.16
 νὰ θέλασινε σμίξουν Dig. O 1795 app. crit.
 κ ἐλάμπασινε τὰ θρονιά KORNAPOS, *Erot.* II.102; δὲν τὸ λογιάζασινε πλιὸ ibid. V.1386

The alternation between -αν and -ασι can sometimes lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι, which is likely to be the result of the use of ligatures (cf. 4.4.1.1): ἐρρίκτανσιν *Theseid* I.53,1 app. crit. (Follieri).

Pl.	3	-ον -ο -ονε
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The residual ending -ον is not used very frequently, though it can be found in various, mainly mixed- and higher-register texts throughout the period, usually alongside forms in -αν and -ασι(v):

νὰ μὲ ἔδιδον Ptoch. III 183 (but ἔδιδαν in P; innovative for AG ἔδιδον)
 ἄλλοι τὰς χεῖρας ἔφερον σιδήρῳ δεδεμένους GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 501
 ἐνόσω εἰς μάχην ἔστεκον Liv. S 1216 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἔλεγον δὲ τὰ γράμματα, ἔφασκον δὲ τοιάδε Velth. 383; ἐσύμφερον ibid. 852
 οὐκ ἤθελον τὸ νὰ περιπατοῦσιν Achil. N 414; καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ibid. 1514
 ὅπου τὸν ἠνάγκαζον SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 36.1
 ἔχαιρον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 146.1
 ἔσυρον καὶ ἔδερνον αὐτὸν Vios *Aisop.* E 293.42
 ἔλεγον πρὸς τὴν κόρην Dig. A 1252
 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐξέβαινον Alex. Fyll. 31.25; τὰ παιδιὰ ἀνέβαινον ibid. 32.7; ἤθελον ibid. 32.9
 ὅσοι ἐμπαινον καὶ ἐβγαινον Vios *Aisop.* D 228.15
 ἔστεκον ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYPR., *Pali* 750 (used with the innovative stem στεκ-); οἱ κύνες ἀπόξω
 ἔλειχον ibid. 4810

Predictably deletion of final /n/ is very rare with this residual ending: καὶ τίποτας ἀντίλογο
 δὲν εἶχο (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.17).

Addition of /e/ is very rare too, and it cannot be excluded that the following example is a simple writing mistake for εἶχανε: ποιοὶ ἄνθρωποι εἶχονε κάμει μὲ αὐτὴ (1607, Corfu, KARADOCHOS 1990: 37, 251.9).

Pl.	3	-ουν
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The rare 3 pl. ending in -ουν in the following examples is most probably the result of raising of [o] to [u], for which see I, 2.8.3:

[τὰ χωράφια] ὑπῆρχουν τοῦ γέροντος ... (1183, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 24, 432.7 and 433.21)
 οὐκ εἶχουν ποθὲν ἐνεμποδισμόν (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.4)
 εἰς τὸν τόπον δὲν εἶχουν οἱ Τοῦρκοι (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.I, 274.24.6)
 δταν εἶχουν τὴν φιλονικίαν οἱ Ξεροποταμινοὶ (1481–96, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 61, 312, 19th-c. marginal note)

Pl.	3	-οσιν
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This very rare hybrid ending is perhaps the result of an analogical formation: εἶχαν–εἶχασιν, εἶχον–εἶχοσιν: εἶχοσιν ἐλεημοσύνην (1358?, Macedonia?, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.4); καὶ οὐκ εἶχοσιν παρά τινος ἐμποδισμόν (ibid. 231.5). In the same text: εἶχαν (ibid. 231.3) and εἶχουν (ibid. 231.4, see above).

Pl.	3	-ασον
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This is another rare, perhaps dubious, ending, which could be explained as a conflation of -ασιν and -ον, if it is not a simple writing mistake: εἶχασον (1681, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 142, 309.15).

4.3.1.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἐγράφουν ἐγράφουμουν	ἐγράφομου ἐγραφόμου(v) ἐγράφουμου ἐγράφουμουνε ἐγραφοῦμουν ἐγραφόμην	ἐγραφόμουνα ἐγραφόμη ἐγραφοῦμην ἐγράφουμην -άμη(v) ἐγράφουμου ἐγράφουνμου(v) ἐγραφόμου ἐγράφουμον

In the innovative endings, there appears to be some associative influence of the postverbal weak personal pronoun (RUGE 1984) in the formation of endings of all persons except 2 pl.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-όμεν(ν) -ούμην -ουμην
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The inherited ending -όμεν can be found in various texts of the earlier period, as well as in certain later texts that have archaizing tendencies:

ἤνεπευόμεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.13 app. crit. (S)
 ἐφανταζόμεν ΓΛΥΚΑΣ, *Stichoi* 54; ἐδειλαινόμεν ἄμετρα, πολλά συνεστελλόμεν ibid. 55
 ἤρχόμεν *Ptoch.* III 47 app. crit. (C)
 κάγῳ ἐτσιγαρίζομεν *Ptoch.* IV 424
 διελογίζομεν *Eisit.* f.8r.1; ἐκατεμερίζομεν ibid. f.8r.2
 κατεκοπτόμεν *Liv.* α 756
 ἀμὴ ὀρεγόμεν καὶ ἤθελα SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 68
 κ' ἐστοχαζόμεν τὸ δένδρον BERGADIS, *Apok.* V. 32
 ἐγερνόμεν *Alosis* 717
 ἐπροσευχόμεν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 146.4d)

Hybrid forms combining -όμεν and -ουμουν (see below) are occasionally found in texts and mss of the 14th/15th c.: ἐκαθούμεν *Dig.* G VI.181; ἐμοιραζούμεν κατὰ νοῦν *Liv.* E 3512; ἐχαίρουμεν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 21; νὰ ἐγάλλουμου, νὰ ἐτέρπουμην ibid. 218.

Sg.	1	-ομου(ν) -όμου(ν) -όμουνα
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Proparoxytone forms in -ομουν are common for 1 sg. from at least the 14th c.⁵¹ This new ending is derived from -όμεν, the /u/ in the final syllable being the result of backing of /i/ to /u/ in the environment of nasals (see I, 2.8.4; cf. oxytone verbs for a comparable development (4.3.2.2)). The postverbal weak personal pronoun μου may have played an associative role (cf. 2 sg. -σου(ν) and, regionally, 3 sg. -του(ν) with both barytone and oxytone verbs (see below and 4.3.2.2), and with εἶμαι, 4.8.2). The initial shift of the stress to the antepenultimate is probably due to the fact that most forms in the paradigm were proparoxytone, 1 sg. (ἐλυόμεν) and 2 sg. (ἐλύου) being the exception. The ending -ομουν occurs in texts from various areas throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἤρχομουν *Ptoch.* III 47 (< ἄρχομαι)
 ἐστέκομουν *Byz.* II. 714
 ἐπροσεγγιζαίνομουν *Chron. Mor.* H 6104
 ὀρέγομουν νὰ περπατῶ SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 52

⁵¹ With εἶμαι the ending appears in writing earlier, from the 11th/12th c. (see 4.8.2).

ἐχαίρομουν τὸν κόσμον *Spanos* A 277
 βρίσκομουν *Theseid* Prol. E 69
 ἐγίνομουν τυφλὸς *Velis.* p 939
 καὶ ονομάζομουν οὐράνιος θεὸς *Diig. Alex.* K 355.31
 ἐδύνομουν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 174.49)
 ἐπροσεύχομουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 351.16
 ἐγὼ εβούλομουν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 11.6
 ἐγράφομουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 49.9; ἐπέιθομουν ibid. 50.22; ἐλευκαίνομουν ibid. 51.17
 ἐτρέφομουν (1567, Corfu, VERRA et al. 2007: 349, 248.8)
 ὡς ἐκείτομουν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 258.10
 ἐγίνομουν σκλάβος TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 148; ἐκαίγομουν ibid. 154
 ἔρχομουν *Bertoldos* 13.20; ἐχρειάζομουν ibid. 82.22
 ἀσκηκώνομουν ἀπάνω *Bertoldin.* 148.24
 ἐβούλομουν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.83; ἤρχομουν ibid. I §31.145 (< ἔρχομαι)
 ἐχαίρομουν, Ἀλέξανδρε *Alex. Fyll.* 102.16

Shift of the stress to the penultimate, normal in SMG, occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards in texts from various areas:

ὀρδινιαζόμουν *Dig.* E 1370
 ὀδὸν ἤρχομουν *Ptoch.* III 273.28 app. crit. (K)
 ἐτσιγαρίζομουν *Ptoch.* IV 424 app. crit. (C)
 ἐξενιζόμουν *Liv.* V 1992
 εὐρισκόμουν *Assizes* B 343.31
 ἐτρεμόμουν FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 14 app. crit. (V)
 ὠργιζόμουν SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 116.4
 ἀντιστεκόμουν ἀνάντια *Diig. Alex.* F 308.3 (Lolos)
 ἐκαταδεχόμουν *Diig. Alex.* E 259.3 (Lolos); ἐπωνομαζόμουν ibid. 259.5–6
 ἐδυνόμουν καὶ ἀπόβλεπα (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 48.3)

Forms without final /n/ are found in texts of south-western origin, as well as in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv.* N):

οὐκ ἐδουλώνομου εἰς τὸ ἐξουσιαστικόν σου *Liv.* α 409 app. crit. (N)
 ἐσυχνοεχαίρομου *Theseid* Prol. P 4
 σ' ἕνα περβόλι εὐρίσκομου, ἕ μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.545–6
 εἰς θάνατον ἐρχόμου *Theseid* Prol. E 47; καὶ πρῶτα ποῦ βρίσκομου ibid. 52
 ἐγινόμου δμοῖος τὸν θεὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 268.6 (Lolos)

Sg.	1	-ουμου(ν) -ούμουν -ουμουνε
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Forms in -ουμουν have been found in a variety of texts, though notably not usually in Heptanesian texts, from at least the 14th c. onwards (ms P of *Ptoch.* III dates to the 15th c., but see the residual middle aorist (4.9.2.1), with which this ending occurs in the 14th c.):

νάργάζομουν *Ptoch.* III 197.1 app. crit. (P); τὴν στράταν ἤρχομουν ibid. 273.28 app. crit. (P)
 τὰ ρέγομουν ποθῶντα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 12; ἐχώνομουν ibid. 754
 ἐχαίρομουν τὸν κόσμον *Spanos* B 100
 ἐθαίβομουν *Flor.* L 749

ιστέκουμουν έννοιασμένος *Liv.* S 127 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 λυτρώνουμουν *Byz.* II. 262
 έρχουμουν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 80.9 and M 81.9
 έδουλεύγουμουν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 100, 99.6)
 δέν έδύνουμουν *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 18, ρ6ν.13; εύφραίνουμουν *ibid., Logos* 24, ω8r.31
 κάλλιον να εκάθουμουν εκεί *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 44.19
 έθυμώνουμουν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 64.4; έναντιώνουμουν *ibid.* 64.4; έκολάζουμουν *ibid.* 65.27
 έγράφουμουν *GERMANO, Grammar* 77.24
 εκάθουμουν άμέριμος *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 131
 έδύνουμουν [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VI 370.4; έγνοιάζουμουν *ibid.* VII 380.13–14
 βρέθουμουν (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 41.24) (< βρέθομαι < εύρίσκω, see 2.4)
 ως καθώς διήρχουμουν *VATATSI, Periig.* I 402

A shift of the stress to the penultimate can sporadically be found: εκρούμουν *VOUSTR., Chron.* B 81.8; έδυνούμουν [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P VII 393.8.

Forms without final /n/ are found in texts of south-western origin and possibly Rhodes (*Alosis*). The example from Thessaloniki is a form of haplography, as the verb is followed by a word starting in a nasal:

εκρύβγουμου ώσάν άστοχισμένος *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 754
 να έγάλλουμου *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 218
 έσηκόνουμου συχνώς *Alosis* 712
 τόν κόσμον έξενίζουμου, τ' άνθη και τα καλά του *BERGADIS, Apok.* 18
 άντιστέκουμου τόν βασιλέα *Diig. Alex.* E 309.2 (Lolos)
 εθαμάζουμου *CHORTATSI, Panor.* V.301; έπαιδεύγουμου *id., Erof.* I.267
 ήρχουμου μαναχός μου (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.31)
 έκομπώνουμου κ' ήσφαλα *KORNAPOS, Erot.* III.776

ήρχούμου στον ναόν *Pist. voskos* V 7.21

Forms with added -(v)ε or -(v)α, not uncommon in colloquial MG, are absent from LMedG texts and very rare in EMG texts (though they are rather more common with 1 sg. forms of είμαι (see 4.8.2) and with oxytone verbs (4.3.2.2); see also I, 2.6.3.3):

σ' άμετρην εύρίσκουμουνε κρίση *CHORTATSI, Erof.* I.250
 εκ πόλεμον έρχόμουνα *ZINOS, Vatr.* 323
 εύρισκόμουνα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.7)
 κι έγώ άν δέν έρχόμουνα *Diig. Vefa* 740

Sg.	1	-άμη(v)
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This is a rare ending, and there is probably no connection with the residual middle imperfect ending -άμην of the athematic verbs δύναιμαι and ίστημι. It occurs in ms A of *FALIEROS, Ist. On.*, with κείτομαι and τρέμω, both at the verse end, rhyming with each other (ms V has εκειτόμουν and έτρεμόμουν), and there is one instance in *Machi Varnas* C: εκειτάμη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 13; έτρεμάμη *ibid.* 14; έστεκάμη *Machi Varnas* C 439.⁵²

⁵² It cannot be a coincidence that these verbs can also form present passive participles in -άμενος: κειτάμενος, τρεμάμενος, στεκάμενος, as noted by VAN GEMERT 1973: 231–2 (see also 2.3.1.1).

Another example of an imperfect in -άμην appears in *Liv.* S and N: έτυλισσάμην in S, ένετυλισσάμην in N (= *Liv.* α 2607). This form is perhaps the result of confusion with the very similar-sounding residual middle aorist έτυλιξάμην.

Sg.	1	-ονμου ! -ουνμου(v) ! -όνμου
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These rare endings are found in a handful of texts of the 15th–17th centuries. An explanation could be: 3 sg. -ουντο > -οντου and then 1 sg. (and 2 sg.) by analogy. The postverbal weak personal pronoun seems to have played an associative role in this ending: note that the 1529 edition of *Alex. Rim.* and the *Vatrachomyomachia* (the first edited, the second written by Zinos) read ήρχουν μου and εκοιτουν μου respectively. See also 2 sg. -ουνσου and 3 sg. -οντου(v), below; and see oxytone verbs, 4.3.2.2:

τά ρέγονμου ποθώντας *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 11 app. crit. (N)
 έμέφονμου *Theseid* I.104,5 (Follieri); έστεκονμου *ibid.* V.50,6 (1529)
 με έδικά μου έδουλεύονμου (15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.2)

λοιπόν στα έθνη ήρχουνμου αύτείνα της Άσίας *Alex. Rim.* 647
 εκοιτουνμου *ZINOS, Vatr.* 326
 έμποδίζουνμου *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 27, Γ7r.14 (1561)
 έστεκουνμου [*VLASTOS*], *Dig.* P 337.19

Similar forms with a shift of stress are found in the *Theseid*, quoted in HOLTON 2002: 213: έδυνόνμου, έγινόνμου, έδεόνμου, άναθρεφόνμου.

Sg.	1	-ουμον
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In the period covered by this Grammar only one example has been found. It is likely to be the result of hypercorrection of /u/ to /o/ in -ουμουν (the document being from the north): μά έγώ ήρχουμον (1697, Dyrrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 54, 236.4).⁵³

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ου(v)
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Although not many examples have been found, the inherited middle ending -ου will have been the normal ending until about the 14th c., when it was superseded by -εσουν (see below). It can therefore be found in texts of the early period (*Ptoch., Dig. G, Eisit.*), but also in later texts that generally display archaizing tendencies, such as *Dig. A* and *T*:

⁵³ This ending, with double /o/, is the only one given in Michail Boiatzis's *Romanic, or Macedono-Vlachic Grammar*, e.g. εκτενίζομον (BOIATZIS 1813: 103).

ἄπερ ἐβούλου πράξειν *Dig. G* II.248; δ' ἐδίδου κατὰ καιρὸν τέλος τῷ Ἰκονίῳ *ibid.* IV.1043
 ὡς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς *Ptoch. I* 104
 ἐκαθέζου καὶ ἔβλεπες *Ptoch. IV* 80
 τὴν ἤθελες καὶ ὀρέγῃ νὰ κερδήσῃς *Eisit. f.1v.7-8*
 ἐγένου *Poulol. 251*
 τὸ τί ἐργάζου μετ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ γινώσκω *Dig. T* 2662 and *Dig. A* 3832

Addition of final /n/ is quite rare:

πότε νὰ ἐγίνουν (... ἐξουσιαστής) *Liv. V* 1267 and *Liv. S* 283 (Lambert-van der Kolf); καὶ σὺ ...
 ἐγίνουν *Liv. V* 1571
 ἐγένουν *Poulol. 251* app. crit. (E); ἐκαθέζουν *ibid.* 289 app. crit. (E)
 ὅπου μὲ συνετάσσουν *Katal. 482*

Sg.	2	-εσου(ν) -έσου(ν) -έσونه
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This ending is to be found from the 14th/15th c. onwards in a variety of literary texts, mainly from south-western areas (Crete, Peloponnese), and in texts of unknown provenance. It is held to have been formed from what HATZIDAKIS 1892: 61 proclaimed to be "the Medieval form", the ending -εσο (JANNARIS 1897: 199; MINAS 1987a: 35). Chatzidakis conjectures the ending -εσο to be Medieval solely on the fact that forms such as ἐρκεσο and ἐγράφεσο occur in *modern* south-Italian dialects; however, no textual evidence has been found for the existence of an ending -εσο in the MedG and EMG periods. The ending -εσουν is perhaps more likely to be an entirely innovative ending, formed by analogy with the present: -ο(υ)μαι : -εσαι, -ο(υ)μουν : -εσουν. After the 16th c. the ending apparently falls into disuse. *Vios Aisop. K*, datable around 1600, is among the last texts to have it:

ἐβρέχεσουν *Pol. Tr.* 1249 app. crit. (A); ἐχρειάζεσουν *ibid.* 6486 (ms X); κάλλιόν σου νὰ
 ἀναπαύεσουν *ibid.* 3425 (mss AX)
 ἀγάλλεσουν *Chron. Toc.* 3360
 τὰ μὲ ὑπέσχεσουν *Achil. N* 1693
 ἐνθυμίζεσουν *Chron. Mor. P* 8417
 νὰ ντρέπεσουν *Theseid I*.106,1 (Follieri)
 παράδεισος ἐγίνεσουν *Love poems V* 215
 ἐδύνεσουν *Diig. Alex. F* 62.22 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐγίνεσουν καὶ ὀνομάζεσουν *Diig. Alex. E* 65.1-2 (Konstantinopulos)
 εὐρίσκεσουν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 192
 ἐστέκεσουν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 346
 ἐοὺ ἐβούλεσουν *Vios Aisop. K* 163.2

Deletion of final /n/ is rare:

ὀνομάζεσου μοναχικά *Synax. gyn.* 429
 τὸν ἰσκιὸν σου ἐντρέπεσου *DEFAR., Sos.* 221 (Holton)

Forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, with and without final /n/, occur in verse texts, probably for metrical convenience: πῶς οὐδὲν ἐντρέπέσου *Liv. E* 1773; εἴτι φυτὸν

ὠρεγέσουν *ibid.* 2451; ὅπου ἐκαθέσουν καὶ ἔραπτες *Poulol. 289* (reading of mss CAZ);
 νὰ ὀδυνέσουν *Theseid IV*.67,2 (1529).

A form with /o/ for /u/ (see I, 2.8.3) and addition of -(v)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in an unedited manuscript of *Varlaam and Ioasaf* (ms Lond. Harl. 5619; d. 1590):⁵⁴
 ἐγκρεμνίζεσونه *Varl. & Ioas. (Lond.) f.10r, l. 2.*

Sg.	2	-ουσου(ν) -ουσουνε -ούσουν
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Proparoxytone -ουσουν, formed by analogy with 1 sg. -οιμουν (see above; see also 4.3.2.2 for a similar development in oxytone verbs), is the most common ending for 2 sg. from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Chron. Mor. P*):

νὰ ἀναπεύουσουν *Chron. Mor. P* 4112
 δὲν ἐκαταχρειάζουσουν *Pist. kekoim.* 591
 ἐμάχουσουν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 65.8
 ἐγράφουσουν *GERMANO, Grammar* 77.26
 διατὶ δὲν ἤρχουσουν *DAM. SToud., This., Logos* 2, β3v.17 (1561)
 ἐντρέπουσουν *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §14.41
 δουλεύουσουν *Bertoldos* 48.26
 ἀν ἀφένουσουν *Don Kis.* 546.9

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c., in Germano's grammar, in a document from Naxos and in a text that is held to be of northern provenance (*Spanos*; provenance of the scribe unknown):

ἐγίνουσου *Spanos A* 40
 εἰς τὰ κρισίματα ὅπου ἐκρίνουσου (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 324, 321.23)
 στὸ κάθισμαν ὅπου κάθουσου (1574, Crete, *ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI* 2007: 147.14)
 ὡς ἐδύνουσου *CHORTATIS, Katz. I*.72; ἐθρέφουσου *id., Erotf. V*.481; καὶ πῶς τὸ κόβγουσου
ibid. V.587
 ἐκεῖ ποὺ ἐκείτουσου *KORNAROS, Erotf. V*.95; ἐγίνουσου *ibid. V*.998
 ἐγράφουσου *GERMANO, Grammar* 90.9
 ἐμέλλουσου, κερά μου *FOSKOLOS, Fort. V*.328
 ἐλογιάζουσου (1689?, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 868, 1161.24-5)

Addition of -(v)ε is to be found in 17th-c. texts from Crete, and possibly elsewhere (Chios, Heptanese and perhaps certain Cycladic islands, see I, 2.6.3.3): καὶ πέγουσونه *Stathis I*.242; εὐρίσκουσونه *FOSKOLOS, Fort. V*.117.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate is rare: ὅπου καθούσουν καὶ ἔραπτες *Poulol. 289* app. crit. (L).

Sg.	2	-οσου(ν)
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⁵⁴ The London manuscript can be consulted at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>. Ms. Athous Pandel. 538, edited by VASILEIOU (2003) has the unusual form ἐγκρεμνίζεσθον *Varl. & Ioas. (Pantel.)* 303, which is unlikely to be an archaic dual (as the subject is 2 sg.), and probably a writing mistake for ἐγκρεμνίζεσουν.

Forms in -οσουν also appear from the 16th c. onwards, mainly in Heptanesian texts (cf. 1 sg. -ομουν). It is the only ending given by Sofianos:

εχρειάζοσουν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 54.10
 έγράφοσουν ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Grammar* 57.7
 ἀλλάσσοσουν *Bertoldin.* 99.10
 ἐρχοσουν *Alex. Fyll.* 18.31; ἐστοχάζοσουν *ibid.* 61.6–7; ονομάζοσουν *ibid.* 97.16–17

Deletion of final /n/ is very rare: δὲ μὲ στοχάζοσου *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.217.

SMG -όσουν has only been found in a 16th-c. work of Aitolos and then slightly after the period covered by this Grammar, in the *Lament for the Peloponnese* (1716) by the Kefalonian poet Katsaitis. It cannot be excluded that the shift of the stress in Aitolos occurred to accommodate the metre:⁵⁵ κ' εἰς ὄλους ἐφαινόσυνε εὐμορφο παλληκάρι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Voey.* 127; ἀμέριμνη ἐκαθόσου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.925.

Sg.	2	-ουνσου
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This unusual ending has been found in one 17th-c. text. If it is not a simple mistake, an explanation could be that it is formed on the analogy of 3 sg. -ουντο > -οντου; the post-verbal weak personal pronoun seems to play an associative role in this ending (see also 1 sg. -ομμου | -ομμου | ὄμμου and 3 sg. -οντου(ν)): ὅταν ἦσουν νεότερος, ἐζώνουνσου καὶ ἐπεριπάτεις ὅπου ἤθελες *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 21.18.

Sg.	2	-οσον
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The grammar of Romanos Nikiforou is the only text to have this ending. If it is not a typo, the form could be explained as a case of hypercorrection of back-vowel raising, through which -ουσουν becomes -οσον: έγράφοσον *ROMANOS, Grammar* 20.17.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ετο(ν) -ετονε -έτο(ν) -έτονε
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The inherited ending -ετο(ν), especially with the final /n/, is widely used throughout the period under investigation, and it continues to be used when new variant endings emerge, in both literary and non-literary texts:

πρὸς τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα ἤρχετον ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 816.12
 ἐπιάνετον *Arm.* 17
 ἐγίνετον σεισμὸς μέγας (1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.1–2)

⁵⁵ There are several instances of -όσουν in the modern edition of Damaskinos Stouditis's *Thisavros*, but the modern edition is not based on 16th-c. editions, but on much later ones. The edition of 1561 has -ουσουν. The following example: πλέον νὰ μολυνόσουν τὰς χεῖρας *Hist. Imp.* IIb 2127 is perhaps based on a misreading. The one ms that is available online reads μολύνομεν (not in the edition's app. crit.; ms Bern. gr. 114, olim 596, f.160r (ca. 1540); consulted at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/>).

ἐκαθέζετον πάντοτε *Liv.* α 3373
 ὁποῦ γίνετον *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 96
 ὁ κόσμος ἐποντίζετον καὶ ἡ γυνή μου ἐστολιζέτο *Paroim.* H 37
 σκάνταλον ἐγινίσκετον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 46.30
 τὸν βορθακά ἐμέμφετον *ZINOS, Vatr.* 161
 ἐξεστιμερίζετον *Vios Filaret.* 238.22
 ὁ Ἀδάμ ἀκούοντας ἐχαίρετον, καὶ ἡ Εὐὰ ἐφραίνετον *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 7, η5r.33 (1561)
 περιμαζώνετον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 348
 τοῦ ἐφαίνετον (1604, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 211, 216.5)
 ἐστέκετον καὶ ἐξεσταίνουοντον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 18.25
 ἐσωρεύετον (1636, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 11, 83.13)
 εὕρισκετον (1663, Central Greece, *STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI* 1992: 39, 136.14–15)
 ἐκάθετον *Thrinis Kypr.* 3

Without final /n/ this ending is found mainly, though not exclusively, in Cretan texts, and in texts of unknown provenance:

εὐφραίνετο, ἠγάλλετο ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς *Achil.* N 90
 ἐκείνος ἐβούλετο νὰ τὰ ἐνδύσει (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.12–13)
 ἐκοντοστένετο *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 10
 ἠστέκετο *Diig. Alex.* E 105.5 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐδέρνετο *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 151
 εὕρισκετο *LANDOS, Neos Parad.* 346.13
 ἐχαίρετο, ἐλαφρώνετο *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.12
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνοιάζετο *Thrinis Kypr.* 16 facs.; ἡ θάλασσα ταραττέτο *ibid.* 41 facs.

Addition of -(ν)ε, usually without a second accent, occurs in Cretan and Heptanesian texts, as well as in texts from certain Cycladic islands (see I, 2.6.3.3):

τοῦ φαίνετονε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 774 app. crit.
 μὲ ὄλους ἐμοιχεύετονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 46.30; ἐδοξάζετονε *id., Logos* 468.29
 εὕρισκετόνε πλούσιος *DEFAR., Sos.* 39 (Holton)
 ἐδίδετόνε *MARGOUNIOS, Vioi* 273.8
 ὁποῦ λέγετονε *Σεγρεδιανή* (1614, Crete, *ILIAKIS* 2008: 206, 195.7)
 μοῦ ἐφαίνετονε (1622, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 3, 53.184)
 τὸ σπῆτι τῆς ὅπου ἐκάθετονε (1629, Milos, *PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS* 1990: 14, 10.12)
 μοῦ φαίνετονε *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.461
 κ' ἐγίνετονε σύγχυση *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 9228
 τοῦ φαίνετόνε *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 473
 ὁ πασῶς εὕρισκετονε τότες *Leilasia Par.* 158

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has been found in texts from various areas, often to accommodate the metre:

δοτην καὶ ἄν ἐδυνέτον *Arm.* 46
 ἐρχέτον μετὰ σχήματος *Liv.* E 2191; ὁκάτι ἐχαίρετον νὰ πάθη ὀρεγέτον *ibid.* 2647; καὶ εὐθύς ἐλιγωνέτον *ibid.* 3465
 στήν τένταν ἐκαθέτον *Chron. Mor.* H 4757
 πολλὰ ἐδιαλογίζετον *Pol. Tr.* 317; τὸ πῦρ ὁποῦ ἐξηρχέτον *ibid.* 652; ὄσον καὶ ἄν ἐβρεχέτον *ibid.* 10189

ὡς ὅσον ἐδυνέτον *Dig. E* 486
 πολλά εὐχέτον *Achil. N* 1615
 ἐκρυβέτον *Theseid I* 57,5 (Follieri); εδειχνυέτον *ibid. VI* 38,7 (Olsen); ἐλαβωνέτον *ibid. VIII* 20,3 (1529)
 εὐλόγησε κι ἐγινέτον *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 426
 ὅπου καθέτον Φίλιππος *Alex. Rim.* 192
 καὶ πάλι ἀντρευέτον *ZINOS, Vatr.* 141
 εὐρισκέτον ἀρρώστη *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 32.14; ἐκαθέτον εἰς τὴν σκάλαν *ibid.* 38.11
 ὅσα καὶ ἂν ἀντρειώνέτον *Thrinios Konst. (Zoras)* 10

Here, deletion of final /n/ is rare: ἐστεκέτο *Pol. Tr.* 9073 app. crit. (B).

Addition of -(v)ε, with or without a second accent (more often than not added by modern editors), occurs in Cretan and Heptanesian/Peloponnesian texts, as well as in texts from certain Cycladic islands (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐσφαζέτονε *Liv. E* 3103
 ἐχθρευέτονε *Theseid II* 13,3 (1529); ἐρχέτονε *ibid. III* 30,1; ἐκαθέτονε *ibid. VI* 56,1 (Olsen)
 ἐρχέτονε *Imb. Rim.* 835
 ἐργαζέτονε *Alex. Rim.* 13
 ἐμαχέτονε *Varl. & Ioas. (Pantel.)* 275
 ἐφαινέτονε (1604–5, Cythera, *MAVROEIDI* 1978: 148.50)
 φυλαγέτονε *Pist. voskos II* 1.318 app. crit.
 κ' ἐκαθέτονε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.25; ἐκαμωνέτονε *ibid.* 85.38; ἐπονηρευέτονε *ibid.* 135.27–8

Sg.	3	-ΕΤΟΥΝ -ΕΤΟΥΝΑ
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This rare ending occurs in the Heptanesian text *Bertoldinos* and the Peloponnesian *Miracles of Nikon Metanoieite*, in which it could be considered to be the result of a conflation of the mainstream ending -ετον and the Heptanesian/Peloponnesian variant -οτου. In the document from Epirus and in *Diig. Alex. K*, a text with northern features, it could be explained as a case of mid-vowel raising of unstressed /o/ to [u].⁵⁶

ἐρχετουν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Σκεντέρ Πασᾶ (1585 [copy of 1653], Epirus, *LAMBROS* 1916b: 4, 135.1)
 εβούλετουν *Diig. Alex. K* 356.27
 τοῦ ἐφαίνετουν *Bertoldin.* 92.16
 ἐρπετουν καὶ ἐσύρνοτουν *Thavm. Nikon Metan. III* 4

The same ending with an added -α and dual stress occurs once in the 17th-c. *Pistikos Voskos*, which is considered to be of Cretan provenance: σοῦ φαίνετούνα *Pist. voskos IV* 6.10.

Sg.	3	-ΕΤΑΝ
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⁵⁶ This ending, now characteristic of the Cypriot dialect, has not been found in Cypriot texts before the 19th c., in the *Ἄσμα Χατζῆ Γεωργάκη Δραγομάνου* (e.g. ἐβρίσκετου, ἐμάχετου, ἐρχετου, ἐχώννετου).

This is a very rare ending, found once in Maximos Kallioupolitis's translation of the New Testament, a 17th-c. text whose author was most probably from eastern Thrace:⁵⁷ ὁ λαὸς ὅπου ἐκάθεταν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 4.16.

Sg.	3	-ΕΝΤΟ(Υ) -ΕΝΤΟΝ -ΕΝΤΟΝΕ
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The ending -εντον is found from the 14th c. onwards. It is relatively frequent in *Achil. N* (16 instances), but much rarer in other texts. It appears in texts from various areas:

ἐστρέφεντον *B Pol. Tr.* 6309 app. crit. (B); οὐκ ἤρχεντον *ibid.* 9555 app. crit. (C); ἐγίνεντον *ibid.* 12221 app. crit. (C)
 ἐκείτεντον *Achil. N* 963; ἐκάθεντον *ibid.* 1132; ἐστέκεντον *ibid.* 1242; εὐφραίνεντον καὶ ἠγάλλεντον *ibid.* 1551
 ἐθλίβεντον *Achil. O* 422 (hapax)
 ἐχαίρεντον *Spanos A* 367 (hapax)
 ἐκρέμεντον *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1448
 ἐκόπτεντον *BERGADIS, Apok. V* 319 (app. crit.) (hapax)
 ἐρχεντον *Pent. Gen.* 38.9

Deletion of final /n/ is not unusual with this ending:

πώποτε οὐ γίνεντο *Pol. Tr.* 927 app. crit. (A)
 ἠϋτρέπεντο, εὐφραίνετο *Achil. N* 90; ἀλλ' ὡς φυτὸν ἐκλίνεντο *ibid.* 1337; ἐκάθεντο *ibid.* 1850
 ἐγδέχεντο κι ἐνίμενε *P&N Diath.* 2268
 κι ο Κᾶτης ἐδιαλογίζεντο *Katis* 32; βουβός, τυφλός ἐκείτεντο *ibid.* 36
 καὶ πασανεῖς ἐρέγεντο κι ἐμέ την ομορφιά μου *CHORTATSIS Panor. III* 152
 μά λέγει πῶς ἐσφάζεντο καλλιὰ *Stathis I* 58; κι εἶδα ἓνα ξύλο κι ἤρχεντο *ibid. II* 325
 ἤρχεντο στὸ βυζὶ τῇ *FOSKOLOS, Fort. I* 149; τοῦ Φορτουνάτο ἐμέλλεντο *ibid. V* 200
 ἐκτάσσαντο *Leilasias Par.* 355

A shift of the stress to the penultimate is very rare: ὁ νοῦς μετατραπέντον *Achil. N* 852.

Addition of -(v)ε can be found in texts from Crete, and has also been found in a document from Naxos (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

καὶ λογιζέτονε τὸ ἔμισόν περιβόλαιον (1557 [later copy], Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1955: 11, 63.7)
 δὲν ἐντρέπεντονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 183.36 (ms Ξ)
 διατὶ βλάφτεντονε καὶ ἐζήτηξέν το (17th c., Crete, *SPANAKIS* 1971: [1], 181.73)
 νὰ βρῖσκεντονε in verità a bono patre natus *FOSKOLOS, Fort. V* 218

Sg.	3	-ΟΝΤΟ(Υ) -ΟΝΤΟΝ -ΟΤΟΝ -ΟΤΟΝ
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The ending -οντο(v), identical to the inherited 3 pl. ending (see below), though much less frequent in the singular, appears in several literary texts from around the 15th

⁵⁷ The ending is still characteristic of certain northern dialects (*NEWTON* 1972c: 271), and also occurs in the south-east Peloponnese according to *PANDELIDIS* 2010: 472.

c. onwards. It is found in texts from the Heptanese, Epirus, and in texts of unknown provenance:⁵⁸

κάπου ἔαν ἐκάθοντο ἴς τὴν Ἄρταν διὰ κυνήγι *Chron. Toc.* 1525
 ἐβλέποντας ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἐχαίροντον ἡ ψυχὴ του *Achil.* O 146
 δὲν ἐδύνοντο πλέον νὰ κάμει τίποτες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 421.3
 τί ἐγίνοντον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.21) (author's family from Corfu)
 ἀλλὰ ἐστέκοντο ὡσάν ἀγριόχοιρος *Vios Aisop.* K 155.17

A shift of the stress to the penultimate may occur in verse texts for metrical reasons (verse end; cf. 3 pl.): ο Κύριος Αδωναὶ αὐτοὺς ευσπλαχνιζόντων ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., *Pali* 3782.

The ending -οτο(ν) is mainly Heptanesian. It is the result of vowel assimilation according to MINAS 1987a: 38, though it could also be viewed as a graphematic realization of nasal deletion in -οντο(ν) (see I, 3.6.2.1) or an analogy with -ομουν, -οσουν : -ετον > -οτον. The ending is used rather frequently in Kartanos, and less so in Noukios:

εὐρίσκοτον *Pol. Tr.* 1723 and 5001 app. crit. (X) (15th-c. ms, hapax)
 ἐγίνοντον *Chron. Mor.* P 43; ἐστρέφοντον στὸ σπῖτι της *ibid.* 7453
 εἴ τις ἔρχοντον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.34–6; ὑποτάσσοτον *ibid.* 341.6; ἐψένοτον *ibid.* 437.28
 τί ἐγένοντον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 2, 295.23) (author's family from Corfu)
 ἐκέιτον κακῶς ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 15.1
 κὶ ἔρχοντον ἔκ τὴν Σκλαβουνία TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 57
 ἐνεπιστεύοντον *Bertoldin.* 112.25 (hapax)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate can be found sporadically in texts from Kefalonia: εὐρίσκοτόν (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 189, 115.7); ἐδυνότον DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 505.

Sg.	3	-ουντο(ν) -ουτον -ουτονε -ουντονε
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Forms in -ουντο(ν) appear from at least the 16th c. in texts from southern areas (Crete, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands), but also in texts from Chios, in KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.*, whose author is most probably from east Thrace, in Aitolos (author from Corinth, but lived in Constantinople most of his life), and in texts of unknown provenance:

νὰ ἐγίνοντον *Krasop.* AO 21
 ἀπέκει οποιὺ κείτουντον ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 18.4; στοχάζουντον *ibid.* 91.17
 ὁ νοῦς δὲν ἐλαφρώνουντον ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* I.1758; μιὰ πλεξούδα ἐκρέμουντον *ibid.* II.334;
 μιὰ βοσκοπούλα εὐρίσκουντον *ibid.* II.640; κ' ἐκάθουντον κ' ἐφαίνοντό του ἡ ζάλη *ibid.* III.1013; ἐδέρνουντον ἡ νένα της *ibid.* III.1613

⁵⁸ A highly unusual ending -οτοαν has been found twice in texts from different regions. These forms are without parallel and should probably be regarded as simple writing/typesetting mistakes: ὁποιὺ ἐκάθοτοαν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.3); ἐκράζοτοαν Ἀουρέλια *Bertoldos* 13.4.

ἐκάθουντον ἐκεὶ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.29; ἤρχουντον *ibid.* Mark. 5.1; ἡ Ἡρωδιάδα τὸν ἐχθρεύουντον *ibid.* Mark. 6.19; τὸ πλεμάτι τοὺς ἐσχίζουντον *ibid.* Louk. 5.6; ἐπροσεύχουντον *ibid.* Louk. 5.16; ἐκαμώνουντον πῶς δὲν τὸν μέλει *ibid.* Ioann. 8.6; ὁ Πέτρος ἐστέκουντον *ibid.* Ioann. 18.16; ἐστέκετον καὶ ἐζεσταίνουντον *ibid.* Ioann. 18.25 καὶ κάθουντον VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 989
 καὶ ῥέγουντον τὰ ῥίσις KONDAR., *Paidēs* 975
 ἐφαίνουντον *Diig. Sant.* 386.19; ἐκάθουντον *ibid.* 391.33
 εὐρίσκουντον (1735, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 37, 65.6–7)

Forms without the final /n/ are found in Cretan texts of the 16th/17th c., and in Germano's grammar, written in Chios in the 17th c. (copied by Portius):

ἐγράφουντο GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.31, but also: ἐγράφετον *ibid.* 77.29
 ἐγράφουντο vel ἐγράφετον PORTIUS, *Grammar* 35.24
 νεκρώνουντο CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.154
 ἐψυγομαραίνουντο ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.17

Addition of -(ν)ε, without a shift of the stress, occurs in texts from Crete and the Aegean (Chios, Mykonos, Naxos) (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

εὐρίσκουντόνε κάτοικος PETRITSIS, *Diig.* O 1589
 ἐκρύβουντονε (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 53, 205.7); ἐκάθουντονε (1685, *ibid.* 521, 747.3–4); ἐγίνουντονε (1687, *ibid.* 674, 921.11); ἐστέκουντονε (1688, *ibid.* 824, 1107.22) (ἐκρυβούντονε, ἐκαθούνονε, ἐγινούντονε, ἐστεκούνονε in the edition; as the editors state in their introduction (p. 128), accents, more often than not absent in the ms, were added)
 ἐκράζουντονε ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* IV.1069
 ἐκείτουνονε (1703, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 43, 56.8) (ed. ἐκοιτούντονε; diacritics often added by the editor)

Forms in -ουτο(ν) are phonetic variants of -ουντο(ν), representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (cf. 3 pl.). For details see I, 3.6.2.1.

εὐρίσκουτον (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.2)
 ἀσκητικά ὡς ἐπολιτεύουτον ΙΕΡ. ΑΝΝΑΤΙΟΣ, *Diig. Seismou* 334.16
 εὐρίσκουτο ... ἀναπαμένον ΣΟΥΜΜΑΚΙΣ, *Past. Fid.* A2r.4
 δπου εὐρίσκουτον ὁ ὑψηλότατος ἀφέντης (1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 7, 20.5)

A form with an added syllable -(ν)ε occurs in a document from Naxos (see I, 2.6.3.3): ἐκείτουτονε (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 227, 402.5) (ἐκειτούτονε in the edition; accent notation, however, is largely editorial).

Sg.	3	-οτου(ν) -ότου(α) -ότουνε
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These endings are found from the 17th c. onwards in texts from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271 and PANDELIDIS 2010: 472). *Chron. Theod.* is a

family chronicle dating from the 15th–16th c., but it has come down to us in a 19th-c. copy. The endings are quite frequent in *Bertoldos*, *Bertoldin.*, *Kaloandros* (passim, according to DANEZIS 1989: 77) and Katsaitis; there are two examples in *Alex. Fyll.*, a text of uncertain provenance; there is also one example in IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali*, a text with a varied, and not always necessarily Cypriot, morphology. The ending is also given by SPANOS, *Grammar* (18th c., Peloponnese), with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, and is quite frequent in *Thavm. Nikon Metan.*, but absent from earlier Peloponnesian works such as the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* (cf. the same ending with εἶμαι (ἦτουν), which was not found in Peloponnesian texts prior to the 16th c.):

- εὐφραίνονται *Bertoldos* 6.25; ἐστοχάζονται *ibid.* 70.4; ἐπαγγέλλονται *ibid.* 32.2–3;
ἐσκεπάζονται *ibid.* 46.18; ἐμπιστεύονται *ibid.* 56.3
ἀσηκώνονται *Bertoldin.* 91.25; ἐκράζονται *ibid.* 94.23; ἐστέκονται *ibid.* 109.33; ἐλέγονται
ibid. 134.21; δὲν ἐκόβονται *ibid.* 144.12; ἐφαίνονται *ibid.* 146.8
μοῦ ἐφαίνονται MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1427
ἐρρίπτονται εἰς τὰ νερά *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* II 5; ἐσύρνονται *ibid.* III 4; ὁ ὅποιος ἔρχονται
ibid. III 14; ἡυρίσκονται *ibid.* IV 1; ἐκρέμονται *ibid.* V 23
εἰς τὴν Εὐάν ἐδιαλέγονται IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 1638
ἐδύνονται KASIMATIS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 501.17
ἡυρίσκονται KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.402; ἐγίνονται σ' αὐτοὺς ματοχυσία *ibid.* II.294

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts, as well as in non-literary texts:

- ἐγιατρεύονται *Bertoldos* 76.8
ἐρχόονται *Alex. Fyll.* 111.31 ἐχαιρόονται *ibid.* 111.31–2
εφαίνονται *Kaloandros* 406.1
ἀποκρενόμενοι (1685, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 68, 275.43)
εὐρίσκονται SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 34.7
ἐπιχειρίζονται PYRRIS, *Peri Panouklas* 114.33
[ἐγραφ]όονται SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22

Final /n/ can sometimes be dropped: εὐρίσκοτου ἐγγαστρωμένη (1691, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 95, 296.21–2); ἐδυνότου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.321; ἐφημιζότου *ibid.* III.169; δὲν με ἐστοχάζοτου *id.*, *Thyest.* V.455.

Addition of -(v)α or -(v)ε to this ending can also be found, in texts of south-western provenance (see I, 2.6.3.3):

- ἐγραφότουνα *Chron. Theod.* 21.14
ὀνομαζότουνα SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 36.8; ἐμουρμουρίζοτουνα *ibid.* 37.16
τοὺς ἐδεχότουνα PYRRIS, *Peri Panouklas* 115.17
στὸν θρόνον ἐκαθότουνα KATSAITIS, *Ifig. Prol.* 51; κ' ἐρχότουνα *id.*, *Thyest.* V.696
[ἐγραφ]ότουνα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22

- πού καθότουνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 190
ἐρχότουνε τ' ἀσκέρι KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.136; ἐγίνουτουνε *ibid.* I.688
[ἐγραφότου]νε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.22
ἐθυμονότουνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 58.3

Sg.	3	-ΟΥΤΟΥΝ
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The ending -ΟΥΤΟΥΝ, -ΟΥΤΟΥΝ with a thematic vowel /u/ for /o/, is quite rare: ἐκράζουτου *Φαγότος Bertoldos* 28.3; ἐπροέρχουτου *Bertoldin.* 139.14; ὁπού ἐβουρλουδίζουτου *ibid.* 146.4–5.

Sg.	3	-ΟΝΤΑΝ '-ΟΝΤΑΝΕ -ΟΝΤΑΝ
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This ending, with its typical “past-tense”-marker /a/, is much more common for 3 pl. than it is for 3 sg. It appears in texts from northern areas (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271) from the 16th/17th c. onwards, as well as in texts from certain Heptanesian and Aegean islands. It is not usually found in Cretan texts (cf. -οῦνταν).⁵⁹

- ἀν ἦρχονταν ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι τοῦ (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.8)
τοὺς εφαινονταν *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* 233.14
ἀν ἦρχονταν ξένος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.19
ἐκάθονταν εἰς τὸ παλάτι τοῦ *Alex. Fyll.* 6.2–3; καὶ ἐκείνο τὸν ἐχαίρονταν *ibid.* 13.17 (the ending is frequent in this text, both for 3 sg. and for 3 pl.)
ἐσυλλογίζονταν ὁ βασιλεὺς *Diig. Ag. Sof.* f 593.1–2
ἐλέγονταν Γιάννης (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.11)
δεν το καταδέχονταν (1708, Chios, KECHAYOGLU 2001: 442.14)

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) has been found in a late 17th-c. text written in Constantinople or the Danubian Principalities. The forms have dual stress (ραγίζοντανε, κάθοντανε), but the first accent is omitted in writing: ραγίζοντανε *Diig. Vefa* 686; καθοντανε *ibid.* 948.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate is rare: καὶ καπνιζόνταν καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία (1665–76, Ioannina, VAKATSAS 1992: 3, 153.2).

Sg.	3	-ΟΥΝΤΑ(ν)
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The variant -οῦντα(ν) is less common for the singular than it is for the plural. It has been found in texts of northern provenance and in a document from Mykonos (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271):

- ἓνα περιστέρι ἀπέτουντα στοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀπάνου *Ekatol. (Meteoron)* 21 (< πέτομαι)
κείτουνταν ὡσάν το νεκρωμένο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 27.12
ἐκεῖ ὁπού ἐκοίταζεν γυναῖκα, ἐδαιμονίζουνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.26; στολίζουνταν,
ξεστολίζουνταν *ibid.* I §28.25; με ἦρχουνταν ὀριξη *ibid.* I §31.67
νά μὴν ἡφαίνουνταν ἡ ἄνωθεν κοντετζιό (1662, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 6, 55.17)
ἐλέγουνταν τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὸ σπῖτι (1714, Smyrna, SFYROERAS 1963b: 2, 177.7) (author from Mykonos)

⁵⁹ One instance in SACHLIKIS, *Katalogi* 87: ἐντρέπονταν is the result of a correction by the editor, Papadimitriou (from ἐντρέπονται, because in the context 3 sg. is more suitable).

οὔτε τον εφάινονταν καμία δυσκολία *Don Kis*. 47.31; κατόπι τους ἤρχονταν ένα κοτσά *ibid.* 49.7–8; ἐκάθονταν ... μία σινιόρα *ibid.* 49.9

Sg.	3	-όταν -ότανε
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This ending, nowadays the SMG ending, appears in texts from western areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Central Greece), with and without an added -(v)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3), but not before the 17th c.⁶⁰ (cf. oxytone verbs for an earlier example from the same area; see 4.8.2 for the ending -ταν with the verb εἶμαι):

ὠνομαζόταν (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.3)
 εὐρισκότανε (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 233, 190.4)
 τὴν κασέλα του ὅπου ἐβρισκότανε στοῦ Κεφαλαῖ (1682, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 263, 241.20)
 ἐρχότανε MATESIS, *Chron.* 64.28
 εὐρισκότανε PYRRIS, *Peri Panouklas* 121.26
 πάντα ὅλα ἐγενότανε με τέλος καλὸ ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 37.20
 ὅπου νὰ ἐστεκότανε ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 46.15

Sg.	3	-οντου(v)
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This rare ending has been found in two texts so far: the 16th-c. ms B of *Pol. Tr.* and *Bertoldos* (17th c.). It is perhaps the result of an inversion of -ουντο, with some association with the postverbal clitic pronoun (see also 1 sg. -ονμου | -ουνμου | -όνμου and 2 sg. -ουνσου): ὁ Πάρις οὐδὲν ἐρχοντου *Pol. Tr.* 7957 app. crit. (B); ἀποκρένοντουν ἡ ἄλλη καὶ ἔλεγεν *Bertoldos* 24.29.

With addition of -(v)α it appears in a 17th-c. document from Kefalonia (see also I, 2.6.3.3): ἔλαβε τὴ σοτανέλα ρεστάνιο ὅπου εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐβρισκοντουνα (1682, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 263, 241.20) (no stress notation).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-όμεθα(v)
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The residual ending -όμεθα is found sporadically, mainly in texts of the early period and in mixed-register texts. For barytone verbs it is the only ending mentioned by Sofianos, and one of three alternatives in Spanos's grammar:

ἐνόσω ἐβουλευόμεθα *Liv.* α 2887
 ὅταν ἤρχόμεθα *Liv.* S 2941 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

⁶⁰ One anachronistic instance of proparoxytone -οταν: τὸ σημάδιον τοὺς φαίνονταν *Pol. Tr.* 6099 is an editorial invention; the mss have forms in -ετο(v).

ἐσφαζόμεθ' ἀλλήλοις *Pol. Tr.* 12696 app. crit. (X)
 ἡμεῖς συνεπνιγόμεθα [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2027
 ἐγραφόμεθα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 57.6–8
 ἐγραφόμεθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23

Addition of final /n/ occurs only rarely:

οὐκ ἡδυνάμεθαν κρατεῖν το (1375, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 15, 117.6–7) (< residual δύναμαι, which became δύνομαι, with change of thematic vowel, in MedG)
 οὐδὲ ἐχρειαζόμεθάν την *Pol. Tr.* 192; ἐσφαζόμεθαν *ibid.* 12696 app. crit. (A)
 ἐκαθόμεθαν *Krasop.* V 86

Pl.	1	-όμεθεν
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This ending is much rarer for the imperfect than it is for the present (see 4.1.1.2). It is held to derive from -όμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm, while final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197): καὶ ἐνόσω ἐβουλευόμεθεν *Liv.* V 2519; τὸν δρόμον τὸν ἤρκομεθεν *ibid.* 3617; οὐδὲ ἐχρειαζόμεθεν την *Pol. Tr.* 192 app. crit. (AE); ἐσφαζόμεθεν *ibid.* 12696 app. crit. (C).

Pl.	1	-όμεσθεν -όμεστέν -όμεσθεν
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The ending -όμεσθεν is much rarer for the imperfect than for the present (see 4.1.1.2 for discussion). Its variant -όμεστέν is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). These endings appear from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv.* E) in texts from various regions:

ἐγενόμεσθεν *Liv.* E 3770; ὅταν ἐρχόμεσθε εἰς ἐσὲν ἡμασθεν κοπιασμένοι *ibid.* 4112;
 ἐχαιρόμεσθεν *ibid.* 4313
 εὐκαιρα ἐκδεχόμεσθεν ἐκεῖνο οὔτου δὲν ἦτον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 96.7
 ὡς ἐδυνόμεσθεν IER. AVVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.10
 ἐχαιρόμεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 323.28
 οὕτως οὖν <ἐ>χαιρόμεσθεν *Dig.* A 2596
 ἐδερνόμεστέν *Vios Aisop.* K 150.21
 ὁπότεν ἐστεκόμεστέν *Bertoldin.* 107.1; νὰ εὐρισκόμεστέν *ibid.* 118.3

Forms with a dual stress can occasionally be found, and sometimes the first accent is omitted: ἐχρειαζόμεσθεν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 448.6; εὐρίσκομεσθεν *Vosk.* 234 app. crit.; ἐκάθομεσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 377.20.

Pl.	1	-ούμεστέν -ούμεσθεν
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Forms in -ούμεστέν/-ούμεσθεν appear quite late and are also rather rare: ἐγραφούμεστέν GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10; δὲν ἐχρειαζούμεστέν πλούτον *Diig. Sant.* 390.35; ὡσάν ἐκαθούμεσθεν μαζὶ [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P X 407.32.

Pl.	1	-όμεσθα(ν) -όμεσθαν -όμεσταν -όμεστα -όμεστανε
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The ending -όμεσθα(ν) and its phonetic variant -όμεστα(ν), much more common with εἶμαι (see 4.8.2), has not been found with barytone verbs before the 17th c. It appears, sporadically, in texts from various areas (for a discussion, see 4.1.1.2):

τοῦ ἔδωκα κόπιαν δταν ἐρχόμεσθαν ἀπὸ τὴν Σαγιάδα (1611, Ioannina, MERTZIOS 1936a: (1), 19.11-12)
καὶ θαυμάζόμεσταν νὰ γρικοῦμεν ἔτοιον πράμα (1670, Crete, TSELIKAS 1986c: 3, 36.31-2)
προχθὲς ανταμώνόμεσταν CANTEMIR, *Krit.* 447.13-14
[ἐγγραφό]μεσθα SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23

Forms with dual stress, in which the primary accent is sometimes omitted, were found in Cretan texts from the 16th c. onwards, and once in *Dig. P* (provenance unknown):

καὶ σύρνομέσθαν πάντοτε ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 100
ἐπροστάσσομέσθαν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.27
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐπαιζόμεν καὶ ἐχαίρομέσθαν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* VII 377.19
ἐλειπομέστα (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 81.100) (ἐλυπομέστα in the ms)
ἐκαθομέστα *Stathis* III.11

Addition of -(ν)ε to this ending can occasionally be found, again in Cretan texts. Kriaras has the form with a dual accent (from ms D), whereas the ms of *Fortounatos* is written in the Latin script, which means that the accents are editorial by definition: ἐκεῖ σποῦ κάθομέστανε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.352; εὐρισκομέστανε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.256.

Pl.	1	-ούμεσταν
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Forms in -ούμεσταν have been found in 17th-c. Cycladic texts (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 272): ἐπικραίνούμεσταν *Diig. Sant.* 393.37; καθούμεσταν (1681?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 129, 293.3).

Pl.	1	-ομενστα(ν) -ομένστα(ν) -όμενστα(ν)
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This ending appears a number of times, especially with the present, in documents by the Cretan notary Maras. It looks like a conflation of the active and passive endings -μεν and -μεστα, but is more likely to represent a graphematic idiosyncrasy of the notary (for discussion see 4.1.1.2): ἐκρινόμενστα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 217, 216.4).

Pl.	1	-όμασθε -όμαστε -ούμασταν
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This ending is quite rare in the period covered by this Grammar. It has been found in Cretan texts, in Kanellos Spanos's grammar (18th c., Peloponnese), in an 18th-c. document from Chios and once in the *Chronicle of the Theodosia Family*, a Heptanesian text of the

15th-16th c., which has however come down to us in a 19th-c. copy (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 271-2). The ending is rather more frequent with the verb εἶμαι (for which see 4.8.2).

οὕτως τὴν ἐχαιρόμασθε *Dig. E* 144
ὅπου ἐγνώριζόμαστε καὶ ἡμάστε φίλοι ἄλλότες CHORTATIS *Katz* V.6
ἐκεῖ ποῦ ἐκαθόμαστε CHORTATIS, *Panor.* IV.352 app. crit. (N) (ὀπόκαθόμαστε in ms A)
[ἐγγραφό]μασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23
εὐρισκόμαστε συγχυσμένοι *Chron. Theod.* 20.1-2

With vowel [u] and final /n/ it was found in an early 18th-c. document from Chios: ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐστεκούμασταν (1713, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 350, 209.3-4).

Pl.	1	-ουμαστικε
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This is a very rare ending, which has also been also found with the present (4.1.1.2). It appears in texts from Peloponnesian authors, and it is unclear where the stress may have been on these forms, because the examples lack notation of stress: εἰς τὴ σπράτα ὅπου ἐρχουμαστικε ... ἀρρώστησεν ὁ πατέρας μας (1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.5-6).

Pl.	1	-όμασταν -ούμασταν -ούμασθαν -ούμασθάνε
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Very few instances have been found of this ending, which with a thematic vowel /o/ is now the SMG ending: νὰ εὐρισκόμασταν (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.9); δταν ἐρχούμασθαν νὰ κτυπήσωμεν *Vios Aisop.* I 269.32 (scribe of south-eastern provenance?); καθούμασταν (1692, Naxos, PANDELIA-GRITSOPOULOU 1995/97: 2, 212.13).

With addition of -(ν)ε and dual stress it appears in the *Itinerary* of Vasileios Vatatsis (1720): καθὼς βουλούμασθάνε VATATIS, *Periig.* I 522 ms L.

Pl.	1	-όμαστον
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This rare ending has been found only in the *Pentateuch* (16th c., Constantinople), but see 4.8.2 (εἶμαι) for more examples from the same region and period, and see 4.1.1.2 for a late example from Kimolos with the present tense. According to MINAS 1987a: 41-2 this ending is derived from -όμαστε with substitution of /o/ for /e/ in the last syllable by analogy with 3 pl. -οντο(ν), but seeing that -όμαστε has a rather different distribution in the EMG period (south-western areas), this is not very likely.⁶¹ See 4.8.2 for discussion: ἐστρεφόμαστον *Pent. Gen.* 43.10.

⁶¹ In MG dialects the ending -μαστον is characteristic of south-eastern dialects (Kos, Rhodes), see NEWTON 1972c: 272 and PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1959: 71.

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-εσθε -εστε
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The inherited 2 pl. ending -εσθε and its variant -εστε are used throughout and beyond the MedG period. The form -εστε for -εσθε is the result of manner dissimilation, a widespread phonological phenomenon for which see I, 3.8.1:

καὶ ἐσεῖς ἄλλοῦ ἠύρισκεσθε *Dig. E* 1749
 εὐρίσκεσθε *Pol. Tr.* 1179 app. crit. (A)
 ἐπορεύεσθε *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 354.10–11
 εἰς τὴν στράταν ὅπου ἤρχεσθε (1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 286.14–15)
 εἰς τι υπηρεσίαν εὐρίσκεσθε τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ *MALAXOS, Ist. patr.* 221.31–2
 ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε *PORTIUS, Grammar* 35.26

πορεύεσθε [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 60
 ἐγράφεσθε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 57.6–8
 ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε *GERMANO, Grammar* 90.10

Pl.	2	-οῦσθε -οῦστε
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This 2 pl. ending is recorded in the grammar by Germano, written in Chios in the 17th c. and in Portius's grammar, which basically copies Germano: ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε *GERMANO, Grammar* 90.10; ἐγραφοῦσθε, vel ἐγράφεσθε *PORTIUS, Grammar* 35.26.

Pl.	2	-ουσθαν -ουستان
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In the period under review, this ending has been found in the works of Maximos Kallioupolitis, who was probably from Thrace:⁶² τί ἐδιαλέγουσθαν εἰς τὴν στράταν ἀνάμεσά σας; *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.33; δὲν ἐδύνουσθαν νὰ τὸ φᾶτε id. *I Kor.* 3.2; ἐφέρνουσθαν πρὸς τὰ εἰδῶλα ibid. 12.2; ἐλέγουσταν ἀκρόβυστοι id., *Efes.* 2.11.

Pl.	2	-όστενε
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Only one example has so far been found of this rare ending, in a text from the Heptanese: ποῦ ἦστενε καὶ δὲν ἐρχόστενε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 57.1.

The SMG ending -όσαстан has not been found in the texts examined.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οντο(ν) -όντο(ν)
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The inherited ending -οντο is used in various texts, mainly literary, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

⁶² The ending is still characteristic of certain northern dialects (*NEWTON* 1972c: 271).

ἄλλοι παρεπικραίνοντο δεινοῖς κολαστηρίοις *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 494
 καὶ παρακάτω ἐκείνοντο τὰ φρύδια τῆς τὰ δύο *Liv. E* 2417
 ἐξόπισθεν τῆς ἤρχοντο μόναι καὶ δύο κόραι *Pol. Tr.* 288
 οἱ μὲν ἐτρικυμίζοντο [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1019
 ὑπῆρχοντο υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως *Achil.* N 491; κατησπάζοντο ibid. 1752
 κ' ἤρχοντο ἀπὸ πέρα *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 468
 οἱ κόρες ἐνεθρέφοντο *Diig. Apoll.* 438
 ἐδικάζοντο πρὸς τὸν Ξάνθον λέγοντες *Vios Aisop.* D 231.10
 οἱ δὲ Δεῖφοι ἐκλαιον καὶ ὠδύροντο *Vios Aisop.* K 206.15
 ἐκείνοντο οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες *LANDOS, Kalok.* 340.32
 ὡσάν γεράκια πέτοντο *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 937; ἐπαραξενίζοντο ibid. 1290
 ἔπειτα ἐβάνοντο εἰς εὖμορφο ὄρδινία *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 35.15
 ἐγράφοντο *SPANOS, Grammar* 36.23

Addition of final /n/ is rare: κὶ ἔρχοντον πρὸς ἐμέναν *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 10 (app. crit.); ἐπροσφέρνοντον *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 323.33; ἀπόξω βρίσκοντον ἀκόμα τὰ γαλιόνια *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2743. Another rare form shows nasal deletion before the stop: οἱ πιστοὶ ἐδιώκοτο *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 169.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs twice in *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali*, for metrical reasons (verse end; cf. 3 sg.): ὄνταν αὐτοὶ ἐρχόντον *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 3781; κατάρτια καὶ ἀξάρτια ἀφαντα ἐγινόντο ibid. 8277.

Pl.	3	-όντου(ν)
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The ending -όντου(ν), with [u] for [o] in the last syllable and a shift of the stress to the penultimate, appears sporadically in rather late texts: τὰ χαρτιά ὅπου εὐρισκόντουνε εἰς τὸ χέρι του (1682, Kefalonia, *ALEXOPOULOU* et al. 2009: 263, 241.4) (with added -(ν)ε, for which see I, 2.6.3.3); ἐγράφοντο-φόντουν-ότουςαν *SPANOS, Grammar* 36.23.

Pl.	3	-ουντο(ν) -ούντονε -ουτο(ν)
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The variant -ουντο(ν), more common for 3 sg. (see above), is rare for 3 pl. It mainly appears in texts from south-eastern areas and the Aegean (cf. *NEWTON* 1972c: 271–2) and has not been found before the 17th c.:

οἱ ψιττακοὶ ἐκρέμουντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κλώνοις τότε *Dig. A* 2855 (hapax; -οντο(ν) in all other cases)
 καὶ εθαυμάζουντο ἅπαντες *Diig. Sant.* 392.25
 ἐγράφουντον *PORTIUS, Grammar* 35.26–7
 εὐρίσκουντον (1690, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 9, 23.16)
 <πολλοὶ> ἀνθρώποι ἔρχουντον *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 747

With an added syllable -(ν)ε it occurs in a document from Naxos (see also I, 2.6.3.3): ἐσιαζούντονε (1673, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1971/73: 10, 172.16). Since the stress usually does not shift when -(ν)ε is added to a verb form, it cannot be excluded that for the proparoxytone form of the normalized edition one should actually read ἐσιαζούντονε.

Forms in -ουτο(ν) are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -ουντο(ν), representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion (cf. 3 sg.) (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): εύρισκουντον ... καποία χωράφια (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.2); ήρχουντον *Don Kis*. 501.14.

Pl.	3	-οντα(ν) -οτα(ν) -όντα(ν) -όντανε
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The ending -ονταν, now SMG, with its characteristic "past-tense"-marker /a/, appears from at least the 14th c. onwards in texts from various regions, both northern and southern, though not in Cypriot texts:

οὐκ ἰσιάζονταν *Chron. Mor.* H 929; κ' ἐσφάζονταν ἀλλήλως *ibid.* 4076
 ἐκείτονταν *Liv.* α 493
 ἀλλήλως ἐσκοτώνονταν *Pol. Tr.* 1864; ἐδιλιβρίζονταν εἰς θάνατον *ibid.* 3063
 ἐγίνονταν οἱ φόνοι *Diig.* E 1175
 ἠύρισκονταν *Chron. Toc.* 7; ἡδύνονταν *ibid.* 93
 ὡσάν ἐπροτιμεύονταν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 126; ἐκόπτονταν κ' ἐβιάζονταν *ibid.* 149
 ρηγάδων παιδία οὐκ ἤρχονταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 305
 οἱ Πέρσες ἐτσακίζονταν *Alex. Rim.* 866
 δύο τινές ἐθρεύονταν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 26.1
 καὶ τὸν ἐμέμφονταν *Vios Aisop.* K 173.22
 τῶν ἀγίων ὅπου ἐδιώχονταν MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 145.323
 μοῦ ἐχρειάζονταν *Bertoldos* 82.11
 ἐβούλονταν οἱ πατέρες νὰ τὸν πουλήσουν (1657, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.14-15)
 ἔρχονταν οἱ κλέπτες (1703, Thessaly, SOFIANOS 1984: A, 42.9)
 υποπτεύονταν νὰ μὴν το ἔκαμε ἀληθινὰ *Don Kis.* 132.26

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from south-western areas such as the Peloponnese and the Heptanese and in texts of unknown provenance:

ἐλαβώνοντα καὶ ἔπεφταν *Pol. Tr.* 3452 app. crit. (B); ἐδιλιβρίζοντα εἰς θάνατον *ibid.* 6298 app. crit. (B) (< OFr. *delivrer*, see GODEFROY, *Lex.* s.v.)
 ἐσφάζοντα *Achil.* N 614
 ἐγίνοντα *Chron. Toc.* 87
 ἐκεῖ ἄνδρες οὐκ εύρισκοντα *Theseid Prol.* E 166
 κι ἄλλοι στὴν γῆν ἐκείνοντα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.174
 καὶ ὅλοι μοῦ δουλώνοντα, κι ἔκαμνα δικιοσύνη *Alex. Rim.* 650
 ἐκάθοντα *Diig. Alex.* F 38.8 (Konstantinopoulos); ἐκείνοντα *ibid.* 38.11
 τὰ ὄρνεα εβούλοντα νὰ ποιήσουν βασιλέα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 47.1
 ἀμὴ πάντα ἐστέκοντα πικραμένοι *Vios Filaret.* 241.25

The ending -οταν for the plural is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (see I, 3.6.2.1): ὅπου ἐσύρνονταν καλύτεροι *Chron. Toc.* 1789 app. crit.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts (in verse texts usually to accommodate the metre), from the 14th c. onwards; forms of this type have

been found in texts from the Peloponnese and Epirus and in a text of uncertain provenance (*Moirol. Konst.*):⁶³

τὰ κάτεργα ὅτι ἐρχόνταν *Pol. Tr.* 2978; ὅπου ἐμπρός ἐδερνόνταν *ibid.* 3976; νεούτσικα ἐφαινόταν *ibid.* 6298; πολλὰ ἐκακευόνταν *ibid.* 11057
 ὁσιν καὶ ἂν ἐδυνόνταν *Moirol. Konst.* 110
 ὅσοι εύρισκόνταν *Chron. Toc.* 3122

Deletion of final /n/ may very occasionally occur:

ἐπαῖζαν καὶ ἐχαιρόντα *Pol. Tr.* 1302 app. crit. (B); ἐδερνόντα *ibid.* 3976 app. crit. (B)
 γι' ἀγάπη ἐσφαζόντα *Theseid Prol.* E 199
 ἐθρεφόντα KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* III.45; ὁδορχόντα *ibid.* III.56

With addition of -(ν)ε the ending occurs in Heptanesian and Cretan texts (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἐγνωρίζοντανε *Alex. Rim.* 871
 ἐμαχόντανε ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2076
 ἐρχόντανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 35.15; ὁρεγόντανε *ibid.* 35.18; ἐμβαλλόντανε *ibid.* 37.24; τοὺς ἐναντιονόντανε *ibid.* 38.37
 δὲν συνερίζοντανε οἱ γνῶμες PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 122.27

Pl.	3	-ουντα(ν) -ουταν -ούνταν -ουντανε -ούντανε
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Forms in -ουνταν occur from about the 14th c. onwards, in various texts, from northern and southern areas, and in texts of unknown provenance:

ἔρχουνταν *Diig.* E 1439
 οἱ Ἑρωτες ἐπέτουνταν *Achil.* N 1128; ἀρματωμένοι ἐστέκουνταν *ibid.* 1173
 καὶ νὰ γένουνταν *Krasop.* L 4
 καὶ γίνουνταν προσευχὲς LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 308; χρειάζουνταν *ibid.* 323
 ἐπροσεύχουνταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.6; ἐννοιάζουνταν *ibid.* 58.6
 ὅσοι καὶ ἂν ἐπιάνουνταν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1156
 τὸ χωράφιον ποὺ ἐργάζουνταν τὰ βόδια ZYGOM., *Synopsis* 225.Λ.34
 ἵνὰ περισσότερες ἀπέτουνταν *Ekatol.* (Meteoron) 45 (< πέτομαι; ἵνὰ = ἐννιά)
 εύρισκουνταν (1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 5.13)
 καὶ τὰ κορμὰ κείτουνταν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 648 (Pidonia)
 ἐβαπτίζουνταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 3.6; ἂν ἐγίνουνταν *ibid.* 11.21; οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ ἐστέκουνταν [...] καὶ ἐξεσταίνουνταν *ibid.* Ioann. 18.18
 ἐκαίγουνταν KONDAR., *Paides* 783
 ἐμαζώνουνταν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 1085
 δὲν ἔρχουνταν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.1)
 δὲν μᾶς ἐκαταδέχουνταν (post 1669, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 2, 296.6-7)
 ἠύρισκουνταν (1680, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 8, 302, f.1v.4)

⁶³ The evidence for the supposed Cypriot provenance of the scribe (MICHAILIDIS 1972: 308-9) is not very strong and limited to a few lexical items.

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has only been found in the Cypriot chronicle of Voustronios, whose accentuation is not always consistent: *εννοιαζούνταν* VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 44.7; *ευρισκούνταν* *ibid.* 56.17.

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from southern areas, such as Crete, the Heptanese, Santorini, Cyprus and possibly Rhodes (*Alosis*), and in texts of unknown provenance:

τὰ δορίζες ἐγίνονται, τὰ ἡθελές ἐποιοῦν *Dig.* E 358; ἐκαταπέτουντα *ibid.* 925
ἐντέχνως δὲ ἐκάθουντα ἐκεῖνα εἰς τὴν πλατάνην *Achil.* N 796
ἐγεύγουντα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 292
οὐ δύνουντα νὰ πάρου *Alosis* 672
ἐπυρῶνουντα οἱ λᾶς (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.6)
οἱ λᾶς νὰ μὴδὲν ἐκριματίζουντα *Fior* 97.13
κάτης καὶ ποντικός ἐμάχουντα καὶ ὁ βλέπων ἐγέλα *Paroim.* H 28
βούλουντα σὰν ἄνδρες νὰ σταθοῦσι *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 910
τα ζα τῇ προσεγέρνουντα *CHORTATSI, Panor.* I.320; καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄλλο ἐπαντρεύουντα *ibid.* III.528
ἐλετζέρουντα ... οἱ ... πρωτοπαπάδες τους (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.6)
ἤρχουντα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀμοργὸν *Diig. Sant.* 58.85
σκοτώνουντα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 161.21

Forms in -ουτα(v) are phonetic variants of -ουντα(v), representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (see I, 3.6.2.1): *ἐκρίνουντα* (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.4); *ἐστέκουντα* ἄρματωμένοι (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 402, f.3r.22).

Addition of -(v)ε may occur in Heptanesian and Cretan texts, in Chios and certain Cycladic islands (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details):

ἐκαθέζουντανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 16.9; ἐρματώνουντανε *ibid.* 23.23–4; ἐσωφρονίζουντανε καὶ ἐσύρουντανε ὀπίσω *ibid.* 52.12–13; ἐκούγουντανε *ibid.* 79.13; εὐφραίνουντανε *ibid.* 183.34; ἐχορίζουντανε *ibid.* 229.4–5
εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου εὐρίσκουντανε (1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 846, 737.10–11)
τὰ πλούτη καὶ βασιλεία ἐκράζουντανε κόποι KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.900
καὶ κείτουντανε ἄταφοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 396; ἐδέρνουντανε *ibid.* 1732; ἤρχουντανε *ibid.* 1764; κ' ἐγίνουντανε χουγιατὰ *ibid.* 5712

This form also appears with the stress on the antepenultimate:

ἐγραφούντανε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10–11
καὶ ἔσουντανε (1629, Crete, LAMBROS 1910: 254, 187.4–5) (= ἐσειούντανε)
ποὺ τῆς ἐλειβγούντανε (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.21);
ἐσυγχιζούντανε (1685, *ibid.* 536, 762.8)
ἐκαθούντανε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 43.2)

Pl.	3	-όντησα(v) -όντησάνε
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This ending is used quite frequently in texts certain or very likely to originate from the Peloponnese, such as the *War of Troy*, the *Chronicle of Morea*, *Vendramos*, the *Chronicle*

of the Turkish Sultans and the *Miracles of Nikon Metanoeite*.⁶⁴ It also appears in texts that are, or are likely to be, Heptanesian in origin (*Rimada of Alexander, Theseid, Bertoldos*), in the *Velisariada* ascribed to Limenitis (Rhodes) and in texts of uncertain provenance (*Imberios, Vios Aisop. K, Fyll. gadar.*,⁶⁵ *Varl. & Ioas., Moiol. Konst.*⁶⁶ and *Anthos Ch. A*). IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* is the only Cypriot text to use this ending. The origin of this ending is unclear: the most recent explanation (see PANDELIDIS 2005, who also gives an overview of previous scholarship) is that the ending is a blend of -όντασι(v) and ἦσαν, but -όντασι(v) (see below), is rare and appears much later than -όντησαν:

τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 1079; ἐρχόντησαν *ibid.* 1392
ἐξόπισθε ἐρχόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 1077 app. crit. (B); ἐδιαφεντευόντησαν *ibid.* 2450 app. crit. (BV);
συγγενεῖς εὐρίσκόντησαν *ibid.* 2823
ποσῶς οὐκ ἐπαυόντησαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (A) 305; ἐγειρόντησαν *ibid.* 515
τρῆς μῆνας ἐχαιρόντησαν *Imber.* 890
οὐκ ἐπαρεδιδόντησαν *Moiol. Konst.* 21 app. crit.
ἐρχόντησαν *Theseid* I.54,8 (Follieri); ἐχρειαζόντησαν *ibid.* I.124,6; ἐγλυκασπαζόντησαν *ibid.* II.79,4 (1529); ἐπορευόντησαν *ibid.* VI Prol. 3 (Olsen); ἐδυνόντησαν *ibid.* VI.64,8; ἐβανόντησαν *ibid.* VI.11,6
δεν ορεγόντησαν ἀπὸ τόσον πράγμα ὀλίγον *Anthos Ch. A* 176.18
ορεγόντησαν *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 37–8
λοιπὸν αὐτὰ ἐρχόντησαν *Alex. Rim.* 552
ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εὐρίσκόντησαν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 22, 100.3)
καὶ ὁ λύκος μὲ τὴν ἀλουπού ἐρχόντησαν καὶ λέγαν *Fyll. gadar.* 32
καθόντησαν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 64
τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ ἐκρεμόντησαν ἔξω ὡς ἂν μελιτζάνες *Vios Aisop. K* 147.9
ὑποτασσόντησαν καὶ τοῦ ἐγινόντησαν ὑπόδουλοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.16; ὅταν ἐδικαζόντησαν *ibid.* 30.10
ἐφαινόντησαν *Bertoldos* 6.11
τὰ ὅποια θαύματα καθημερούσιον ἐγινόντησαν *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 11
οποῦ ετοιμαζόντησαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2362; βρισκόντησαν *ibid.* 4041

Deletion of final /n/ is very rare: *ἐὰν ὅλοι ἐχαιρόντησα* *Pol. Tr.* 1962 app. crit. (A); *ἐρχόντησα* εἰς τὴν μέση (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 289, 407.7).

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*. In the manuscript these forms bear the stress on the fourth syllable from the end (see I, 2.6.3.3); secondary accents were unnecessarily added in the modern edition: *εὐρίσκόντησανε* *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.11 ms; *ἐρχόντησανε* *ibid.* 72.34 ms; *ἐχαιρόντησανε* *ibid.* 85.23 ms; *ὑποτασσόντησανε* *ibid.* 85.35 ms.

Pl.	3	-όντησαν
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⁶⁴ Mazaris, the author of a satirical text in learned Greek entitled *Διάλογος νεκρικός. Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν Ἀδου* (1414–15), mocks the Peloponnesians and their “barbarous” language, mentioning among other things the forms *ἤρχόντησαν* and *καθεζόντησαν* (see PANDELIDIS 2010: 469).

⁶⁵ There is no strong linguistic evidence to support the supposed Cretan character of *Fyll. gadar.* and in fact the presence of this and other endings (cf. imperf. *καυχάσουν*) could be seen as an argument against this supposition.

⁶⁶ The supposed Cypriot provenance of this text is linguistically ill-supported; see e.g. the 3 sg. ending *-εντο*.

This rare ending, clearly a variant of -όντησαν, is found sporadically in the 15th/16th c.:

βρισκόντεσαν *Theseid* I.7,2 (Follieri)

έρχόντεσαν *Chron. Mor.* P 3708

δεν εφαινόnteσαν τα αρχίδια αυτού *Syndipas* 116.12

εάν οι γυναίκες εβαλλόντεσαν εις τες μάθησες *Anthos Ch.* A 25.7; ειρωνευόνteσαν των *ibid.* 171.16

κ' έσυντριβόνteσαν *Pent. Gen.* 25.22

Pl.	3	-όντουςαν
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The MG ending -όντουςαν (cf. PANDELIDIS 2005; JOSEPH 2008; JOSEPH 2009a) has not been found before the 18th c. It occurs in a document from Corfu and in Spanos's grammar (1749; author from the Peloponnese), which gives the ending as -ότουςαν, indicating that nasal deletion has occurred in the cluster /nd/ (see I, 3.6.2.1 for details): εκεί τότες έβρισκόντουςαν μαζί μου (1716, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 30, 142.6-7); έγράφοντο-φόντουν-ότουςαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 36.23.

Pl.	3	-ότουςαν
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A single example of this ending has been found in a 17th-c. document from Arcadia in the Peloponnese (cf. NEWTON 1972c: 272; PANDELIDIS 2005: 481; JOSEPH 2009a): έκοβγόντουςαν (1667, Dimitsana, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 53, 317.13).

Pl.	3	-ούντασι ! -όντασι
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The rare 3 pl. ending -ούντασι is mentioned as an alternative ending in Germano's (Chios, 17th c.) and Portius's grammars. It is clearly formed from -ούνταν/-όνταν, with the active alternative ending -ασι substituted for -αν (PANDELIDIS 2005: 478): έγγραφούντανε, vel έγγραφούντασι GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.10-11; έγγράφουντον, vel έγγραφούντασι PORTIUS 35.26-7.⁶⁷

The variant -όντασι can be found in the early 18th-c. EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.*: να έστεκόντασι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9; έρχόντασι *ibid.* 23.4.

Pl.	3	-ενταν
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An example of this rare ending is found in KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* (16th c., Heptanese). It could perhaps be viewed as an attempt to fabricate a distinctive plural for -εντο(v): έμαζώνενταν πολλοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.27.

⁶⁷ The ms reads έγγραφούντασι, but since Portius largely copies Germano, this is clearly a writing mistake.

4.3.2 Oxytone Verbs

4.3.2.1 Active Voice

		General		Restricted		Rare	
Sg.	1	ἐγρίκουν	ἐβάρουν	ἐγρίκου ἐγρίκουνα ἐγρίκουνε ἐγρικοῦσα	ἐβάρου ἐβάρουνα ἐβάρουνε ἐβαροῦσα	ἐγρίκων ἐγρίκαγα	ἐβάραιγα ἐβάρειγα
	2	ἐγρίκας	ἐβάρεις ἐβάρειες	ἐγρίκουνες ἐγρικοῦσες	ἐβάρουνες ἐβαροῦσες	ἐγρίκαγες ἐγρίκειες ἐγρίκες	ἐβάρειγες ἐβάρες
	3	ἐγρίκα(ν)	ἐβάρει(ν) ἐβάρειε(ν)	ἐγρίκανε ἐγρίκουνε ἐγρικοῦσε(ν)	ἐβάρουνε ἐβαροῦσε(ν)	ἐγρίκα(γ)ε	ἐβάρεινε ἐβάρειγε ἐβάρεινε ἐβάρεινε ἐβάρειν
Pl.	1	ἐγρικοῦμε(ν) ἐγρικοῦμαν	ἐβαροῦμε(ν) ἐβαροῦμαν	ἐγρικοῦμα ἐγρικούσαμε(ν)	ἐβαροῦμα ἐβαρούσαμε(ν)	ἐγρικῶμε(ν) (-άγαμε(ν))	ἐβαροῦμανε ἐβάρειγαμεν ἐβάρουμε(ν) ἐβάρουμεν
	2	ἐγρικᾶτε	ἐβαρεῖτε	(-άτενε) ἐγρικούσετε	ἐβαρούσετε	(-άγετε)	ἐβαρείγετε
	3	ἐγρίκουν ἐγρικούσαν ἐγρικούσασι(ν)	ἐβάρουν ἐβαρούσαν ἐβαρούσασι(ν)	ἐγρικοῦσα ἐγρικούσανε	ἐβαροῦσα ἐβαρούσανε	ἐγρίκων ἐγρίκαν ἐγρίκαγαν	ἐβαρούσανα ἐβάρειγαν

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ου(v) ! -ουνα ! -ουνε
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For 1 sg. active, the inherited E-stem ending -ουν is the most commonly used ending for both A- and E-stem verbs throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from most areas;⁶⁸

E-stems

να έπώλουν *Ptoch.* III 176; σύντομον να ξεπούλουν *ibid.* 180

έχρεώστουν *Pol. Tr.* 2601

τά ήθελες έποιοουν *Dig.* E 358; έγώ έκυνήγουν *ibid.* E 505

έζουν *Liv.* V 2250

⁶⁸ Note that modern Cypriot retains this ending for 1 sg.; see CHATZIOANNOU 1999: 53-5.

καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμποροῦν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 20; ἐκράτουν *ibid.* 147
 ἐσυχοπορδοκόπουν *Synax. gadar.* 233
 δὲν ἐθάρουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 86.5; πάντα σ' ἐμίσουν *ibid.* 574.17–18
 ἐπερπάτουν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 17
 καὶ ἴπουν τὸ κεφάλι ZINOS, *Vatr.* 328
 ἐμποροῦν (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.9)
 δὲν ἐθάρουν ἐγὼ (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 82.2)
 ἐμίλουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.23
 ἡμποροῦν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.5 marg.
 ἐπερπάτουν καὶ ἐκατοῦρουν *Vios Aisop.* K 160.8
 κί ἐταύρουν τὰ μαλλιά μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 896 and 1329

A-stems

ἡγάπουν NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.14 and *id.*, *Logos* 31 810.10
 ἐτίμουν *Dig.* G II.188
 ἐβάστουν τὸ σπαθίν μου *Dig.* E 1115
 ἐγροίκουν *Liv.* E 1670
 ἐτρύφουν ... ἐσπατάλουν *Liv.* V 2250
 διτι ἐβάστουν πρόσταγμα *Diig. tetr.* 723
 σὲ ἡγάπουν *Achil.* N 1571
 ἐβάστουν SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 10; ἐξέρνουν *id.*, *Peri fylakis* 196 transcr. P (Lendari)
 ἡγάπουν τὰ στρατιωτικά *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 33; τὸν Χάρον οὐκ ἐψήφουν τον *ibid.* 35
 ἐγέλουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 52.19
 ἡσποῦν CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.174; κί ἐβάστουν τα *ibid.* III.269
 ἐγάπουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 76.22; ἐγροίκουν *ibid.* 76.28
 ἐτοῦτα ἀγάπουν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.38–9
 ἐγὼ ἀπὸ μέσα τοὺς ἐρώτουν *Vios Aisop.* D 231.27
 ἐγέλουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 41.13–14

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts and documents from Crete and certain Aegean islands (Skyros, Naxos and perhaps Chios)⁶⁹ and in *Achil.* O, which is of unknown provenance:

ἀν οὐ σ' ἐγάπου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἴπθου τὰ μεγάλα *Achil.* O 662
 τίποτις δὲν ἐτρόμου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 10; δὲν ἀποκότου νὰ τὸ πῶ *ibid.* 11
 ἐπεθύμου νὰ κτήσω MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.25–6
 σὰν ἐπεθύμου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.24; ἐμποροῦ *id.*, *Katz.* II.167; εὐχαρίστου σου *ibid.* II.360
 τοὺς τόπους ἐσυντήρου *P&N Diath.* 283
 διπου δὲν ἐθώρου ὕπνο *Fallidos* 30
 τὰ τορνέσα ἀποῦ ἐχρώστου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 39.71)
 κ' ἐκαταχάλου διτι ἐβλεπα TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.376; εὐχαρίστου σου *ibid.* IV.15
 σ' ἐγάπου ὡσὰν παιδί FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.14
 ὦχου κί ἄς μὴν ἐπείνου! *VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 1544
 ἐπειδὴ ἐχρεώστου ἐγὼ (1669, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 34, 58.2)
 πάντα τὸν ἐγροίκου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.61

⁶⁹ The example in *Vestarchis* could be due to influence from Cretan literature (MANOUSAKAS/PUCHNER 2000: 45), since no similar forms have been found in other texts from Chios. For the practice of omitting final /n/ in ms V of *Machairas* and in other Cypriot texts see I, 3.7.2.2.

The ending -oun with an added "past tense" ending -α (cf. KOURMOULIS 1956),⁷⁰ has a strong presence with both A- and E-stem verbs in texts of south-western provenance (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese), occasionally occurring in texts from other regions as well (Constantinople, Aegean). It appears towards the end of the LMedG period and remains in use throughout and beyond the EMG period:

ἐκράτουν *Liv.* E 1670; ἐκατεῦδουν *ibid.* 1693 (< κατεῦδω, O-stem); ἐκονόμουν *ibid.* 3532
 ἐπεθύμουν *Theseid* I.103,7 (Follieri); ἡμποροῦν *ibid.* III.54,5 (1529)
 ποῦ κράτουν FALIEROS, *Erof. En.* 122
 ἄς ἐφίλουν τῆς λυγερῆς τὰ χεῖλη *Love poems* V 176
 ἐμίσουν τοῦ κόσμου τὲς γυναῖκες TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 67; ἐκυβέρνουν *ibid.* 204
 ὅταν ἐγὼ τραγοῦδουν ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 129.13
 ἂν ἐγρίκουν ἐγὼ (1577, Wallachia, IORGA 1915: 126, 52.30) (ed. ἐγροικοῦνα) (the author was a hellenized Italian lady from Constantinople)
 νὰ τὸν ἐτίμουν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.19
 ἐπούλουν (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 2, 361.10); ἀπεθύμουν (*ibid.* 361.24)
 σὰν ἐπορπάτουν PORTIUS, *Grammar* 65.42
 ὡς δὲν μποροῦν νὰ τὸ δουλέψω σήμερο (1639, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 137, 123.11)
 δὲν ἡμποροῦν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 165; τὴν ἀγάπουν *ibid.* 934; νὰ ξεψύχουν *ibid.* 1117
 ἐχρώστουν τοῦ καπετὰν Δουληφὶ κατὶ λάδι (1694, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 204, 124.17)
 ἐποιοῦν SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.15; ἐκέρνουν *ibid.* 38.22; ἐγέλουν *ibid.* 41.14

Forms with added -(v)ε have been found in texts from the Aegean (Chios and Naxos), the Heptanese and Crete, as well as in one ms of *Pol. Tr.* (for such forms see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐσκόπουνε νὰ ἡχὼ χαράν *Pol. Tr.* 9121 (ms X)
 τὸν ὄρθρον ἀκαρτέρουνε τὰ δένδρη γιὰ ν' ἀκούσω *Alex. Rim.* 2132
 ἐκράτουνε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.28
 ἐγάπουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.4
 τὴν γνώμην ὅπου ἡκράτουνε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1822; ἐκυνήγουνε *ibid.* 2503
 νὰ μποροῦνε νὰ λόγιασα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.322

Sg.	1	-ων
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This residual A-stem ending, which had been replaced by -oun long before the LMedG period, is used sporadically, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs, mainly in mixed-to-higher-register texts:

ἐπροεχρεώστων (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.12)
 ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐτίμων *Dig.* G III.161; λόγους μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως ἐρωτικούς ἐκίρων *ibid.* VI.164
 ἐσκόπων *Pol. Tr.* 5933 app. crit. (V)

⁷⁰ Instead of substituting -α for -oun, which would adapt the ending to a common "past tense" paradigm, but which would also make the form indistinguishable from the most common 3 sg. ending (see below). Only one form in -α has been found in the texts examined: καὶ ἐγὼ μετ' ἄλλον καράβι ἀκλουῖθα τοὺς (1487, Chios?, LEFORT 1981: 13, 77.22).

ἔζων σὺν τοῖς μαθήμασι *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 25
 ἔζων *Liv.* α 123 app. crit. (P)
 ἔβδων θρηνηδοῦσα *Dig.* T 1732; παρ' οὗ μαθεῖν ἐζήτων *ibid.* 2043

Sg.	1	-οῦσα
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This ending, the most common ending in SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the "past tense" ending -α. The infix /us/ is derived from the 3 pl. imperfect ending -οῦσαν (see below; for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3). With 1 sg., forms in -οῦσα have not been found in writing before the 17th c., but it is used with both A- and E-stem verbs. This ending is absent from Cretan texts, in which -οῦσα is a 3 pl. ending (-οῦσαν with deletion of final /n/, see below).⁷¹

ἀγαποῦσα *ROMANOS, Grammar* 38.8; ἐκρατοῦσα *ibid.* 47.21; ἀργοῦσα 64.14
 ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐλειτουργοῦσα *Diig. Sant.* 55.78
 ἐγὼ ἐκνηγοῦσα *Alex. Fyll.* 109.4
 ἐμποροῦσα ... νὰ τὰ μετακινήσω (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 134.27); ἐπουλοῦσα (*ibid.* 135.70)
 ἐγὼ ἀγαποῦσα νὰ παραπονιέσαι *Don Kis.* 47.15–16; εθαρροῦσα *ibid.* 563.24
 ἐκερνοῦσα *SPANOS, Grammar* 38.23; ἐφιλοῦσα *ibid.* 39.21; ἐγελοῦσα *ibid.* 41.14

Sg.	1	-αγα
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This ending, common for A-stem verbs in the southern varieties of MG including Athenian, is absent from the LMedG period and very rare in the EMG period. It consists of the imperfect marker /ay/ (originally the stem vowel /a/ with intervocalic /y/ before the /e/ of the 3 sg. and 2 sg. endings; see below, and for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3). With 1 sg. it starts to appear quite late, in texts of Peloponnesian and Heptanesian (Zakynthian) provenance of the 17th and 18th c.: ποὺ τὰ χρώσταγα (17th c., Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 33, 185.7); ἐγέλαγα *SPANOS, Grammar* 41.14; ὅπου τὸ ἀποκοίμαγα ᾿ς τὴν κούνια μὲ τραγοῦδια *Xethapsimo* 14.

Sg.	1	-ειγα
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This ending appears as an alternative to several other endings in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos.⁷² It has also been found in a manuscript note dating to 1718. It is most probably an analogical formation modelled on 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms in -ειες and -ειε with intervocalic /y/ (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐφόρειγα (1718, Unknown, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2323, f.158v); ἐφίλειγα *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23.

⁷¹ According to HATZIDAKIS 1892: 124, the modern Cretan dialect of his time had /us/ only in the plural.

⁷² This ending is still found in modern Peloponnesian dialects (NEWTON 1972a: 54; PANTELIDIS 2003: 11).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ας
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The inherited 2 sg. A-stem ending -ας is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

ἀγάπας μας, ἐτίμας μας *Pol. Tr.* 7150
 ἀγάπας *Dig.* E 238
 καὶ νὰ ἐμέτρας τὸν καιρὸν *Liv.* V 1789
 ἀνάσπας *Poulol.* 432
 τὴν ἤθελες καὶ ἡγάπας *Achil.* N 1802
 ἂν ἐγρίκας *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 564
 στὲς χῶρες τὲς ἐπέρνας *Apok.* V 101
 ὁποῦ μὲ ἡγάπας περισσὰ *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 278
 τούτη εἶνε ἡ ἀγάπη ὅπου μὲ ἀγάπας! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 402.33
 ἐγέλας *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 63.15
 ἐὰν ἀγάπας *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 7, η3v.22 (1561)
 ἂν ἐπήδας *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.70
 τὸν πόνο δὲν ἐγροίκας *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.101
 κ' ἐγροίκας ἀναστεναγμούς *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 204.14; τὴν Κύπρον ἐκυβέρνας *ibid.* 391.13
 ἐβάστας *Zinon Prol.* 39; ἐψήφας *ibid. Prol.* 50
 κ' ἂν ἐμελέτας ἄλλα *KORNAROS, Erot.* IV. 385

E-stems

ἀχαρίστας τὴν *Log. parig.* L 476
 κ' ἄλλον νὰ ἐκατηγόρας *Chron. Mor.* H 5553
 ἄλλὰ ἂν ἐσκόπας τὸν καιρὸν *Liv.* E 1933; ἡῦρα τὸ ἐπεθύμας *ibid.* 3726
 ἡῦρηκες τὸ ἐπεθύμας *Liv.* α 844
 νὰ ἐσκόπας τὰς ἡμέρας *Liv.* V 1789
 ἐρίγας τὴν κορφήν σου *Poulol.* 248
 εὐλόγας *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 31
 ἐπολέμας το *Theseid Prol.* P 97
 ἐσύ απ' ἀκλούθας *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.333
 ἐπαρηγόρας (1604–5, Cythera, MAVROEIDI 1978: 146.19)
 ἐσύ ὅπου ἐκτύπας ἡσου; *Stathis* I.171
 ἐλειτούργας (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 405.340)

Sg.	2	-εις
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The inherited 2 sg. E-stem ending -εις is used with E-stem verbs throughout the LMedG period and well into the EMG period. In the texts examined this ending has not been found with A-stem verbs:

ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν *Ptoch.* I 103
 ὅποταν ἐδυστύχεις *Log. parig.* L 476

οὐδὲν ἠμπόρεις *Chron. Mor.* H 4228; ἂν μ' ἐκράτεις *ibid.* 4268
 Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις *Dig.* E 141
 τὸ ἐκράτεις *Poulol.* 150
 νὰ ἐδόκεις ὅτι βλέπεις *Liv.* S 1284 (Lambert-van der Kolf); ἐθεώρεις *ibid.* 1288
 νὰ ἴσκόπεις τὰς ἡμέρας *Liv.* α 2081
 μηδὲ ὕγρασιαν νὰ ἐπάτεις *Pol. Tr.* 1249 app. crit. (A); ἐκράτεις *ibid.* 5625 app. crit. (X); ἐφίλεις
ibid. 5625 app. crit. (C); ἐχρεώστεις *ibid.* 8627 app. crit. (X)
 τὸ ἐκράτεις ἀρραβώνα *Poulol.* 150; τὴν ζούπαν τὴν ἐφόρεις *ibid.* 179
 καὶ τὸ λουτρόν ἐθώρεις [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 313; ὥσαν νὰ τὴν ἐκράτεις *ibid.* 1196
 ἐζήτεις *Spanos D* 1307
 ἐπαρεκάλεις *Vios Aisop.* K 203.10
 ἐκεῖ ποὺ τὴν ἐθώρεις *KORNAPOS, Erot.* I.364; πράμα ποὺ δὲν ἐθάρρεις *ibid.* II.1925
 ἠμπόρεις *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.5; ἐπεριπτάτεις *ibid.* Ioann. 21.18

Sg.	2	-(ε)ιες ἢ -ειγες
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The E-stem ending -(ε)ιες appears towards the end of the LMedG period, and becomes quite common in the EMG period, though it is used very rarely with A-stem verbs. It is modelled on 3 sg. -ειε (see below and see 2.1.2.2.4 for discussion) and can be found in texts from at least the 15th c. onwards. From verse texts it becomes clear that this ending could be pronounced with synizesis, as /jes/, e.g. μ' ἐψυχοπτόνειες at the verse end,⁷³ or without synizesis, e.g. ἠμπόρειες ν' ἀκούσεις:

E-stems

δνταν μ' ἐψυχοπτόνειες *Liv.* E 3975
 ἐλάλειες εἰς τὰ νέφη *Liv.* V 1567
 τὸ δὲν ἐθάρρειες *Achil.* L 1053
 οὐδὲν ἠμπόρειες *Chron. Mor.* P 4228
 ἐχρώστεις *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2263
 κι ἄς τὲς ἐπόμενες *Alex. Rim.* 1023
 ἐκράτεις *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 60.20
 κ' ἐγάμειες τὴ μάνα μου *Nov.* I 156.14
 τὸ θάρρειες *CHORTATIS, Erot.* II.46; ἐμπόρειες *ibid.* III.301; ἐθώρειες *ibid.* III.303
 ὅπου ἐθώρειες τ' ὄνειρο *Stathis* III.244
 ἐμίλιες *GERMANO, Grammar* 76.26; ἐπούλειες *ibid.* 92.21
 νὰ μπόρειες *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.54
 ἠμπόρειες ν' ἀκούσεις *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1305
 κ' ἐθώρειες *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 169.17; ἐμπόρειες 292.10
 τέτοιαις λογῆς ἐθώρειες καταδίκη *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.323

A-stems

ἐμάσειες *BAROZZI, Letter* 358.9

The same ending with an added intervocalic /y/ (for which see I, 3.5.2.1) is mentioned as an alternative to several other E-stem endings in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian

⁷³ Cf. also the spellings καὶ ἠθώργιες and ἐμπόργιες in the Xirouchakis edition of Bounialis.

Kanellos Spanos, but has not been found in earlier texts (see also 2.1.2.2.4):⁷⁴ ἐφίλειγες *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23.

Sg.	2	-ες
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Forms in -ες may come about in two distinct ways: When the ending occurs after consonants that have palatal allophones before the front vowels /e/ and /i/, such as [x] and [ç], [ɣ] and [j], [k] and [c] (see I, 3.8.2), they represent a graphematic simplification of -ειες /jes/: ἐψυχομάχες *Spanos B* 155. However, when the ending occurs after consonants that do not have a palatal allophone, it is likely to be a direct substitution of the barytone ending -ες for -εις (MINAS 2003: 114), and not, as one might expect, a matter of post-consonantal deletion of /j/ in -ειες, given the fact that these forms occur in areas that do not otherwise present post-consonantal /j/ deletion (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details) (cf. 3 sg. for corresponding forms, which are particularly common in Cypriot texts): ἤζεις *Deft. Par.* 394; δὲν ἐλόλες Ἰτσου *Fior* 137.1; ἐθώρες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους του *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 681; ἐθώρες *Thrinis Kypr.* 367.

Sg.	2	-ουνες
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Formed by analogy with 1 sg. -ουνα, which consists of the inherited 1 sg. ending -ουν with an added "past tense" ending -α (see above; see also 2.1.2.2.3), this 2 sg. ending occurs with both A- and E-stem verbs in *Bertoldos* and *Bertoldinos* (17th c., Heptanese) and in the 18th-c. grammar of Kanellos Spanos, who was Peloponnesian: ἠμπόρουνες *Bertoldos* 21.3; δὲν ἐπερβάτουνες *Bertoldin.* 105.23; δὲν ἠμπόρουνες *ibid.* 148.32 and 151.19; νὰ τὸ ἐγρίκουνες *ibid.* 155.5; ἐποίουνες *SPANOS, Grammar* 38.15; ἐφίλουνες *ibid.* 39.21.

Sg.	2	-αγες
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This ending, common for A-stem verbs in the southern varieties of MG including Athenian, is absent from the LMedG period and very rare in the EMG period. It consists of the imperfect marker /ay/ (made up of the stem vowel /a/ with intervocalic /y/ before the /e/ of 3 sg. and 2 sg.) and the "past tense" ending -ες. With 2 sg. /ay/ has been found in the 18th-c. grammar of Kanellos Spanos, who was of Peloponnesian provenance: ἐκέρναγες *SPANOS, Grammar* 38.23 (see also 2.1.2.2.3).

Sg.	2	-οὔσες
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⁷⁴ This ending is also a feature of modern Peloponnesian dialects (NEWTON 1972a: 54; PANDELIDIS 2001: 556).

This 2 sg. ending, which is the most common ending for SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the "past tense" ending -ες (for /us/ see 2.1.2.2.3). With 2 sg., forms with /us/ have not been found before the 17th c. They appear in texts of northern provenance and in the grammar of Kanellos Spanos (Peloponnese):

ἀγαπούσες ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8; ἐκρατούσες *ibid.* 47.21; [ἀρ]γοῦσες *ibid.* 64.14
ἐλειτουργοῦσες με τὸν καρδινάλην (1701, Transylvania, LEGRAND 1903: 14, 38.17)
αν αρχινούσες *Don Kis.* 109.3; ἡμπορούσες *ibid.* 131.3
ἐφιλοῦσες SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-α(ν) -ανε
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The inherited 3 sg. A-stem ending -α is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, with both A-stem and E-stem verbs:

A-stems

ἐβάστα *Chron. Mor.* H 8131
καὶ ἐβρόντα τὸ λιβάδιον *Liv.* α 849
ἐκυβέρνα (1432, Corfu, ASONITIS 1996/97: 3, 29.47)
κάτης καὶ ποντικός ἐμάχοντα καὶ ὁ βλέπων ἐγέλα *Paroim.* H 28
εἴ τις τοὺς ἐρώτα τίποτες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.23–4; καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγέλα *ibid.* 340.14
πάντα βάστα κι ἄρματα KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.86
αὐτὸς ἀγάπα την ησυχίαν *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.5–6
ἐγρίκα μίαν χαρὰν πολλὴν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 39.23
εκράτει ... ἓνα ραβδί καὶ ἀκούμπα *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 89.35–6
ἐκυβέρνα τὴν βασιλείαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.33; ἀγάπα καὶ τοὺς ραγιάδες *ibid.* 28.6
ἐχάλα τοὺς Γραικοὺς MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1313
καὶ τὸν ἐρώτα ἂν βλέπει τίποτες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 8.25
ἐχαίρετον κ' ἐπῆδα PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 174
ἐπέρνα ἀπὸ κεῖ (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 524.32)
ἐπέρνα μέρες σκοτεινές KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.22

E-stems

ἐμαρτύρα *Chron. Mor.* H 1889
ἐτήρα τον *Pol. Tr.* 426; καὶ ἐκυνήγα *ibid.* 6428
ἐπεθύμα *Dig.* E 1576
ἐσυντήρα *Velth.* 393
νὰ ἐθρήνα *Achil.* O 758
καὶ ὥρες με βίαν ἐκίνα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 10
ευχαρίστα καὶ τον Θεόν *Vios Filaret.* 239.24
ἐχρεώστα (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.24)
εζήτη ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 115.3
τὸ χρεός ... πὺ ἐχρεώστα (1600, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 96, 128.14–15)
δπου ὁ ποτὲ τση κύρης ἐκατοῖκα (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.5)
ἐβοήθα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.37; τοὺς ἐπολέμα *ibid.* 100.7
ἐκατοῖκα (1609, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 8, 78.4)

ἐμετενόα RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 127.10
ἐσυγκατοῖκα (1685, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 68, 275.37)

Addition of final /n/ is quite common, occurring in texts from various regions, both literary and non-literary, from at least the 15th c. onwards:

ἀνερῶταν *Dig.* E 133
ἐβάσαν *Assizes* B 298.12; ἐζήταν *ibid.* 382.9; ἀγάπαν, οὐ ἐμίσαν *ibid.* 404.8
ἐσκόπαν *Pol. Tr.* 317 app. crit. (A); ἐχάλναν *ibid.* 13728 app. crit. (C)
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκυβέρναν τον (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 66.9)
τοὺς ἤθελεν καὶ ἡγάπαν *Achil.* N 283; ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνίκαν τοὺς *ibid.* 287
ἐβρόνταν ἡ δύσις, καὶ ἐτσιληπούρδαν ἡ γαδάρα *Spanos* A 170
ἐκατοῖκαν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 975
ἀγάπαν πολλὰ τον ἀποστολὴ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 10.14–15; ἐγρίκαν λειτουργίαν *ibid.* A 50.2
ἐπέρναν *Diig. Alex.* F 254.4 (Lolos); τοὺς ἐγέλαν *ibid.* 18.18–19 (Konstantinopulos)
δταν μᾶς ἐτράβαν ὁ τζαούσης ὁ αὐθεντικός (1550, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: XVI, 123.6–7)
ἐχρώσαν (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.9)
τοὺς ἐρώταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 2.4; ἐβλασφήμαν *ibid.* Louk. 23.39
ἀδίκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.41; ἐπαρακίναν *ibid.* I §29.32; ἐχάλναν *ibid.* III §14.26
καὶ ᾿βάσαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 110; εὐχαρίσαν τον θεόν *ibid.* 1684; ἀφ' τὴν χαρὰν ἐπῆδαν
ibid. 2726
ἐβάσαν ἀσβολιές (1687, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 674, 921.19)

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in texts from Chios, the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, and in version A of the *Rimada koris*, which is of uncertain provenance. It also appears in Stavrinis, most likely for metrical reasons (for -(v)ε see also I, 2.6.3.3).

ἔσωνε καὶ κατάντανε τῆς μέρας ἡ ἀσπράδα *Rim. kor.* A 28
ἐβάσανε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 208.19 and 242.38
περνῶντας ἐχαιρέτανε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 530; ἡγάπανε *ibid.* 1250; τοῦ ζήτηνε *ibid.* 1260; με
μὴ ράβδο 'ποῦ ᾿βάσανε *ibid.* 1318; ἐκυνήγανε *ibid.* 1326; ἐπῆδανε *ibid.* 1337; ἐκατοῖκανε
ibid. 1608; τὸν Διγενῆ ἐρώτανε *ibid.* 2044
ἐκατοῖκουε *Thavn. Nikon Metan.* I 2
ἄλλος τουφέκι βάσανε STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 918 (Pidonia)

Sg.	3	-ει(ν) -εινε
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The inherited 3 sg. E-stem ending -ει is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, though very rarely with A-stem verbs:

E-stems

ἐπικράτει (1223, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 29, 444.20)
πεζὸς περιεπάτει *Ptoch.* III 58
ροῦχον ἐφόρει κόκκινον *Log. parig.* L 53
τὸν τόπον δπου ἐκράτει *Chron. Mor.* H 2558
ὡς ἐθεώρει *Pol. Tr.* 428
ἐλάλει καὶ ἡκουγὲν τον *Synax. gyn.* 113
αθύμει *Syndipas* 111.8
ο νεκρὸς ἐλάλει DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.2

και τον επαρακάλει ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 109.2
 εκράτει εις το χέρι του ένα ραβδί *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 89.35–6
 μά κείνο έλάλει ή γλώσσα *CHORTATISIS, Erot.* I.331; κι ώρες πολλές μ' εκράτει *ibid.* III.31
 έμλει (1622, Crete, *MALTEZOU* 1989: 358.16)
 εφόρει ρούχον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 3.4
 στο σπίτι δέν έχωρει *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 184
 τούς πόνει *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 244

A-stems

εβάστει *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 161.2

Addition of final /n/ occurs in a variety of texts from at least the 13th c. onwards:

καθώς εκράτειν αὐτὰς Γεώργιος ὁ Χορτάτης (1299, Crete, *MERTZIOS* 1949: 267.73–4)
 ήκολούθειν τον *Liv.* V 43
 έχρώστειν *Assizes B* 418.15 and *Assizes A* 60.10
 εφίλειν, κατεφίλειν τον *Achil.* L 1109 transcr. (Lendari) (Hesseling: εφίλει)
 είχαμεν σκύλον και έβοήθειν τόν λύκον *Paroim.* H 88
 κάτου στή γήν έθώρειν *Achil.* O 628
 έπεριπάτειν, έτρεχεν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 1481
 έθώρειν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 443
 εκατεγκάλειν και εκατέκλαιγεν (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 87.1d–2d)
 περιεπάτειν τρεῖς χρόνους *Spanos B* 32; επαρεκάλειν *ibid.* 43
 και ελάλειν μετά εμέν *Diig. Alex.* K 347.15
 έπερπάτειν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 13

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in one of the 17th-c. theatrical plays from Chios, in this case even with an added final /n/ to avoid hiatus, as well as in a document written in Nauplion, possibly by an Athenian: και την εφόρεινεν αὐτή *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 604; ήμπόρεινε τινὰς νὰ τὸ ὀνομάσει τόπον εὐσπλαχνίας (1699, Nauplion/Athens, *KAMBOUROGLOU* 1889: 178.3).

Sg.	3	-(ε)ιε(v) -εινε -ειγε
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Forms in -ειε(v) (sometimes spelled <ιε(v)>) consist of the inherited E-stem ending -ει with a "past tense" ending -ε(v), borrowed from the dominant barytone paradigm (for a discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4). The ending occurs with E-stem verbs from at least the 14th c. onwards, with and without final /n/ (for the identical imperative ending, see 4.5.1.2). The ending was probably pronounced both with and without synizesis, e.g. *εβάρειε*: /e'varie/ or /e'varje/ (see 2.1.2.2.4; for synizesis see also I, 2.9.4):

επροεκράτειε (1432, Corfu, *ASONITIS* 1996/97: 3, 29.47)
 εβόλειε *Chron. Toc.* 857; και έπούλειε τους *ibid.* 3589
 αν ήτον και νὰ μπόρειε *Peri xen.* 23
 εξαργειε *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Ag. Frang.* 2
 τούς βασιλείε ελάλειε *Byz. Il.* 846
 εκαρτέρειε (1502, Corfu, *PANDAZI* 2007: 61, 51.2)
 έμπόρειε *Theseid* I.18,5 (Follieri)

απου εκράτειε (1560, Cythera, *DRAKAKIS* 1999: 24, 103.15)
 ώμλειε πολλάκις μετά των καρδιναλίων *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 64–5
 έχρώστειε (1597, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 5, 77.13)
 επάτειέ τον εις την ράχι του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 41.20
 έμπόρειε (1625, Crete, *VLACHAKI* 1986: 22, 447.31–2)
 ένας είχε μητριά κ' εκράτειε την *Nov. I* 156.1
 δέν εβόλειε νὰ διαβαίνομε (1665–76, Ioannina, *VAKATSAS* 1992: 3, 153.7)
 και πως τους εκατούρειε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 169; που νὰ προλάβει μπόρειε *ibid.* 1099

ούκ ωκνιεν εις τὰ δύσκολα *Log. parag.* L 43
 ανέζειεν *Assizes B* 364.3
 μῆλον χρυσόν εκράτειεν *Liv.* V 426
 και ὁ βασιλεύς εφίλειεν τήν εδικήν του κόρην *Achil.* L 1120
 εκράτειεν *Chron. Toc.* 180
 εκράτειεν (1445, Naxos, *LAMBROS* 1907: 468.18)
 εκράτειεν *Poulol.* 268
 εκράτειεν *Achil.* N 82; εφόρειεν *ibid.* 1315; εφίλειεν, κατεφίλειεν τον *ibid.* 1511
 ὅσον ἐψυχομάχειεν *Spanos A* 491
 ὁπού 'διαλάλειεν κι ήλεγε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 369 (ms)
 και εκουβάλειεν τους ψουμιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 428.34
 ήμπόρειεν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 34; εκράτειεν *ibid.* 1136
 επαρακάλειεν τον *Vios Aisop.* I 248.31
 έμπόρειεν *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 166
 φωτιά εκράτειεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 111

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in texts from the Aegean (Chios, Mykonos, Naxos), but may have had a broader geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.3):

εκράτεινε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 264; δύο σερβούτζια φόρεινε *ibid.* 529; έπορπάτεινε *ibid.* 1164;
 τραγουδεινε *ibid.* 2437; εθάρρεινε ὁ άγνωστος *ibid.* 2555
 εκράτεινε (1702, Mykonos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1980/81: 35, 49.13) δέν έμπόρεινε (*ibid.* 39, 53.21–2)
 ήκαμε ὁ,τι έμπόρεινε *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.119

With intervocalic /y/ the ending is given in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos: εφίλειγε *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23.

Sg.	3	-ε(v)
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There are two paths of evolution that lead to forms in -ε(v): When the ending occurs after consonants that have palatal allophones before the front vowels /e/ and /i/, such as [ɣ] and [j], [k] and [c] and [x] and [ç] (see I, 3.2), they may represent a graphematic simplification of -ειε(v) /je(n)/: *εψυχαγώγεν* *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 109.24. However, when the ending occurs after consonants that do not have a palatal allophone, it is likely to be a direct substitution of the barytone ending -ε(v) for -ει (MINAS 2003: 114),⁷⁵ and not, as one might

⁷⁵ TZITZILIS (2004: 475) considers these forms to be cases of retention of the old Doric imperfect, including the pronunciation of <η> as /e/, but the same forms also occur in Cypriot and elsewhere, areas for which such a claim could not be made.

expect, a matter of post-consonantal deletion of /j/ in -ειες, given the fact that these forms occur in areas that do not otherwise present post-consonantal /j/-deletion, such as Cyprus (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details). Forms in -ε(v) have been found in texts from various areas (S. Italy, Heptanese, Cyclades, Macedonia), but with a particularly strong presence in Cypriot texts. The ending is restricted to E-stem verbs and is much more common with than without final /n/, which in Cypriot texts may be omitted at the end of the sentence or before a word starting in /n/:

ἐκράτεν (1184, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 220, 289.1)
 ἐλάλεν *Assizes* B 330.6; ἐχρῶσταν τού τα *ibid.* 335.25; ἐκράτεν *ibid.* 416.9; ἐμπόρεν *ibid.* 419.3
 ἔζεν *Assizes* A 112.30; ἐθεῶρεν *ibid.* 195.8; νὰ ἀγκάλεν *ibid.* 220.13
 ἐλάλεν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.11; ἐφόρεν δ' δακτυλίδια πρετζιόζα *ibid.* 84.22-3;
 ἐπόνεν τον ἡ καρδιά του *ibid.* 346.32; δὲν με ἀκάνεν τὸ ψυσικόν *ibid.* 196.38 (< 3rd-person
 verb ἀκανεῖ; ψυσικόν = ψυχικόν, see I, 3.8.2.2)
 ἐκράτεν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.3; εἶτι τους ἐλάλεν *ibid.* 302.1; ἐφόρεν *ibid.* 316.2-3
 νὰ τὰ λάλεν *Cypr. Canz.* 23.12; ἐμπόρεν *ibid.* 86.2; γιατί θῶρεν *ibid.* 116.33
 ἐκράτεν *Fior* 99.32; ἔζεν *ibid.* 129.36
 σὰν νὰ τα ἔκράτεν *Pist. kekoim.* 410
 καὶ περιπάτεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §22.21 δὲν ἐβόλεν *ibid.* I §33.9 (but also: ἐπερπάτειεν
ibid. I §16.10)
 ἀπάνω δὲν ἐχώρεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3463
 στοὺς τόπους ποὺ ἔπαρπάτεν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 250; κι ἐθῶρεν τοὺς
 παχιᾶδες *ibid.* 744
 οὐδὲν ἤμπόρε νὰ σταθῇ *Assizes* A 79.9-10
 καὶ δὲν ἤμπόρε νὰ κοιμηθῇ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 64.1-2
 δὲν ἤμπόρε νὰ τὸ ποίση *Cypr. Canz.* 76.4
 καὶ φόρε καὶ λουρίκι KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.86; κι ὀληνυκτὶ ἔπερπάτε *ibid.* XII.39; δὲν
 πόρε νὰ ἔπομένει *ibid.* XV.11
 ὁ ποιὸς ἐλάλε *Fior* 79.26
 ἐπαρακάλε τους *Diig. Ag. Sof.* ω 518.5-6 app. crit. (Ω')
 ἐπόνε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1330 app. crit.
 πᾶσα εἰς ὅπου ἤμπόρε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 3464

Sg.	3	-ουε
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This ending is formed by analogy with the 1 sg. ending -ουνα, which consists of the inherited ending -ουν with an added "past tense" ending -α (see above; see also 2.1.2.2.3). The 3 sg. ending occurs with both A- and E-stem verbs in Heptanesian and Peloponnesian texts of the 17th and 18th c. and in a theatrical play from Naxos:

E-stems

ἐμίλουε *Bertoldos* 6.11; ἐπαραινουε *ibid.* 39.28; ἐπερβάτουε *ibid.* 45.22; δὲν ἀποκότουε
ibid. 32.4
 νὰ ἤμπόρουε *Bertoldin.* 93.21-2; ἐκατοίκουε *ibid.* 94.20; ὁπότεν ἔζουε *ibid.* 116.27
 ὁ ὁποῖος ἦλθεν καὶ ἐλειτούργουε *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 53
 ἐκατοίκουε *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 2; ἐκαταπάτουε τὴν τέφραν *ibid.* II 6; ἄφρουε τὸ στόμα
 του *ibid.* II 9; αὐτὸς τὸν ἐπεθύμουε *ibid.* V 6-7; ἐπαρακάλουε *ibid.* V 16

νὰ μπόρουε νὰ λόγιασα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* III.322
 ἐποίουε SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.15-16; ἐφίλουε *ibid.* 39.21

A-stems

ἐρώτουε τον Μπερτόλδον *Bertoldos* 23.24; ἐπεριγέλουε *ibid.* 32.3; ἀπέρνουε *ibid.* 54.14
 ἐγρίκουε *Bertoldin.* 164.24
 ἐδίψουε ἀκόμη καταπολλά *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 24
 ἐκέρνουε SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.24; ἐγέλουε *ibid.* 41.14

Sg.	3	-οὔσε(v)
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This ending, the most common ending in SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the 3 sg. "past tense" ending -ε. The morpheme /us/ is derived from the 3 pl. imperfect ending -οὔσαν (see below; see also 2.1.2.2.3). With 3 sg., the affix /us/ has not been found before the late 16th c.⁷⁶ The ending occurs with both E- and A-stem verbs in texts from various areas, though notably not in Cretan texts:⁷⁷

E-stems

τινάς δὲν ἀποκοτούσεν νὰ περάσει ANDONIOS, *Vios Sym. Styl.* 243.12
 ἐδούλευε καὶ ἐζούσεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 256.7
 ἐκρατοῦσε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 47.21; [ἀρ]γοῦσε *ibid.* 64.14
 ἐπουλοῦσεν το (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 3, 10.11)
 ἐβλαστημοῦσεν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §35.14; πολλὰ τοὺς ὠνειδοῦσεν *ibid.* I §4.13
 πονοῦσε ἡ καρδιά μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 506
 ἐπιθυμοῦσε *Alex. Fyll.* 9.32; τὴν ἐπαρηγοροῦσε *ibid.* 10.20; ὁμιλοῦσε *ibid.* 91.10
 δὲ σ' ἀκολουθοῦσε *Zinon Prol.* 51
 κανένας δὲν ἀπεκοτούσε EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9
 ἐκρατοῦσεν (1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 136.99)
 ἐπεριπατοῦσε *Don Kis.* 136.15; δὲν ἤμπορούσεν *ibid.* 310.3
 ἐφιλοῦσε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.21

A-stems

ἀγαποῦσε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8
 ἀπερνοῦσε *Alex. Fyll.* 103.22
 καὶ το ἐχαλνοῦσε *Don Kis.* 1.16; το ἀγαποῦσε *ibid.* 114.30; εσιωποῦσε *ibid.* 115.17
 ἐκερνοῦσε SPANOS, *Grammar* 38.24

Sg.	3	-σε(v) ; -αγε(v)
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Uncontracted forms of A-stem verbs are not very common, but they do appear in texts that are geographically and chronologically remote; forms with intervocalic /y/, common for

⁷⁶ The forms ὠφελοῦσεν *Pol. Tr.* 13124 and ἐκρατοῦσεν *Chron. Toc.* 3664 are the result of editorial corrections (ὠφελοῦσαν and ἐκρατοῦσαν in app. crit.).

⁷⁷ According to HATZIDAKIS 1892: 124 the modern Cretan dialect of his time had /us/ only in the plural.

the southern varieties of MG, are equally rare and have not been found before the 17th c. (see also 2.1.2.2.3).

καὶ λέγει ὁποῦ μ' ἐφύλαε *Liv.* E 437
καθὼς ἀγάπαι ἡ καρδία του (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.8)
καὶ τὴν ἐπολέμαε δύο μῆνες (1685, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a: [5], 91.3)
ἐμάσαε καὶ ἐτάϊζε τὰ ἀφεντόπουλά της PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 118.2
ὅπου ποτὲ κατοίκαε VATATIS, *Periig.* I 57

πῶς καὶ νὰ ἐξύπναγεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2381
ἐκράταγέ το (1670, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1971/73: 2, 164.10)
τὸ χρέος ὁποῦ χρεώσταγε ὁ πατέρας μου (1707, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 56, 89.6–7)

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-οὔμε(ν)
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The inherited E-stem ending -οὔμε(ν) continues to be in use in the LMedG period with E-stem and A-stem verbs, but is soon superseded by new endings that begin to appear in the LMedG period. Given that 1 pl. imperfects occur only in specific contexts (1st-person (plural) narrative set in the past), they are often completely absent from texts, making it difficult to establish the geographical spread of the various endings:⁷⁸

E-stems

ἐλαλοῦμεν *Dig.* G I.225
τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ὄγαμον, εὐρέθη ἐγκαστρωμένη *Paroim.* D 119
συνεθρηνοῦμεν ἀπειρα *Liv.* E 3034
ἐνόσω ἐπερπατοῦμεν *Liv.* V 2468
λογισμοεμαχοῦμεν *Liv.* S 1600 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
ἤμποροῦμεν *Pol. Tr.* 8003 app. crit. (C)
πάλιν περιεσκοποῦμεν *Liv.* S 1588 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
συνεπτοῦμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2027
καὶ ἐπεθυμοῦμε νὰ βάλωμεν καὶ τὸν κοντοσταύλην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 400.16–17
ἐπεριπατοῦμεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 259.3

A-stems

τὰ ἐψηλαφοῦμεν δίχρονον, ἰδοῦ, ἐπιτύχαμέν τα *Liv.* E 904
πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐμελετοῦμεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 970 app. crit. (L); ἡμηχανοῦμεν *ibid.* 2407
ἐγελοῦμεν καὶ ἐγελοῦσαμεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.15

Pl.	1	-οὔμα(ν) ἢ -οὔμανε
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This ending, in which the /e/ of -οὔμε(ν) is replaced by the past-tense marker /a/, appears in texts from about the 12th c. onwards (the earliest examples can be found in documents

⁷⁸ For instance where Cyprus is concerned, MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* has only one 1 pl. imperfect (ἐπεθυμοῦμε), VOUSTR., *Chron.*, *Pist. Kekoim.* and *Fior* have none.

from S. Italy). It continues to be in use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from Constantinople to Crete:

E-stems

ἐκρατοῦμαν (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 89, 117.15)
καὶ ἐχρεωστοῦμαν τον *Paroim.* A 8
νὰ ἐζητοῦμαν χάριν *Chron. Mor.* H 7489
ἐσυνθρηνοῦμαν ἀπειρα *Liv.* V 2818; ἐζοῦμαν *ibid.* 2989
ὡσάν τὰς ἐλαλοῦμαν *Dig.* E 73; ἐμεῖς γὰρ ἐκρατοῦμαν σε *ibid.* E 190
καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπιστοῦμαν *Byz. Il.* 376
νὰ ἐτσιοῦμαν *Spanos* A 415
ἐζοῦμαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 126; νὰ περπατοῦμαν *ibid.* 247; ἐθωροῦμαν *ibid.* 351
οὐδὲν ἐσυμφωνοῦμαν (1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 71, 58.12)
κ' ἐπερικαρτεροῦμαν *Alex. Rim.* 1620; τινὰ δὲν ἐθωροῦμαν *ibid.* 1698
ἐσυνομιλοῦμαν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 475
τοὺς ὁποίους ὡς ἐδὰ ἐκρατοῦμαν ἀμοίραστους (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2009: 442, 439.6)
ἐμιλοῦμαν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 64.15
ἐμποροῦμαν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 84.21)
ἐλειτοργοῦμαν *Rim. Sant.* 255; ἀποροῦμαν *ibid.* 256

A-stems

ἐτρυφοῦμαν τὰ καλὰ *Liv.* V 2990
πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐμελετοῦμαν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 970
νὰ βαστοῦμαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 248
ἐπερνοῦμαν ΠΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 207
ἐγελοῦμαν GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 476
ἄμποτε ... νὰ γελοῦμαν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 62.3
ἐβαστοῦμαν τὰ (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.20–1)
ἐψηφοῦμαν *Diig. Sant.* 58.45

Evidence for the deletion of final /n/ can be found from the 16th/17th c. onwards in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese):

δὲν ἐμποροῦμα τσῆ τιμῆς νὰ στέκομεν ὁμάδι CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.162
γλήγορα πορπατοῦμα *P&N Diath.* 109; ἐζοῦμα *ibid.* 628
ἀκλουθοῦμα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 221.24; κ' ἐσυντηροῦμα *ibid.* 221.25; γιατί δὲν
ἐμποροῦμα *ibid.* 425.23
τὰ δύο χωράφια ὁποῦ ἐκρατοῦμα ἦτανε ... (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 71.22)

Addition of -(ν)ε is not very common with this ending (see also I, 2.6.3.3): ἐκρατούμανε TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.298.

Pl.	1	-οὔσαμε(ν)
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This ending, the most common ending for SMG, consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the 1 pl. past-tense ending -αμε(ν) (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3). With 1 pl., the affix /us/ can be found from at least the 15th c. from the Heptanese to the Crimea and from Cyprus

to Constantinople, though notably not usually in Cretan texts. The ending appears with and without final /n/:

E-stems

- ἀδικούσαμεν *Ptoch. III* 273 app. cr. (P)
 ἔθαρρούσαμεν (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.4)
 ἔθαρρούσαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.17)
 στὸν κόσμον νὰ πατούσαμεν BERGADIS, *Apok. V* 247
 ποὺ τοὺς ἀκαρτερούσαμε *Theseid* 2.81,3 (1529)
 ἐπεθυμούσαμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron. O* 301.38 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 σοῦ χρεωστούσαμε (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.13)
 εἰάν δεν ἐπλεονεκτούσαμεν DIONYS., *Istor.* 255.7
 ἐπουλούσαμεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 92.22
 σᾶς ἐμοιρολογούσαμεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 11.17; ἐχρεωστούσαμεν *ibid.* Louk. 17.10
 σὲ ἔθαρρούσαμεν διὰ φρόνιμον ἄνθρωπον PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §31.41
 ἐζούσαμεν *Diig. Sant.* 57.41–2
 ἐμιλούσαμεν ... φραντζόζικα καὶ ἰταλιάνικα (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.14)
 ἐπιθυμούσαμεν (1674, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1922: (3), p. 53.7)
 ἡμπορούσαμεν *Don Kis.* 61.18; ἐπιθυμούσαμεν *ibid.* 85.8

A-stems

- πολλὰ τὸν ἀγαπούσαμε ZINOS, *Vatr.* 210
 ἐγελοῦμεν καὶ ἐγελούσαμεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.15
 ὅτι κανε δεν ἐπεινούσαμε *Vios Filaret.* 241.14
 ἐπερνούσαμεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 258.22
 ἀγαπούσαμεν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.8
 ὅλοι μας ἐπεινούσαμεν *Rim. Sant.* 248
 καθὼς ἐπερνούσαμεν (1662, Cyclades, SYMEONIDIS 1989: 15, 132.13)

Forms with an added -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) have not been found, but they can be postulated, at least for Chios, based on Girolamo Germano, who states in his grammar that in Chios this suffix is added to the plural (and certain singular) forms of the passive imperfect of oxytone verbs (GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.2–7).

Pl.	1	-εἶγαμεν
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This ending is recorded in the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos. It is most probably an analogical formation modelled on 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms in -εις and -ειε with intervocalic /y/ (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐφιλείγαμεν SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

Pl.	1	-ῶμεν
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The residual A-stem ending -ῶμεν, having been replaced by -οῦμεν long before the LMedG period (see 4.1.2) is used only sporadically: ἐψηλαφῶμεν *Liv. α* 984 app. crit. (P).

Pl.	1	-αμεν
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The substitution of past-tense endings of the barytone paradigm for those of oxytone verbs is largely restricted to 2 sg. and 3 sg. (see above), though one example has been found of just such a formation for 1 pl. in the following document. The stress pattern of barytone verbs is also adopted: τοῦ τὸ ἐχρεώσταμεν (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 36, 39.67).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε ! -εῖτε
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The inherited A-stem ending -ᾶτε and its E-stem counterpart -εῖτε will have been the normal endings until at least the 15th c., since no alternative formations have been found before that time. However, since 2 pl. forms, especially of the imperfect, are underrepresented in texts, not many examples have been found in texts other than grammars: ἐκρατεῖτε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 60.20; ἐγελάτε *ibid.* 63.15–16; ἐτιμάτε GERMANO, *Grammar* 91.18; ἐπουλεῖτε *ibid.* 92.22; γιὰ μένα ἐπολεμάτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 561.23.

Pl.	2	-ούσετε(ν)
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This ending consists of the imperfect marker /us/ and the 2 pl. ending -ετε. For the morpheme /us/ see also 2.1.2.2.3. With 2 pl., forms with /us/ can be found for E- and A-stem verbs from at least the 16th c. (ms date of MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V*) in texts from various areas (Cyprus, Kefalonia, E. Thrace, Moldavia):

E-stems

- νὰ θαρούσετε *Cypr. Canz.* 133.13; ἐμισούσετε *ibid.*
 δὲν τὸν ἐβοηθούσετε DAM. STOUT., *This., Logos* 30, Z5v.12–13 (1561)
 ἐκρατούσετε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 47.22
 ἐτυραννούσετε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7197
 καὶ σεῖς δὲν ἐβαρούσετε φωτιές καὶ μὲ μαχαίρι DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 843
 καθὼς πρότερον μὲν ἐδηλοποιούσετε (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 12.7)

A-stems

- ποῦ 'νε τὸ πρᾶμαν τὸ ἐβαστούσετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 442.8
 ἀγαπούσετε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 38.9
 εἰάν μὲ ἀγαπούσετε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Ioann.* 14.28
 ἀγαπούσετε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7193 and 7195

SMG -ούσατε has not been found in the texts examined.

Pl.	2	-εἶγετε
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The only witness so far for this ending is the 1749 grammar of the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐφιλείγετε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.23.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-ουν
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The inherited E-stem ending -ουν is in use at the beginning of the LMedG period, alongside -ούσαν, which had recently emerged (see below). It also occurs in later mixed-register texts (Ermoniakos, *Dig.* A), and notably in texts from Cyprus, which do not usually show archaizing tendencies in their morphology (Machairas, Voustronios).⁷⁹ It is not very often used with A-stem verbs:⁸⁰

E-stems

ὥς καὶ μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι (1125?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7);
ἐκατοίκουν (1130–40?, *ibid.* Coll. XI: 14, 534.19)
καὶ ἐκράτουν εἰς τὰ χέρια τῶν *Dig.* E 433; τὸ δνομάν του ἐξήγουν τὸ *ibid.* 1611
συνεκρότουν ERMON., *Ilias* 16.159; συνεκλόνουν *ibid.* 16.327
ἐὰν μὲ παραχώρουν *Ptoch.* IV 146 app. crit. (K)
ἴντα ἐμπόρου νὰ ποίσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 532.15–16⁸¹
επῆραν τὰ ... κ' ἐλάλουν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 276.1–2
ἐζήτουν νὰ τὴν ἴπάρουσιν *Diig. Apoll.* 11; καὶ βασιλεῖς ρηγάδες τε ἐσέναν ἐπεθύμουν *ibid.* 26
μίαν φωνὴν ἀφήσασιν πρὸς ἀμῆραν ἐλάλουν *Dig.* A 379; τὸν νέον ἐπροσκύνουν *ibid.* 1530
τοῦ ἐκολούθουν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 85.9
ἐπεθύμουν SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A2r.10

A-stems

καὶ γρίκουν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 59.19 app. crit.

Pl.	3	-οὔσα(ν) ! -οὔσανε
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The 3 pl. ending -οὔσαν came into being with E-stem verbs long before the LMedG period (see 2.1.2.2.3 for a discussion). It remains in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, spreading to A-stem verbs from at least the 15th c.:

E-stems

ἐζητοῦσαν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 48.29)
ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν τὸ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.6; ἐπολεμοῦσαν *id.*, *Logos* 31 812.12
ἔλαβαν γράμμαν καὶ ἐκρατοῦσαν αὐτό (1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 227.16)
κ' εὐσέβειαν ἐποθοῦσαν *Chron. Mor.* H 117; ἀποθαρροῦσαν *ibid.* 9100

⁷⁹ Note that modern Cypriot still uses the identical 1 sg. ending; see CHATZIOANNOU 1999: 53–5.

⁸⁰ Two manuscripts of the *War of Troy* (BV) preserve an unparalleled form in -αν bearing the stress on the antepenultimate: καὶ ὁπώραν πανεξαίρετην ἐσύνηθαν ἐστῆιν *Pol. Tr.* 2853. The verb has to be συνηθῶ, an oxytone variant of συνηθίζω (paroxytone *συνήθω is unattested).

⁸¹ For the omission of final /n/ in Cypriot texts, see I, 3.7.2.2.

καὶ τὰ βουινὰ ἀηδονοῦσαν *Dig.* E 38; τὰ δρη ἐκλαδοῦσαν *Dig.* E 1150
καὶ δλα ἐθρηνοῦσαν *Liv.* V 3503
ἤκουγαν καὶ ἀπιστοῦσαν τὸ *Velis.* χ 488
ὄλοι ἐκαλοφοροῦσαν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 343
καὶ κυνηγοῦσαν *Theseid* VI.8,6 (Olsen); εὐεργετοῦσαν *ibid.* VI.9,3
καὶ δὲν ἤμποροῦσαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.22; ἀφορμολογοῦσαν *ibid.* 134.15
ἐκεῖνη ἐφθονοῦσαν τὴν *Diig. Apoll.* 442; ὄλοι 'μαυροφοροῦσαν *ibid.* 640
καὶ κενὰ ἐλαλοῦσαν (1547, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 56, 177.37)
δὲν τὰ ὁμολογοῦσαν ... καὶ ἀδικοῦσαν τοὺς ἐμήνηδες (1568–9, Constantinople, LEMERLE 1988: App. IV C, 237.56–7)
δὲν ἐδιδουῦσαν τοὺς πτωχοὺς *Pist. kekoim.* 599–600 (διδῶ < διδω)
ὄλοι τὸν ἀναθεματοῦσαν τὸν βεζιρη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §33.13; ἀπιστοῦσαν *ibid.* IV §17.10

A-stems

ἡγαποῦσαν τὰς *Ptoch.* IV 248.5 app. crit. (K)
ὄσοι ἀγαποῦσαν τὸν Χριστὸν *Chron. Mor.* H 117
καὶ ἐχαμοπετοῦσαν *Achil.* N 828
καὶ ἐγελοῦσαν *Hist. Imp.* I 2360
ὄσοι μὲν ἐγροικοῦσαν τὴν γλῶσσαν τοὺς DAM. STOUT., *This., Logos* 10, κ2r.4–5 (1561)
τὰ αἵματα ἀπηδοῦσαν *Diig. Alex.* F 175.5 (Lolos)
μῆλα μεγάλα, τὰ ὅποια ἐδουροῦσαν ἔτσι χλωρὰ τριακοσίους χρόνους KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.36–7 (< δουρῶ < Ven. *durar*)⁸²
ἐγελοῦσαν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 63.16
ἐμετροῦσαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* Proem. §3.70
εμαδοῦσαν *Don Kis.* 606.3

Deletion of final /n/ may occur before nasals (/m/, /n/) (haplography, or avoidance of gemination in geminating dialects such as Cypriot, see I, 3.4); it is also quite common in verse texts at the verse end.

καὶ πλὶόν τὸν ἐφημοῦσα *Imb. Rim.* 707; αὐτεῖνον ἐτιμοῦσα *ibid.* 708
(τ' ἀμάτια τοῦτα) ... πόσα 'κακοπαθοῦσα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 366
καὶ οἱ ναῦτες ἐγελοῦσα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 343
'πλημελοῦσα νὰ πάρουν τὴν Κύπρον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 134.14; ἐλαλοῦσα νὰ μὲν ἐμποῦν
ibid. 395.16–17
ὄσοι τὴν ἐθωρούσα *Apoll. Rim.* A 1191; ὄλοι τὴν ἐπαινοῦσα *ibid.* 1192
ὄλοι τὴν ἀγαποῦσα *Apoll. Rim.* E 1049; καὶ ὄλοι τὸν 'προσκυνούσα *ibid.* 1803
κ' ἔπιαν ὁποῦ διψοῦσα *Alex. Rim.* 893
οὐδὲν ἤμποροῦσα νὰ χωριστοῦν *Diig. Alex.* F 182.25 (Konstantinopulos)
καὶ τοὺς κώλους τῶν ἐκροῦσα | καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρες τῶν γελοῦσα | καὶ παστάρδικα γεννοῦσα
Eraïn. gyn. 705–7 (κρῶ < κρούω)
καὶ χίλιοι μ' ἀκλουθοῦσα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* IV.5; γιατί ὄλοι τὸν παινοῦσα *ibid.* IV.99
μ' ἀγάπη μ' ἐθωρούσα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.349; καὶ ὄλοι ἐκρατοῦσα βέβαια *ibid.* II.34
καὶ νὰ πονοῦσα στὴν καρδιάν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 616
ἐρρικταν ἀπάνω πέτρες καὶ δὲν ἐβουλοῦσα *Diig. Sant.* 59.64–5

Addition of -(v)ε has mainly been found in texts from south-western areas, but is likely to occur in the Aegean as well (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

⁸² Cf. The French traveller Jacob Spon's *Petit Dictionnaire*: Il dure, crati (= κρατεῖ). Duraï (= δουράει) se dit és lieux qui ont plus de commerce avec les Italiens SPON, *Voyage* 306.

δτι τὸν ἐθωρούσανε *Imb. Rim.* 849
 ἐκεῖ πού πολεμούσανε *Alex. Rim.* 1877
 ἐζούσανε *Fyll. gadar.* 143B
 στήν Πόλιν ζούσανε *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 196
 ἐπεθυμούσανε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 47.3; ἐφθονούσανε *ibid.* 79.15
 ἀκαρτερούσανε *Chron. Tourk Soult.* 27.15; πονούσανε *ibid.* 34.9; ἀγαπούσανε *ibid.* 43.16
 ὁπόταν τὰ ζὰ ἐμιλούσανε *Bertoldos* 45.19
 ἐμπορούσανε *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.185
 καὶ ἐπεθυμούσανε (post 1647, Crete?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 65.III–V, 512.42.3–4)
 ἀπερνούσανε *IER. ANVATIOS, Diig. Seismou* 331.12–13
 κι ἐτρώγαν και μεθούσανε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2270; κι οι Τούρκοι εβοούσανε *ibid.* 2309;
 ψοφούσανε *ibid.* 2424; ευφημούσανε *ibid.* 2535
 βαστούσανε *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 157.19; κ' ἐβοηθούσανε *ibid.* 425.23
 ἐζούσανε *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 30.11; ἐκινούσανε *ibid.* 42.25
 ἐπερνούσανε *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 121.26
 ἐκιλαδούσανε *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1764; δὲν τὴν ἐσυντηρούσανε *ibid.* II.2212; ἐκνογελούσανε
ibid. III.379; ἐγλακούσανε *ibid.* IV.1023

Pl.	3	-ούσανε(v)
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When the morpheme /us/ began to be viewed as a marker for the imperfect, in other words as part of the imperfect stem rather than as part of the ending (see 2.1.2.2.3), alternation could occur of the "past tense" endings -αν and -ασιν (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.1). Examples of -ούσανε(v) appear from the 14th c. onwards in texts from various areas, both poetry and prose, though very rarely in non-literary texts.⁸³

E-stems

κ' ἐκρατούσανιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2668; ἐπολεμούσανιν *ibid.* 3029; ἐβοηθούσανιν *ibid.* 3101
 ἐθαρούσανιν *Pol. Tr.* 1287; ἐπεθυμούσανιν *ibid.* 8528
 τοὺς πόδας ἐκρατούσανιν *Achil.* N 828
 ἐθαρούσανιν *Pol. Tr.* 1287
 καὶ ἐλεούσανιν τοὺς *Chron. Toc.* 3213
 ἐκουλουθούσανιν *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos* 443
 ἐσυγκρατούσανιν *Theseid* VI.6,1 (Olsen); ἐτιμούσανιν *ibid.* VI.7,4
 ἐλαλούσανιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 66.8; ἐκατοικούσανιν *ibid.* 560.6
 ἐλαλούσανιν *Fior* 91.19; ἐπολομούσανιν *ibid.* 150.18
 τα μαύρα εφορούσανιν *Diig. Apoll.* 623
 ζούσανιν *SKLAVOS, Symf.* 270
 τὰ ὄρη ἀντιδονούσανιν *Dig. A* 371; εὐχαριστούσανιν *ibid.* 3236
 καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετούσανιν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.11
 ἐκαλούσανιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1017; ἐκαρτερούσανιν *ibid.* 2744
 ἀνθούσανιν *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 11
 τὴν ἐκρατούσανιν ἀσφαλῶς *MAKOLAS, Ioust.* 424.13

A-stems

σκάλες ἐβαστούσανιν *Chron. Toc.* 291; ἐτιμούσανιν *ibid.* 1314
 ἐρωτούσανιν *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 110.11

⁸³ The first instance of this ending in a non-literary text is the following: καὶ κρατούσανι με *Epist. Nax.* 471.9; an undated letter by a hostage from Naxos to his wife, perhaps dating from the late 17th–early 18th c.

δὲν εψηφούσανιν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 7406
 τοὺς ἀπετούσανιν *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 296
 ὀλίγον ἀγαπούσανι τὰ γράμματα οἱ Κρητικοί (1670, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 3, 37.39)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs from about the 14th c. too (*Pol. Tr.* has equal numbers of forms with and without final /n/):

πολλά τὸν ἡγαπούσανι *Pol. Tr.* 4495; ἐπεθυμούσανι *ibid.* 5965
 δὲν μου εβοηθούσανι *Syndipas* 121.40–1
 καὶ 'κεῖ των ἀκολουθούσανι *Apoll. Rim.* E 785
 ἐκτυπούσανι *Alex. Rim.* 844; ὀλόγυρα κερνούσανι *ibid.* 1158; τὴν τροφήν πού ζούσανι *ibid.* 1658
 τὸν ἀνδρα ἀπολούσανι *Synax. gyn.* 104 app. crit. (ἀπολῶ < ἀπολύω)
 ὅλοι τὴν ἐγαπούσανι *MOREZINOS, Klini* 50.28; δὲν τῆς ἐγρικούσανι *ibid.* 52.14;
 ἐκολουθούσανι *ibid.* 183.38
 κι ἐρωτούσανι *P&N Diath.* 1767
 κ' οἱ δυὸ ἐσοπορπατούσανι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.37; σ' μιὰ βράσιν ἐκεντούσανι *ibid.* IV.849
 δὲν τὸ ἀναμελούσανι *PROSOPSAS, Peri Tyflou* 947
 σὰν ξένοι προπατούσανι *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 223.17; κ' οἱ Φράγχοι ἐκολούσανι
ibid. 289.10
 θρηνούσανι *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 955
 ἐπιθυμούσανι *MAKOLAS, Ioust.* 423.4–5; τοὺς ἀδικούσανι *ibid.* 242.38
 δὲν ἐχωρούσανι *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 17.16; ὅλοι τὸν ἐπεριγελούσανι *ibid.* 59.24

Forms with an added -(v)ε (e.g. ἐγελούσανι), attested for barytone verbs (see 4.3.1.1), have not been found in the texts examined.

The alternation between -αν and -ασι can sometimes lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι, which is probably due to the use of a combination of ligatures (cf. e.g. the ending '-ομένστα in 4.1.1.2) rather than a "real" ending: ἐκρατούσανσι *Theseid* I.30,5 app. crit. (Follieri).

Pl.	3	-αγαν
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Forms in -αγαν, now common for the southern varieties of MG, are very rare and have not been found before the later 16th c. (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.3): ἐπέρναγαν (1572, Peloponnese, *VEIS* 1956: 451.33); πού 'πέρναγαν *DIAKR., Diig. Pol.* 291.

Pl.	3	-ειγαν
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Forms in -ειγαν are equally rare and have not been found before the 18th c. (see 2.1.2.2.3 for a discussion): ἐκράτειγαν (1709, Chios, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 30, 120.78); [ἐφλ]ειγαν *SPANOS, Grammar* 39.23.

Pl.	3	-ων
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The residual 3 pl. A-stem ending -ων is used very rarely, even less frequently than the identical residual 1 sg. ending (see above): οἱ κόλακες ἐβόων *Ptoch.* IV 343 app. crit. (H).

	General		Restricted			Rare	
Sg.	1	ἐγρικούμην ἐβαρούμην ἐγρικούμαι ἐβαρούμαι	ἐγρικόυμι ἐγρικούμενε ἐγρικούμουνα ἐγρικ(ε)ιοῦμαι(ν) ἐγρικ(ε)ιοῦσυνε ἐγρικόμουν ἐγρικ(ε)ιόμου(ν)	ἐβαρούμι ἐβαρούμενε ἐβαρούμουνα ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦμαι(ν) ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦσυνε ἐβαρόμουν ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμουν	ἐγρικώμην/-όμεν ἐγρίκοιμιν ἐγρίκοιμενε ἐγρικόμοινα ἐγρικόμοινα	ἐβαρώμην/-όμεν ἐβάρουμι(ν) (-όμουνα) ἐβαρήγοιμιν ἐβάρουμι ἐβάρουμαι	
	2	ἐγρικούσους ἐβαρούσους	ἐγρικάσου(ν) ἐγρικούσου (-ε)ιοῦσου(ν)) (-ε)ιοῦσυνε) ἐγρίκουσούν ἐγρίκουσυνε	ἐβάρ(ε)ισου(ν) ἐβαρούσου ἐβαρούσυνε ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦσου(ν) (-ε)ιοῦσυνε) ἐβάρ(ε)ιουσούν	ἐγρικῶ ἐγρικάσυνε ἐγρικάσου/-ώσουν	ἐβαροῦ(ν) (-άσυνε) ἐβαρ(ε)ιόσυν ἐβαρέισουν ἐβαρήγασουν	
	3	ἐγρικᾶτον ἐβαρεῖτον ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτον	ἐγρικᾶτο ἐγρικᾶtone ἐβαρεῖτο ἐβαρεῖtone ἐγρικ(ε)ιέtone ἐγρικοῦντο(ν) ἐγρικοῦνtone ἐγρικοῦνταν	ἐβαράτο ἐβαρ(ε)ιέtone ἐβαροῦντο(ν) ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦντο ἐβαροῦνtone ἐβαροῦνταν	ἐγρικᾶτο ἐγρικᾶταν ἐγρικεῖτον (-ε)ιέτο) ἐγρικῶντον ἐγρικοῦντανε ἐγρικ(ε)ιοῦνταν ἐγρικότον ἐγρικότουν ἐγρικότουνε ἐγρικόταν ἐγρικότανε ἐγρικοῦτον (-ούtone)	ἐβαράτου ἐβαρᾶντον ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτο ἐβαρήγετο ἐβαρόντανε ἐβαρ(ε)ιότον ἐβαρ(ε)ιότουν ἐβαροῦτον ἐβαροῦtone	

Pl.	General		Restricted		Rare	
	(-ούμεθα)	ξβαρούμεθα ξβαρούμεθα	ἐγρικούμεσθε(ν)/ ἐγρικούμεσται(ν)/ ἐγρικούμεσθα(ν) ἐγρικώμεσται(ν)	ξβαρούμεσθε(ν)/ ξβαρούμεσται(ν)/ ξβαρούμεσθα(ν)	(-ούμεθα) ἐγρικώμεθα ἐγρικούμεθεν ἐγρικώμεσθεν ἐγρικούμασθε(ν)/ ἐγρικώμασται(ν) ἐγρικώμασταν	ξβαρούμεθαν ξβαρούμεθεν ξβαρ(ε)ιόμεσθα ξβαρούμασθε(ν)/ ξβαρούμασται(ν) ξβαρηγώμασθε (-ούμασταν)
1						
2	ἐγρικᾶσθε(ν)/ ἐγρικᾷσται(ν)	ξβαρεῖσθε(ν)/ ξβαρεῖσται(ν)	(-ε)ιέσθε/ (-ε)ιέσται	ξβαρ(ε)ιέσθε/ ξβαρ(ε)ιέσται	ἐγρικοῦσθε/ ἐγρικοῦσται	ξβαρ(ε)ιοῦσθε/ ξβαρ(ε)ιοῦσται ξβαρηγέσθε ξβαρηγώσασθε ξβαρούσασθε
3	ἐγρικοῦνταν	ξβαροῦντα(ν) ξβαροῦνταν	ἐγρικῶντα(ν)/ ἐγρικόντα(ν) ἐγρικοῦντα ἐγρικοῦντανε ἐγρικ(ε)ιοῦντα(ν) ἐγρικ(ε)ιοῦντανε ἐγρικῶντα(ν)/ ἐγρικόντα(ν) ἐγρικόντανε/ ἐγρικόντανε ἐγρικόνταν ἐγρικοῦντησαν ἐγρικόντησαν ἐγρικῶντασι(ν) ἐγρικόντασι(ν)	ξβαρῶντα(ν)/ ξβαρῶντανε/ ξβαρῶντανε ξβαρῶνταν ξβαροῦντησαν ξβαρῶντησαν ξβαρ(ε)ιοῦντησαν ξβαροῦντασι(ν) ξβαρῶντασι(ν)	ἐγρικῶντανε/ ἐγρικόντανε ἐγρικόῦτα	(-ῶντανε)/ (-ῶντανε) (-οῦτα) ξβαρ(ε)ιόντα(ν) ξβαρ(ε)ιόντανε ξβαρ(ε)ιόντο(ν) ξβαρηγούνταν ξβαρηγόντησαν

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ούμην
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Even though a limited number of examples has been found, the inherited E-stem ending -ούμην, which had replaced its A-stem equivalent -ώμην long before the period covered by this Grammar (see the introduction to Chapter 2), will have been the normal ending at the beginning of the LMedG period for both E-stem and A-stem verbs, though it was soon supplanted by new endings that began to appear in the LMedG period.

E-stems

- έφοβούμην GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 54
 προσεκαλούμην Dig. G VI.79; ήσυχολούμην ibid. VI.508
 και να καλοπαθούμην Ptoch. III 166 app. crit. (P)
 έλογομαχούμην Liv. E 2749; έμυριοετυραννούμην ibid. 3510; και ουδέν τον έφοβούμην ibid. 383
 εις φέγγος τὸ έλυπούμην Liv. V 1550
 άφηγούμην του Liv. α 761
 έκατετυραννούμην Liv. S 2320 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 έθρηνούμην Alosis 713
 να έπαρηγορούμην Pol. Tr. 7847 app. crit. (V)
 ήγούμην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2491
 έλυπούμην πολλά PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Lavras) 259.41

A-stems

- έκαυχούμην το Liv. E 1694 and Liv. V 1552
 έκαυχούμην Achil. N 1102

Sg.	1	-ούμου(ν) ! -ούμουνε ! -ούμουνα ! -(ε)ιούμου(ν) ! -(ε)ιούμουνε ! -ουμουν ! -ουμουνε
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The ending -ούμουν starts to appear in texts from all areas from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Assizes B*), and continues to be in use throughout and beyond the EMG period. It is derived from -ούμην, the /u/ in the final syllable being the result of backing of /i/ to /u/ (see I, 2.8.4 for details; cf. barytone verbs for a similar development (4.3.1.2)). The post-verbal weak personal pronoun μου may have played an associative role; cf. 2 sg. -σου(ν) and, regionally, 3 sg. -του(ν) with both barytone and oxytone verbs and with είμαι (4.8.2).⁸⁴

E-stems

- έφοβούμουν να τον άνκρλω *Assizes B* 418.24
 και να τον έλυπούμουν Liv. E 1505
 πάντα φοβούμουν Pol. Tr. 5933 app. crit. (X)
 άστρονομούμουν Liv. α 3089 app. crit. (N)
 έξηγούμουν *Synax. gyn.* 475
 και έκοιμούμουν (post 1461-ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 164.4d-165.1d)
 έφοβούμουν *Theseid* III.51,1 (1529)

⁸⁴ With είμαι the ending -μουν appears in writing from the 11th/12th c.; see 4.8.2.

- έγώ έφοβούμουν την κακίαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 430.24
 έκρατούμουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 52.9
 έφοβούμουν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 47.11
 δηγούμουν Vosk. 347 app. crit.
 διατ! σε έφοβούμουν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 19.21
 ένθυμούμουν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VI 373.26; δέν έφοβούμουν κανένα ibid. VII 379.11-12
 έθυμούμουν (1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.148)
 έφιλούμουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.16

A-stems

- τον έκαυκούμουν πάντοτε Achil. L 721
 άνέγνοιαστα έκοιμούμουν *Peri xen.* 214
 κεί που νικούμουν πάντα *Cypr. Canz.* 9.3
 έγελούμουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 53.3
 έφουκρούμουν Vosk. 348 app. crit.
 έτιμούμουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.8; άς έκοιμούμουν ibid. 99.4
 έκοιμούμουν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 376.19

Evidence for the deletion of final /n/ can be found in texts from southern areas (especially Crete)⁸⁵ from at least the 16th c. onwards:

- έφοβούμου να τον άγκρλω *Assizes A* 167.7
 τον τρόπον έφοβούμου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 78
 ένθυμούμου Alosis 571
 έφοβούμου την πονηρίαν σου *Peri pon.* 36
 το πράμ' απόυ φοβούμου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.64; σ' ποιά λησμονιά έκοιμούμου id., *Erof.* *Interm.* II.106; έκρατούμου id., *Erof.* III.41
 έγροικούμου Vosk. 317
 δέν έκοιμούμου έγώ Pist. *voskos* II 2.260
 με πλιά φόβο άρνούμου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.225
 κι έφῆκα τά δηγούμου FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 119
 και κοπελιά έλογούμου KORNAOS, *Erot.* I.975; ίντά 'χα κι άφουκρούμου σου ibid. III.959

A shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, probably by analogy with barytone verbs, which also show variation in the placement of the stress (γράφω, έγράφομουν and έγγραφόμουν, see 4.3.1.2), is mentioned by Germano when he describes features of the Chiot dialect. It has also been found, with deletion of final /n/, in a document written in Smyrna (though the subject of this debt settlement is from Mykonos): ήγάπουμουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.24; έχρεώστουμου (1716, Smyrna, SFYROERAS 1963b: 3, 179.5).

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in Cretan and Chiot texts and in one ms of the *War of Troy*:

- έλυπούμουνε Pol. Tr. 9120 (ms X)
 τὸ φοβούμουνε BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.20
 γιατί πολλά έφοβούμουνε CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.515
 έφοβούμουνε πολλά KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.2315
 έγάπουμουνε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.4-5

⁸⁵ For the omission of final /n/ in Cypriot texts such as the *Assizes*, see I, 3.7.2.2.

Addition of *-(v)α* (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in texts of south-western provenance (Peloponnese, Crete, Heptanese) from at least the 15th c. onwards:

ἐπαρεπνούμουν *Anon. Naupl.* 61
 δὲν ἐφοβούμουν *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.86
 κείνο ποὺ φοβούμουν *MONTSEL., Evgenia* 905
 ἐφιλούμουν *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16

Addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant has been found in Cretan texts of the 16th/17th c., and in Germano's grammar (see 2.1.2.4 for a discussion):

ἀν ἐξανγεννιούμου *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.88; ἐκρατιούμου *id., Erof.* III.41 transcr. X (Legrand)
 κι ὠρες σοῦ τὰ βαριούμου *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1000
 ἐπουλειούμουν *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.26
 ἐκρατιούμουν *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.225

Sg.	1	-όμου(v) ! -όμουν ! -(-ε)ιόμου(v)
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The ending *-όμουν*, standard for SMG A-stem verbs, starts to appear from at least the 16th c. onwards, with both A- and E-stem verbs. It is probably modelled on the corresponding ending of barytone verbs (*-ομουν*, and from ca. the 15th c. *-όμουν*), which also show great fluctuation both in the choice for the thematic vowels /o/ and /u/ and in the position of the stress (see 4.3.1.2): ὠρες σκοπόμουν *Love poems* V 314; πῶς ἐκοιμόμουν ἔτσι γλυκέα *Vios Aisop.* K 150.2; ἐκοιμόμουν εἰς τὸ μετόχιον *DOSITH. IEROS., Dodekavivlos* 462.43.

Addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant occurs in the same period (see 2.1.2.4 for a discussion). The proparoxytone form *ἐβαρλόμουν* in the 1626 edition of Trivolis is very likely to be *metri gratia* (before the caesura): later editions (1577, 1624, 1643, 1683) correct the form to *ἐβαριόμουν*, thus ruining the metre. The 18th- and 19th-c. editions mend the metre by adding the suffix *-να* (see immediately below):

ἀρνιόμουν *Love poems* V 225
 ἄμποτε νᾶκρατειόμουν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 67.15
 ἐβαρειόμουν *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (A)
 ὅλες τὲς ἐβαρλόμουν *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 128

Addition of *-(v)α*, common in colloquial MG, is very rare in EMG texts, and appears to be a Heptanesian feature (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2; see also I, 2.6.3.3). No examples have been found before the 17th c.: ἐγὼ δὲν ἐκοιμόμουν *Bertoldin.* 148.24 and 149.16; ὅλες τὲς ἐβαριόμουν *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 128 app. crit. (editions of 1774, 1795, 1806).

Final /n/ is not usually dropped, but may serve to accommodate the rhyme: ἐξανγεννιόμου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.814; ἐκοιμόμου *ibid.* III.70.

Sg.	1	-ήγομουν
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This rare ending, consisting of an imperfect marker /iy/ and the above-mentioned ending *-όμουν* with a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, is mentioned in Kanellos Spanos's

grammar as an alternative for E-stem verbs, but has not been found elsewhere: ἐφιλήγομουν *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.17.

Sg.	1	-ώμην ! -όμην
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This residual A-stem ending is used very rarely in vernacular texts; a few instances have been found in *Liv.* E and S with both A- and E-stem verbs (spelled *-όμην* in the editions): ἐλογομαχόμην *Liv.* E 662; ἐκαυχόμην *ibid.* 1703 and *Liv.* S 596 (Lambert-van der Kolf).

In the following example the scribe of ms. Z of *Poulologos* attempts to correct the ending *-(ε)ιόμουν* to the higher-register residual ending *-ώμην*, forgetting, however, to remove the /j/ that comes with the innovative ending (see 2.1.2.4, Passive Voice): ποσὼς δὲν ἐβαρειόμην *Poulol.* 20 app. crit. (Z).

Sg.	1	-ουνμου
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This unusual ending occurs in *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis*, with the (O-stem) verb *πληρῶ*. It is marginally more common with barytone verbs, for which corresponding 2 sg. and 3 sg. endings have also been found (see 4.3.1.2 for a discussion): ἐπλήρουνμου *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 259 transcr. (Lendari).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-άσου(v) ! -άσουνε
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This ending is unlikely to have evolved from the Koine/EMedG ending *-ᾶσο*, which is barely attested, much like its supposed barytone counterpart *-εσο* (for which see 4.3.1.2).⁸⁶ It is more likely to be an innovative formation modelled on 2 sg. pres. pass. *-ᾶσαι*, which takes place parallel to a similar development in barytone verbs (see 4.3.1.2): γράφεισαι : ἐγράφεισαι(v), κοιμάσαι : ἐκοιμάσαι(v). The ending has not been found before the 14th c., and apparently falls into disuse after the 16th c. It has been found in Peloponnesian and Heptanesian texts and in texts of uncertain provenance:

ὄν ἐθυμάσου τὰ ἔπαθες *Chron. Mor.* H 5552
 ἐκοιμάσου *Love poems* V 383
 ὄν ἐθυμάσουν τὰ ἔπαθες *Chron. Mor.* P 5552
 ἐκαυχάσουν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 39.10 and 80.10
 γιατί 'καυχάσουν *Fyll. gadar.* 358c
 ἐκοιμάσου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.925

Addition of *-(v)ε* (see also I, 2.6.3.3) is quite rare with this ending: ποτὲ νὰ μὴ ἐκαυχάσουνε *Chron. Mor.* P 5553.

Sg.	2	-ούσου(v) ! -ούσουνε ! -(-ε)ιούσου(v) ! -(-ε)ιούσουνε ! -ουσούν ! -ουσούνε
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⁸⁶ The example given in the bibliography is *ἡκρόασο*, which is found in the Anonymous Antatticista (quoting Antiphanes) and should probably be read as a pluperfect or an imperative *ἡκρόασο* (KÜHNER/BLASS³ 1892: 69).

The ending -ούσου(ν) is first attested in texts of the 15th c., but soon to supersede -άσου(ν) (see above), for both A- and E-stem verbs. It is likely to have been formed by analogy with 1 sg. -ούμου(ν), a development in which the postverbal weak personal pronoun may have played an associative role (cf. 1 sg. -μου(ν) and, regionally, 3 sg. -του(ν) with both barytone and oxytone verbs and with εἶμαι (4.8.2)).

κ' ἐσύ καυχούσουν *Katal.* 96
 ἀνισῶς καὶ νὰ φοβούσουν *Fior* 137.1
 γιὰ νὰ καυκούσουν *Cypr. Canz.* 104.30
 ἐνθυμούσουν τί σοῦ εἶπα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 380.20-1
 ἐκαυχούσουν ἀμετρα [VLASTOS], *Dig. P VII* 393.14
 τὰ μοῦ δηγούσουν *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.183

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Chios and south-western areas (especially Crete; the scribe of *Liv. V* had a Peloponnesian (originally Constantinopolitan) background (LENDARI 2007: 59)) in the same period:

νὰ μὲ ἐψυχοπονούσου *Liv. V* 1147
 ἐφοβούσου *CHORTATIS, Erot.* V.588
 ἐποκοιμούσου, τέκνο μου *Thysia Avr.* 423
 στὸ στῤῥωμα ποῦ ἐκοιμούσου *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.95
 ἐτιμούσου *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.8
 ἐφοβούσου *TROILOS, Rodol.* IV.415
 τὰ λόγια ἀποῦ δηγούσου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* III.161
 ὅταν ἐπολεμούσου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 411.20

Addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant has not been found before the 17th c. (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐπουλειούσου *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.26; κ' ἐσύ πολλὰ ἐβαριούσου *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.996.

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) has been found in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c. and in *Dig. O*, whose author was from Chios: ἐστενοχωρούσυνε *MOSCH. THEOL., Vios Ag. Nik.* 207; ἐκαυχούσυνε *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 2889; Ρέθεμνος, ποῦ κρατούσυνε ἄξιο καὶ τιμημένο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 196.11.

Forms with a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, possibly by analogy with barytone verbs (γράφω, ἐγράφουμουν), with and without added -(ν)ε, are mentioned by Germano, not in his paradigms, but when he describes features of the Chiot dialect: ἡγάπουσυν *GERMANO, Grammar* 77.27; ἐπουλείουσυν *ibid.* 77.26; ἐγάπουσυνε *ibid.* 87.5.

Sg.	2	-όσου(ν)(ε) ! -ώσουν ! -(ε)ιόσου(ν)
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The ending -όσουν, the SMG ending for the four deponent verbs in -άμαι, has so far only been found in Sofianos's grammar (with an etymologizing spelling <ω> for A-stem verbs), and in the early 18th-c. *Lament for the Peloponnese* by the Kefalonian Katsaitis. Paucity of material makes it impossible to establish whether it is a purely Heptanesian variant (cf. 3 sg. -ότον, below, also in Sofianos), or whether it had a more general spread. Examples

have been found without final /n/ as well as with added -(ν)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3): ἐγελώσουν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 69.2; ἄμποτε ... νὰ γελώσουν *ibid.* 70.3; τὰ φουσσᾶτα πόκαυχόσου νὰ 'χης *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.421; δὲν ἐθυμόσουνε *ibid.* II.926; ἐκοιμόσου *id., Ifig.* II.275; τὸ καυχόσουνε *ibid.* IV.125.

With addition of the semivowel /j/ to the stem consonant, standard for SMG A-stem verbs, this ending – again – has only been found in Sofianos's grammar and in Katsaitis:⁸⁷ ἐκρατειόσουν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 66.9; ἄμποτε νὰ κρατειόσουν *ibid.* 67.16; ὀπόκαυχιόσου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.435.

Sg.	2	-ῶ ! -οῦ ! -οῦν
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The residual 2 sg. A-stem ending -ῶ and its E-stem counterpart -οῦ are sporadically used in mixed-register LMedG texts, such as Ptochoprodromos and Glykas: σὺ ἐκοιμῶ εἰς τὸ ψιαθιν καὶ ἐγὼ εἰς τὸ κλινάριν *Ptoch. I* 71; οὐκ ἐκαυχῶ, ψυχὴ μου *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 302 (for ἐκαυχῶ).

Addition of final /n/ to these forms is very rare: νὰ μὴ ἔπινες, νὰ μὴ ἐκοιμῶν τὰς νύκτας *Katal.* 474 app. crit..

Sg.	2	-είσουν ! -ήγουν
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The only witness to these two alternative endings is Kanellos Spanos's grammar (Peloponnese), which is slightly outside the period covered by this Grammar: ἐφιλείσουν *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16; εὐρίσκεται καὶ ... [ἐφιλή]γουν *ibid.* 40.17.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ᾶτο(ν) ! -ᾶτονε ! -ᾶτου
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Without final /n/ the inherited A-stem ending -ᾶτο is very common in Cretan texts of the 16th and 17th c., with both A- and E-stem verbs, but much less so in texts from other areas, with the exception of mixed-register texts such as *Dig. G* and *A*, *Kallimachos* and *Spanos*:

A-stems

ἡνᾶτο κατὰ πολὺ *Dig. G* IV.412; οὐ ξίφεισιν ἐχρᾶτο *ibid.* VIII.29
 εἰς τὸ ἀφρόδιτον καλὸν τοπίτισιν ἐκοιμᾶτο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1993
 ὁ ἀστενῶν οὐκ ἰᾶτο *Spanos A* 490
 πῶς ἐβαστᾶτο μου ψυχὴ *Alosis* 709
 κι ἀφικράτο *Apoll. Rim.* N 384
 τὴν ἡύρα κι ἐκοιμᾶτο *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.244; τὰ λόγια ποῦ καυχᾶτο *id., Erot.* III.362; τὸ στόμα ἀποῦ μουγκᾶτο *ibid.* V.114
 ὅσον ἐπεκοιμᾶτο *Dig. A* 203

⁸⁷ The MG colloquial ending -ιόσουνα has not been found in the texts examined, but there is one instance in a Zakynthian comedy of the late 18th c., D. Gouzelis's *O Chasis*: εὐχαριστιόσουνα III.509 (ed. Z. Synadinos, Athens 1997).

ὥσπερ νὰ ἐκοιμάτο LANDOS, *Geopon.* 178.17
 μὰ ἴντα νὰ τοῦ δηγάτο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.14
 ἐβρουχάτο DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 395; ἐμουγκάτο *ibid.* 396
 σὰ λέος κ' ἐβρουχάτο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 163.4; καὶ δυνατὰ μουγκάτο *ibid.* 200.12;
 ἐγροικάτο *ibid.* 419.26
 τοῦ φιλου του ἀφουκράτο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.247; παντοτινὰ ἐκοιμάτο *ibid.* II.1160; σὰ
 λιόντας ἐβρουχάτο *ibid.* II.1937; κι ὀλη ἐξαναγεννάτο *ibid.* III.22

E-stems

καὶ πάλιν ἐξηγάτο τους *Liv.* V 3849
 καὶ ἐλυπάτο πολλά *Syndipas* 108.5
 ὅλους τσ' ἀγίους ἀρνάτο *Apoll. Rim.* N 84; καὶ ὀδηγάτο *ibid.* 1716
 πολλά τὸν ἐφοβάτο *Alex. Rim.* 1082
 νὰ μὴν ἐτυραννάτο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.118; ἐλυπάτο *id.*, *Erof.* IV.181; ἐθρηνάτο *ibid.* IV.182
 ἐμίλει κ' ἐδηγάτο *Vosk.* 370; κ' ἐθρηνάτο *ibid.* 401
 τὼν ἀπονάτο *Stathis* III.30
 ἐθρηνάτο MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1197; πολλά παραπονάτο *ibid.* 1198
 ἐχειροτονάτο RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 78.4
 κι ὀλη ἐμοιρολογάτο BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 200.13; ἐθρηνάτο *ibid.* 260.24; κανεὶς δὲν τοὺς
 ντηράτο *ibid.* 292.20
 καὶ δὲν τοῦ ἀπιλογάτο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.248; πάντα τὸ θυμάτο *ibid.* II.1486; περίσσα
 ἐτυραννάτο *ibid.* III.21; τὰ ἐδηγάτο *ibid.* III.1721; δὲν ἐλυπάτο *ibid.* IV.1939
 ἐπαραπονάτο KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.342

With an added final /n/ the ending is very common with both A- and E-stem verbs, and forms in -άτον are found in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

A-stems

μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκοιμάτον *Chron. Mor.* H 4199
 ἐξωθεν ἀκροάτον *Pol. Tr.* 457; πότε ἀπετάτον ἄνω *ibid.* 6307
 καὶ ἡ μέση ἐδαπανάτον *Arm.* 86
 ἐκαυχάτον *Achil.* L 714
 ἐκοιμάτον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2391)
 ὅταν ἐγεννάτον *Spanos* A 166
 ὡσγοιὸν ἐκοιμάτον εἰς τὸν πύργον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.6-9
 ἄρχισε καὶ ἐχαλάτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39
 καὶ ἀγαπάτον πολλά παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πασιὰ MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.38
 ἐκαταράτον NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 1.12-13
 ἐβρουχάτον SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 129
 ἐγελάτον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.2
 ἐκυβερνάτον (1545, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 2, 99.9)
 ἐκοιμάτον GERMANO, *Grammar* 77.30; ἐτιμάτον *ibid.* 93.8
 ἐκαυχάτον εἰς τὲς δόξες τὲς κοσμικὲς VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.32

E-stems

κλαίοντα τὰ ἀφηγάτον *Chron. Mor.* H 3792; οὐτε ἐλειτουργάτον *ibid.* 5965
 ἐπαραπονάτον *Pol. Tr.* 227
 ἐρνάτον *Assizes* B 442.22 and *Assizes* A 53.3 (< ἀρνοῦμαι)
 ὁ νοῦς μου ἐτριοκοπάτον *Liv.* V 1471; νὰ ἐτρυπάτον *ibid.* 1506; ἐμυριοελυπάτον *ibid.* 3508
 ἐφοβάτον *Achil.* L 127 and *Achil.* N 225
 ἐλυπάτον *Chron. Toc.* 110; καὶ τίς νὰ τὸ ἐθυμάτον *ibid.* 1158; κανεὶν δὲν ἐφοβάτον *ibid.* 2879

κλαίων ἐμοιρολογάτον *Achil.* O 418
 μυριοκαταφρονάτον *Velth.* 38 (Cupane)
 καὶ τὰ ὀδηγάτον πασαι FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 6
 ἐφοβάτον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 58.5
 ποτὲ δὲν τὸ θυμάτον *Alex. Rim.* 848
 τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐδικὸν τοῦ ἐθυμάτον *Diig. Alex.* F 158.16-17 (Konstantinopolos)
 ἐδηγάτον ρωμάνικα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 403.16
 ἐφοβάτον *Vios Filaret.* 241.41
 παραπονάτον ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 81

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in texts of south-western provenance from at least the 16th c. onwards:

ἀπιλογάτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 212.10
 ἐκαυχάτον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 115
 πάντοτε ἐκαυχάτον AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 39.2
 εἰς δένδρον ἐκοιμάτον *Theseid* Prol. E and P 198; μέσα τοῦ ὀηγάτον *ibid.* IV.4,5 (1529)
 δὲν ἐθυμάτον MOREZINOS, *Klini* 50.7; ἐκοιμάτον *ibid.* 51.20; ἐκινάτον *ibid.* 85.1;
 ἐμουγκάτον *ibid.* 273.19
 ἐθρηνάτον *P&N Diath.* 1572 and *Pist. voskos* V 7.14
 ἐφοβάτον *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 97.25
 καὶ κεί ὀμοιρολογάτον *Apoll. Rim.* N 915
 ἐκινάτον ἀπὸ τὸν θυμὸν VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.12; ἐμιμάτον τὸν Θεὸν *ibid.* 138.14
 ἐπλανάτον ἐδῶ καὶ ἐκεῖ *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* II 7
 δὲν ἐφοβάτον ὅς κίντυνα νὰ σιμῶση FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 68
 κ' ἐλυπάτον BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 180.11; δὲν ἐκοιμάτον *ibid.* 493.4
 ἐφοβάτον KORNAPOS, *Erot.* I.2175; ἐφουκράτον *ibid.* III.193; κουρφα ἐπαρηγοράτον *ibid.* V.384

The hybrid formation -άτου can be found sporadically in Heptanesian texts, and it consists of the ending -του(v) with preservation of the A-stem vowel (cf. -ότουν below); it has been found with both A- and E-stem verbs: μέσα τοῦ ἐβρουχάτου *Alex. Rim.* 1231; παραπονάτου *ibid.* 1232; διατὶ πολλὰ φοβάτου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1309.

Sg.	3	-εῖτο(v) -εῖτονε
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Without final /n/ the inherited E-stem ending -εῖτο is less common than its A-stem counterpart -άτο. In the texts examined it has only been found with E-stem verbs:

ὡς ξένος ἐφοβεῖτο *Dig. G* II.173; ἐμιμεῖτο *ibid.* VI.31
 τάχα περιεφοβεῖτο *Log. parig.* O 61 (Politi)
 ἐφοβεῖτο τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ *Hist. Imp.* I 1012; οὐδὲν ἐθυμεῖτο τοὺς δρκους *ibid.* IIb 454
 τάχα περιεφοβεῖτο *Log. parig.* O 61 (Politi)
 καὶ κείνος ἐκρατεῖτο [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 661; καὶ παραιτεῖτο *ibid.* 1059
 δὲν ευχαριστεῖτο NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 85.4
 ἐκρατεῖτο KORNAPOS, *Erot.* V.571
 τέτοιαι λογῆς ἐθεοποιεῖτο *Alex. Fyll.* 81.15
 ἐφοβεῖτο [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* VI 366.32
 ἐφιλεῖτο SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.16

With final /n/ the ending appears in literary texts from various areas throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, though very rarely with A-stem verbs:

E-stem

ὡς ἐφηγεῖτον *Log. parig.* L 51
 ἐκατεπατεῖτον (1422, Meteora, VEIS 1911/12: 15, 54.8)
 ἐφοβεῖτον *Chron. Toc.* 3015; ἐνθυμεῖτον *ibid.* 3162
 κ' ἐλυπεῖτον *Diig. Ven.* 58
 πολλά ἐπαραπονεῖτον *Liv.* V 548
 καὶ σφόδρα ἐλυπεῖτον *Byz. Il.* 135
 ἐθεοποιεῖτον *Diig. Alex.* V 80.11
 πολλά ἐλυπεῖτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.33
 ὁ δάσκαλος ἐφοβεῖτον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 344.35; ἐφώναζεν καὶ ἐλυπεῖτον *ibid.* 431.11
 ἐλυπεῖτον πολλά *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 10.3; δὲν ευχαριστεῖτον *ibid.* 89.1
 ἐκινεῖτον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 395; εὐλαβεῖτον *ibid.* 397
 καὶ τὸν εὐλαβεῖτον *KALLIOUR., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.20; ἐκαλεῖτον Βηθσαῖδά *ibid.* Louk. 9.10
 καὶ ἐλυπεῖτον *Vios Aisop.* K 201.32
 ἐφοβεῖτον ἀπὸ δύο μέρη [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VI 366.29–30; ἐκαλεῖτον Μουσούρ *ibid.* II 318.11
 ἀνυμνεῖτον *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 4736

A-stem

καὶ ὡς λέων ἐβρυχεῖτον *Chron. Toc.* 3385

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) has been found in Morezinos (Crete) and in Spanos's grammar (Peloponnese): ὠφελεῖτον *MOREZINOS, Klini* 56.24; ἐδιηγείτον *ibid.* 61.1; ἐλυπεῖτον *ibid.* 63.21; ἐξηγεῖτον *ibid.* 68.19; ἐθρηνεῖτον *ibid.* 192.26; ἐφιλεῖτον *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16.

Sg.	3	-(ε)ιέτο(v) -(ε)ιέτονε -ήγετο
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The innovative ending -(ε)ιέτον exists from at least the 14th c. onwards, mainly with E-stem verbs, and is the result of analogical levelling with barytone verbs (for a discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4):

ὅπου ἀγωνεῖτον *Chron. Mor.* H 3478; ἐκρατεῖτον *ibid.* 7491
 ἐκρατεῖτον *Assizes B* 366.5
 ἐσαπιεῖτον *ΧΟΥΜΝΟΣ, Kosmog.* 216
 ἐπουλιεῖτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 436.19
 ἀπ' αὐτον ἐκρυβεῖτον *Synax. gyn.* 212 (< κρυβοῦμαι)
 να πουλιεῖτον *Kakop.* 181
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρνιέτον *Vios Aisop.* I 280.29
 ἐπουλιεῖτον *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.26
 ἀγωνιέτον *RODINOS, Vios Ign.* 66.18; ἐπικαλιέτον *ibid.* 81.24

Deletion of final /n/ with this ending does not appear to be very common: κὶ δντα κρατιέτο πλιὰ χαριτωμένος *CHORTATIS, Erof.* IV.751; ἐκρατιέτο ἀπὸ μεγάλην θέρμην *KALLIOUR., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.38. A form in -ήγετο (see 2.1.2.2.3) occurs in Spanos's grammar: [ἐφιλή]γετο *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.17.

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in Cretan texts, but is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐκρατιέτονε *Apoll. Rim.* E 312 (same in NV; ἐκράτιετονε in A, but before the caesura, so clearly to be read as ἐκρατιέτονε)
 ἐμουγκαλειέτονε *MOREZINOS, Klini* 273.19 app. crit. (K)
 ἐμιλιέτονε *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.328
 ἐπουλιέτονε (1614, Crete, *ILIAKIS* 2008: 239, 226.7)

Sg.	3	-οῦντο(v) -οῦντονε
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The ending -οῦντο(v), identical to the inherited 3 pl. ending (see below), though much less frequent in the singular, can be found with both A- and E-stem verbs in various literary texts from around the 16th c. onwards. It has been found in northern and southern texts and in texts of unknown provenance, with and without final /n/:

οἰκεῖον πένθος ἕκαστος τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγοῦντον *Achil.* N 1833
 ἐκοιμοῦντο *GERMANO, Grammar* 77.31; ἐτιμοῦντο *ibid.* 93.8
 ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβοῦντον *KALLIOUR., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.20
 ὅπου δὲν τὸ θυμοῦντο οὐδέτινας *Diig. Sant.* 59.77
 ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐθυμοῦντο [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 376.20

Forms with an added /j/ also occur (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion): ἐπουλειοῦντο *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.26; ἐπατιοῦντο *PORTIUS, Grammar* 38.11.

Addition of -(v)ε was found in Cretan and Chiot texts, and in Aitolos, who is likely to have been Peloponnesian (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐκεῖνος ἐκοιμοῦντονε *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 34.15
 δὲν ἐφοβοῦντονε *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1778; κὶ ἀνέγνοιος ἐκοιμοῦντονε *ibid.* II.811; πούρι ἐπαρηγοροῦντονε *ibid.* II.1230 app. crit. (A)
 ἤρχισεν καὶ καυχούντονε *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1497; ἡ κόρη ἐκοιμοῦντονε *ibid.* 1741; καὶ τοὺς ἐπροσκαλοῦντονε *ibid.* 2572; γὰρ ἐφοβοῦντονε πολλὰ *ibid.* 2756

Sg.	3	-ῶντο(v)
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One instance has been found of the residual 3 pl. A-stem ending -ῶντο(v) used for 3 sg. by analogy with the above ending -οῦντο(v): ὁ Βενετσάνος ἐκοιμώντον *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 6843 tit.

Sg.	3	-οῦνταν -οῦντανε -(ε)ιοῦνταν(ε) -όντανε
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This ending, with its typical past-tense marker /a/ is much more common for 3 pl. than it is for 3 sg. (see below). It appears in texts from the 16th c. onwards, mainly from northern areas, though there are also some examples from the Heptanese and Cyclades. It is not

usually found in Cretan texts (cf. barytone -ονταν). Forms with /o/ for /u/ are indicative of the great fluctuation that existed between these two thematic vowels in both barytone and oxytone verbs.

τὸ μοναστήρι όπου ἐκαλοῦνταν Σωτήρας (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.36–7);
ἐλυποῦνταν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (ibid. 236.129–30)
τὸν ἐκαταροῦνταν ΡΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* I §11.14–15
ἐσυλλογοῦνταν ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 347
το τραγούδι δεν ἐδιηγούνταν *Don Kis.* 89.9; ἀν ἀγαποῦνταν κάθε ευμορφία ibid. 91.7;
ἐπροσποιοῦνταν ibid. 132.11

One example has been found of a form with addition of /j/ (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.4):
(ο δὸν Κισότης ...) ἐβαστιοῦνταν *Don Kis.* 48.16.

Addition of -(v)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3) occurs in a Heptanesian prose text and in a versified text of northern provenance (Constantinople or the Danubian Principalities):
ἐγιατρεῦόντανε *Enr. Eleg.* 3 166.25; στή βρύση πού κοιμούνται *Diig. Vefa* 1100;
ἐπαρακινόντανε ΣΟΥΜΑΚΙΣ, *Rebelio* 53.11–12.

Sg.	3	-ότον -(ε)ιότον
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The ending -οτον is mainly Heptanesian, but much more common with barytone verbs than it is with oxytone ones. It is probably the result of an analogy with -ομουν and -οσουν: -ετον > -οτον (vowel assimilation according to MINAS 1987a: 38). The ending has not been attested without the final /n/. With an added /j/ (for which see 2.1.2.2.4), the ending appears in Sofianos's grammar: ἐχάλοτον ὀλίγον κατ' ὀλίγον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39; ἐκρατειότον SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.9.

Sg.	3	-ότου(v) -ότουε -(ε)ιότου
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This Heptanesian ending is found from the 17th c. onwards. There are some examples in *Bertoldos*, *Bertoldinos* and *Kaloandros*, but the ending appears to be more common with barytone verbs, with which it appears from the 15th c. onwards (see 4.3.1.2), and with εἶμαι (ἦτουν) from the 16th c. onwards (see 4.8.2). With oxytone verbs it can be found with an added /j/ (for which see 2.1.2.2.4) and with an added -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details). Final /n/ is only rarely dropped.

νά ἐγρικότουν *Bertoldos* 51.16; ἐκοιμότουν ibid. 64.24–5; ἐκρεμότουν ibid. 70.10
ὅπου ἐκοιμότουε *Bertoldin.* 147.29

ἐφοβότου KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.322; ἐκαυχότου ibid. III.170

ἐπαραπονιότουν *Kaloandros* 404.17

Forms in -ότουνα, attested with barytone verbs (see 4.3.1.2), have not been found with oxytone verbs in the texts examined.

Sg.	3	-οὔτο(v) -οὔτονε
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Another Heptanesian ending, which occurs in texts from the 16th c. onwards, is either the result of an inversion of the vowels in -ότου(v) or a denasalized variant of -οὔντον (see I, 3.6.2.1).⁸⁸ Final /n/ can be dropped, and addition of -(v)ε is also a possibility (see I, 2.6.3.3):

ἐδιηγούτον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 113.35 and 275.10; ἐδιοικοῦτον μοναχό του ibid. 408.3
ἐκοιμούτον *Bertoldos* 56.2

ἐτρόμαξε πολλά καὶ ἐφοβοῦτο KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.222

ἐδιηγούτονε *Bertoldin.* 115.34; ἐπαρακινούτονε ibid. 131.33–4

Sg.	3	-όταν -ότανε
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This ending, which in its form -ιόταν(ε) was to become the SMG ending for oxytone A-stem verbs, and in its form -όταν(ε) for the deponent verbs in -άμαι, has been found in Heptanesian (Kefalonian and Zakynthian) texts of the 16th c. and later; cf. barytone verbs, for which this ending is somewhat more common, and has a slightly broader geographical spread, though no examples have been found before the 17th c. (see 4.3.1.2; see also 4.8.2 for the ending -ταν with the verb εἶμαι): ἐκοιμότανε (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7, 96.14 and 96.22); ἀγρικόταν (1708, Zakynthos, SATHAS 1865: 524.31).

Sg.	3	-ᾶταν
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Single instances of this rare ending, consisting of -ᾶτον with the past-tense marker /a/ substituted for /o/, have been found in Kartanos (Heptanese) and in *Diig. Alex.*:⁸⁹ τοὺς ἐφοβᾶταν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 377.4; ἐχλιμάταν *Diig. Alex.* E 119.19 (< *χλιμούμαι?).

Sg.	3	-ᾶντον
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This ending is very rare and is likely to be a conflation of -ᾶτον and -οὔντον: αθύμει καὶ ἐλυπάντον *Syndipas* 111.8.

⁸⁸ The form ἀγαπούτο in the following example: ἀγαπούτο vel ἀγαπάτον PORTIUS, *Grammar* 40.26 is very likely to be a writing or printing mistake for ἀγαποῦντο: cf. the corresponding E-stem forms in the same grammar: ἐπατιοῦντο vel ἐπατειέτον ibid. 38.11; cf. also Germano, whom Portius basically copies: ἐτιμοῦντο vel ἐτιμάτον GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.8.

⁸⁹ Though these forms could simply be the result of writing or printing mistakes (e.g. Kartanos has ἐφοβᾶτον elsewhere), there appear to be three instances of this ending with λυπάμαι and κοιμάμαι in Makrygiannis's *Memoirs*: ὁ Τοῦρκος κοιμάταν με τὴν γυναῖκα του 123.20; εἶχε τὸ κεφάλι του εἰς τὰ φτερά του καὶ κοιμάταν 373.5–6; καὶ λυπάταν τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς του 459.30.

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-ούμεθα(ν)
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The inherited ending -ούμεθα will have been the ending for 1 pl. at the beginning of the LMedG period, since no alternative endings have been found before the 14th/15th c. (cf. the identical ending for the present, 4.1.2.2). Nonetheless there are not many examples, and no examples have been found with A-stem verbs: τίποτ' οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθα *Pol. Tr.* 9872 app. crit. (X); ἐκρατούμεθα *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 66.9; ἐφιλούμεθα *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16.

Addition of final /n/ is rare: τίποτε οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθαν *Pol. Tr.* 9872 (= ms A); καὶ πάλε εἰς τὸ ἐξηγούμεθαν ὅς ἐλθωμεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 538.23.

Pl.	1	-ούμεθεν
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This ending, rather more common with the present of barytone verbs and especially with εἶμαι until the 16th c. (see 4.1.1.2 and 4.8.1), derives from -ούμεθα; the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the endings of the other persons in the paradigm (MEYER 1889: 196), especially 2 pl. (PERNOT 1907/46: II 292). With the imperfect of oxytone verbs it has only been found in 14th-c. texts, which have come down to us in 15th–16th-c. manuscripts: κ' πλανούμεθεν *ERMON., Ilias* 13.245; τίποτε οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθεν *Pol. Tr.* 9872 app. crit. (V).

Pl.	1	-ούμεσθε(ν) -ούμεστε(ν) -ώμεσθεν
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The ending -μεσθε(ν) is much more common for the present than for the imperfect (see 4.1.2.2 and see 4.1.1.2 for a discussion). Its phonetic variant -μεστε(ν) is the result of manner dissimilation of fricatives after sibilants (see I, 3.8.1). Sofianos's form with /o/ for /u/ (spelled <ω>) is possibly an attempt to make the form look more like an A-stem form.⁹⁰ With the imperfect this ending, with or without final /n/, has not been found before the 16th c., though that could be due to the relative scarcity of passive imperfect forms.

ἀντάμα ἐκοιμούμεσθεν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ τρίτῃ *Dig. A* 2603
 ἐτιμούμεσθεν *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.9; ἐπουλειούμεστε *ibid.* 93.27
 δὲν ἐκοιμούμεσθεν *Vios Aisop.* D 231.17
 ἐκοιμούμεσθεν [*VLASTOS*], *Dig. P VI* 369.34–5
 ἐλυπούμεστε *Diig. Sant.* 58.47

ἐγελώμεσθεν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 69.2

Pl.	1	-ούμεστα(ν) -ούμεσθα(ν) -όμεστα(ν) -(ε) τόμεσθα(ν)
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The ending -μεστα(ν) and its more formal variant -μεσθα(ν), much more common with εἶμαι (see 4.8.2), has not been found with oxytone verbs before the 15th/16th c. For a

⁹⁰ In the same way that he spells his "optatives" with <οι>, e.g. ἀμποτε νὰ γελάσοις, νὰ γελάσοι *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 65.2.

discussion see 4.1.1.2. It appears, sporadically, in texts from different areas (Crete, Cyprus, Santorini, Heptanese):

ἐφοβούμεσταν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 552.41 and *Chron.* R 389.43
 ἐδιηγούμεσταν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 64.17
 ἂν τῶς ἐλυπόμεστα (1625, Crete, *MAVROMATIS* 1986: 6, 81.100)
 ἐσυγχωρούμεσταν ἀλλήλοις *Diig. Sant.* 57.5–6

With addition of /j/ and /o/ for /u/ this ending has only been found in Sofianos's grammar, in the E-stem paradigm: ἀμποτε νὰ κρατειόμεσθα *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 67.16–17.

Pl.	1	-ούμασθε(ν) -ούμαστε(ν)
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This ending, which in its form -(ι)όμαστε was to become the standard ending for the 1 pl. passive imperfect of all oxytone verbs in Triandafyllidis's 1941 *Grammar of Demotic Greek*, appears in a 17th-c. document and in Kanellos Spanos's grammar (18th c.) (see 4.1.1.2 for a discussion): δὲν ἐκοιμούμασταν (1650, Naxos, *ZERLENDIS* 1922: (2), p. 28.14); ἐφιλούμασθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.16.

Pl.	1	-ηγόμασθε
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A form in -ηγόμασθε occurs in the grammar of Spanos (see 2.1.2.2.3): [ἐφιλη]γόμασθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.17.

Pl.	1	(-ούμασθα(ν)) -ούμαστα(ν)
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This ending, which in its dissimilated forms -ούμασταν and -(ι)όμασταν would eventually prevail as the most common SMG ending, has not been found before the 17th c.: ἐκοιμούμασταν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 28.13.

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶσθε(ν) -ᾶστε(ν) -εῖσθε(ν) -εῖστε(ν)
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The inherited A-stem ending -ᾶσθε(ν)/-ᾶστε(ν) and its E-stem counterpart -εῖσθε/-εῖστε(ν) will have been the normal endings in the LMedG period, since no alternative formations have been found before the 16th c. However, since 2 pl. forms, especially of the imperfect, only appear in specific contexts and are therefore quite rare, very few examples have been found in texts other than grammars.

ἐγελᾶσθεν *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 69.2
 ἄρὰ γε ἐκοιμᾶστε *Vios Aisop.* K 185.1
 ἐτιμᾶστε *GERMANO, Grammar* 93.9
 ἐφιλεῖσθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.1; ἀγαπᾶσθε *ibid.* 40.28

Pl.	2	-(ε)ιέσθε -(ε)ιέστε
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This ending is the result of analogical levelling that manifested itself in more than one paradigm within oxytone verbs; for a discussion, see 2.1.2.2.4. The fact that this ending is given by Sofianos suggests that it was well established by the 16th c., but given the scarcity of 2 pl. endings in general, and especially of the imperfect, it is impossible to establish how long before the 16th c. this ending came into being. In the grammars, this ending is only given for E-stem verbs: ἐκρατεῖσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 66.9–10; ἐπουλειέσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.27; ἐπατιέσθε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 38.13.

Pl.	2	-οὔσθε ἰ -οὔστε ἰ -(ε)ιοὔσθε ἰ -(ε)ιοὔστε
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This Chiot ending is recorded in Germano's grammar (17th c.) (and in that of Portius, who largely copies Germano). Unlike for the identical present ending (see 4.1.2.2), no examples have been found with addition of final /n/ or of -(v)ε (for which see I, 2.6.3.3); two of the examples have addition of /j/ after the stem consonant (for which see 2.1.2.2.4): ἐτιμοῦσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.9; ἐπουλειούσθε *ibid.* 93.27; ἐπατιοῦσθε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 38.13.

Pl.	2	-ούσασθε
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These endings, which in its dissimilated form -(ι)όσαστε is the only ending given by Triandafyllidis in his 1941 grammar of demotic Greek, has only been found in the 1749 grammar of Kanellos Spanos, who was a Peloponnesian:⁹¹ ἐφιλούσασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 39.22 (erroneously presented as an active form).

Pl.	2	-ήγεσθε ἰ -ηγόσασθε
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These rare endings, consisting of an imperfect marker /iy/ (see also 2.1.2.2.3) and the endings -εσθε and -ούσασθε (with substitution of /o/ for /u/), are mentioned as alternative E-stem endings for the imperfect in the 18th-c. grammar of Kanellos Spanos: [ἐφιλή] γεσθε-γόσασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.17–18.

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-οῦντο(v)
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The inherited E-stem ending -οῦντο(v), for which alternative endings start to appear from at least the 14th c. onwards (see below), can be found in texts from various areas throughout the period covered by this Grammar (for the identical 3 sg. ending see above):

ἐθεωροῦντο ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 3 170.10

ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πάντες *Hist. Imp.* I 1826–7

⁹¹ An imperative with the MG ending can be found in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: Ἐὰ φιλιόσαστε γιαμὰ Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.396 (ed. Synodinos).

κ' ευχαριστοῦντον ὅλοι *Theseid* VI, Prol. 12 (Olsen)

ἐφοβοῦντον τὸν πρίντζην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 550.32

ὁποῦ ἐκρατοῦντο ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.24

ἐκλαίαν και λυποῦντο ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 3483; και εχαιρετοῦντον *ibid.* 6431 tit.

ὁποῦ δὲν τὸ θυμοῦντο οὐδέτινας *Diig. Sant.* 59.77

ἐφιλοῦντο SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.17

Pl.	3	-ῶντο(v) ἰ -ῶντονε/-όντονε ἰ -(ε)ιῶντο(v)
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The residual A-stem ending -ῶντο(v) had been replaced by -οῦντο(v) before the LMedG period (see the introduction to Chapter 2). Nevertheless an ending /'ondo/ is sometimes used, and not only in mixed-register texts. The fact that this ending can occasionally even be found with modern features such as addition of /j/ (e.g. ἐγλυκοφιλιῶντο), an added suffix -(v)ε (ἐκοιμῶντονε) or omission of the augment (καυχῶντονε) points to a new formation based on -οῦντο(v) in which the influence of the widespread interchangeability of /o/ and /u/ as thematic vowels is evident (cf. e.g. -(ι)οῦνταν and -(ι)όνταν below). The choice for "etymologizing" <ω> versus "modernizing" <ο> is simply a matter of spelling.

ὡς πρῶν ἐκαυχῶντο *Dig.* G VI.231, *Dig.* T 2160 and *Dig.* A 3158

τὴν μέρα ἦν ἐγεννήθησαν πάντες ἐκατηρῶντο *Pol. Tr.* 7308 (mss AV); ἐκατηρῶντον *ibid.* 7308 app. crit. (B)

τὰ ὄρη ἐσκιρτῶντο *Velth.* 1302; ἐκοιμῶντον *ibid.* 1054

ἐκοιμῶντονε ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 213; κ' οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καυχῶντονε *ibid.* 1114

ἐκεῖ κοιμῶντο μέσα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 724; ἐκουβανιῶντον *ibid.* 1726; ἐγλυκοφιλιῶντο *ibid.* 3245; ἐφιλιῶντον *ibid.* 6431 tit.; ἐκαυχῶντο ὅτι να πάρουν Ζάκυνθον *ibid.* 7269 tit.

ευχαριστῶντο να κυριεύουν *Ist. Enet.* 418.19; ἐφοβῶντο να βλάψουν τον Τούρκον *ibid.* 418.33

Pl.	3	-οῦντα(v) ἰ -οῦντανε ἰ -ούτα ἰ -(ε)ιοῦντα(v)
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The ending -οῦνταν is formed from the inherited ending -οῦντον, with substitution of the "past time" marker /a/ for /o/ in the last syllable. It appears from at least the 14th c. onwards in texts from all areas, with both E- and A-stem verbs:

E-stem

τίποτα οὐκ ἐφοβοῦνταν *Pol. Tr.* 2906; ἐπιμελοῦνταν *ibid.* 9051

ἐπαρηγοροῦνταν *Liv.* V 3702

μεγάλως ἐλυποῦνταν *Chron. Toc.* 1195; ἐφοβοῦνταν *ibid.* 1284; ὁποῦ τοὺς ἐθυμοῦνταν *ibid.* 3211

ἐφιλοτιμοῦνταν *Velis.* χ 210; οὐκ ἐπληροφοροῦνταν *ibid.* 488

ἐνεφροκοποῦνταν *Achil.* N 1406

ὥσπερ να ἐκινούνταν *Velth.* 347

τ' ἄλλα ὁποῦ ὁδηγοῦνταν ὀγι' αὐτὸν FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 271–2

ἐφοβοῦνταν μὲν πέψη χαρτῖα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.5; ἀθυμοῦνταν *id.*, *Chron.* O 24.18

ἄρχισαν και ἐδιηγοῦνταν ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, *P&N Diath.* 403.6

τὸ μοναστήρι ὁποῦ ἐκαλοῦνταν Σωτήρας (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.36–7)

ἐφοβοῦνταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 599

ἐγλυκοφιλοῦνταν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P III 340.13–14; ἐκαταπατοῦνταν *ibid.* VII 392.1

ὅλοι ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου ἐναντιοῦνταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 13.17 [< O>]

δὲν τὸν ἐφοβοῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §15.40

ὅσοι τοῦ ἐναντιοῦνταν *Alex. Fyll.* 41.23–4 [< O>]; ἐκτυποῦνταν *ibid.* 103.25

A-stem

οἱ δύο ὅπου ἡγαποῦνταν *Pol. Tr.* 713

ἐκοιμοῦνταν *Achil.* O 603

ἀγαποῦνταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 70.21

ἀσκηώθησαν ἀπάνω συχυσμένοι, διότι ἐκοιμοῦνταν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.13

ἐτιμοῦνταν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.9

ὅλον ἓνα τὸν ἐκαταροῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §11.14–15

ἐκουφαγροικοῦνταν ὡς ἂν σπηληγὲς IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.31

Addition of /j/ (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion) occurs in various EMG texts (see also the examples with addition of -(v)ε, below):

ἐπουλειοῦνταν GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.27

τὸν ἐπικαλιοῦνταν RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 121.14

ἐκαυχοῦνταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.34

ὅσοι τοῦ ἐναντιοῦνταν *Alex. Fyll.* 41.23–4 [< O>]

εὐγελιοῦνταν *Don Kis.* 312.2–3

Deletion of final /n/ is not uncommon in texts from southern areas, including Cyprus:

ἐβρυχοῦντα *Dig.* E 33

οὐκ ἐπληροφοροῦντα *Velis.* χ 488 app. crit. (V)

τὴν μάχην ἐφοβοῦντα *Achil.* L 361 and *Achil.* N 361

ὅταν ἐγεννοῦντα *Spanos* B 1

ν' ἀγρικοῦντα *Cypr. Canz.* 23.2; ἐλυποῦντα *ibid.* 32.3

ἀνακαλιοῦντα τὸν καὶ ἐλαλούσασιν *Fior* 91.19; ἀγαποῦντα *ibid.* 93.23

μὰ ἐλυποῦντα τὸνε ὅλοι MOREZINOS, *Klini* 273.36–7

ἐχαλοῦντα καὶ τὰ γρόσια *Diig. Sant.* 59.92–3

ὅπου καυχοῦντα οἱ Χριστιανοὶ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 572.1

Addition of -(v)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) was encountered in Cretan, Heptanesian and Chiot texts from the 16th c. onwards:

ἐκαυχοῦνταν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 143

ἐθρηνοῦνταν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 58.6; ἐδειλοσκοποῦνταν *ibid.* 70.20; οἱ ἄλλες τὴν

εὐλαβοῦνταν *ibid.* 220.7

σ' ἐφοβοῦνταν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.476

ἐπικαλιοῦνταν *P&N Diath.* 1587; ἐλυποῦνταν *ibid.* 2354

ἐκεῖνοι ὅπ' ἀγαπιοῦνταν KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1112

εὐκαριστιοῦνταν FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 61

εφοβοῦνταν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2833; ἐνικοῦνταν *ibid.* 10224

ὅπου ἐκουβαλιοῦνταν Τοῦρκοι ἀπὸ τὸ Μορέα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 492.21

γιατὶ δ' ἐκοιμοῦνταν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1769

καὶ σ' ἐφοβοῦνταν οἱ ὀχθροὶ *Zinon Prol.* 55

Endings with <τ> for <ντ> are phonetic rather than morphological variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/. Examples have been found in Cycladic texts (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): οἱ κληρικοὶ οἱ ρομέοι ἐκυβερνοῦτα (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.3); ἐκοιμοῦτα (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 744.7).

Pl.	3	-όνταν/-ώνταν ! -ώντανε/-όντανε ! -(ε)ιόντα(ν) ! -(ε)ιότανε
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With /o/ for /u/ this ending has been found in texts from south-western regions (see also examples below with an added /j/ and deletion of final /n/) and occurs in various EMG texts, from north to south, but has not been found before the 15th c. (ms date of the *War of Troy*):

ἐπιμελῶνταν *Pol. Tr.* 9051 app. crit. (C)

ἐγεννῶνταν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.38

ἐκλαιγαν καὶ λυπόνταν BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 403 app. crit.

ἐγελῶνταν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.3

Addition of /j/ before the ending (see 2.1.2.2.4 for a discussion) may also occur:

ἄμποτε νάκρατειόνταν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.16

ἀγκαλιόνταν (1554, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 157, 206.6–7) (< ἐγκαλῶ)

συναπαντιόνταν DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 325; ἐκτυπιόνταν *ibid.* 326

Deletion of final /n/ is much less common here than with -οῦνταν: γλυκεῖα ἐκαταφιλῶντα *Pol. Tr.* 524 app. crit. (V); ἐπιμελῶντα *ibid.* 9051 app. crit. (B).

Addition of -(v)ε has been found from at least the 17th c. onwards (the dating of *Evr. Eleg.* is insecure). The appearance of the ending in Ioakeim Kyprios does not necessarily mean the ending also occurs in Cypriot texts, as his language is morphologically mixed:

ἐγρικόντανε *Evr. Eleg.* 3 166.20

καυχῶντανε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 7403

κυλιόντανε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 276

ἐκρατῶντανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 53.20

ἄλλοι τὸν ἐλυπόντανε, ἄλλοι τὸν ἐκαταριόντανε PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 116.19–20

Endings with <τ> for <ντ> are phonetic variants, which represent a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (see I, 3.6.2.1). An example has been found in a text from Zakynthos: ἀφορμές ὅπου ἐδιαμετριότανε εἰς σὲ ἐναντίο τους SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 37.18–19.

Pl.	3	-ούντησαν
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This ending occurs from the 14th c. onwards, especially in texts certain or very likely to originate from the Peloponnese and the Heptanese, but also in texts from other areas (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2): in a work by Limenitis (Rhodes) and in a poem by Bertos,

transmitted in a part of a manuscript that is likely to have been copied in Rhodes. IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* is the only "Cypriot" text to use this ending, but Ioakeim's text exhibits great morphological variety, not always necessarily Cypriot. For a discussion of this ending, see 4.3.1.2.

οὕτως γὰρ ἡγαπούνησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 3475; τὸ πῶς οἰκονομοῦντησαν *ibid.* 3548
ἐπαρηγοροῦντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 5333; ἡγαπούνησαν *ibid.* 12816
ἐκοιμούντησαν *BERTOS, Eis evd. aion.* 151
ἐφοβούντησαν *Theseid* I.79,6 (Follieri)
ἐφιλούνησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 88.20; ἐξεμολογούντησαν *ibid.* 88.25
ἀν ἐζητούντησαν *MAX. PELOPON., Kata Ioud.* 323.12

Pl.	3	-όντησαν ! -(ε)ιόντησαν
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Forms with /o/ for /u/ appear in the 16th c. (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*). The "etymologizing" spelling with <ω> for A-stem verbs is, of course, entirely graphematic:

ὀλόγυμνοι ἐκοιμόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 524 app. crit. (V)
ἐκοιμόντησαν *Theseid* I.20,5 (Follieri)
ἐφοβόντησαν *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 643
ἐκτυπόντησαν *Diig. Alex.* E 247.19 (Lolos)
ἐκοιμώντησαν *Bertoldin.* 113.30; ἐθυμόντησαν *ibid.* 155.15
τούτοι σαν ἐκοιμόντησαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2291; αὐτό που ἐφοβόντησαν *ibid.* 8637

Addition of /j/ between the stem consonant and the ending (see 2.1.2.2.4) occurs in several texts from at least the 15th c. (date of earliest mss of *Pol. Tr.*): ἐκρατιόντησαν *Pol. Tr.* 747 and 9259; ἀρνιόντησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.27; ἐκεῖ που ἐφιλιόντησαν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 829; ἐκεῖ που ἐβαριόντησαν *ibid.* 3616.

Pl.	3	-ήγουνταν ! -ηγόντησαν
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These rare endings (see 2.1.2.2.3) occur in Spanos's grammar: ἐφιλήγουνταν καὶ ἐφιληγόντησαν SPANOS, *Grammar* 40.18

Pl.	3	-ούντασι(ν) ! -όντασι(ν)/-ώντασι(ν)
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The rare 3 pl. endings -ούντασι(ν) and -όντασι(ν) are based on -ούνταν/-όνταν (see above), with the active alternative "past" ending -ασι substituted for -αν (cf. the active voice, 4.3.2.1). The spelling of /ondasin/ with <ω> for A-stem verbs (ἐκαυχώντασιν) is graphematic. It occurs in texts from the western mainland (Galaxeidi; and Glykys was probably from Koroni in the Peloponnese; ms B of the *Tale of Alexander and Semiramis* was possibly copied in Meteora, Thessaly)⁹² and in texts of unknown provenance (*Dig. A*; ms P of *Ptochoprodromos*). The earliest attestation dates to the middle of the 15th c. (ms P of *Ptoch. IV*):

⁹² See MOENNIG 2004: 10–11.

ἄς ἐπουλούντασιν *Ptoch. IV* 248.38 app. crit. (P)
ἐστενοχωρούντασιν *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 299
ἐκαυχούντασιν *Dig. A* 4654 app. crit.
ἐκαταρώντασιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 563
ἐφοβόντασι *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 61.19

The MG ending -όντουςαν (cf. PANDELIDIS 2005) has not been found in the texts examined (cf. barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2).

4.4 The Aorist Indicative

The sigmatic aorist indicative is arguably one of the most stable paradigms throughout the history of the Greek language, with relatively few modifications over the centuries and limited variation compared to other tenses. By the beginning of the LMedG period a common set of past-tense endings, combining elements from the aorist, the imperfect and the perfect, was already firmly in place for the active voice: -α, -ες, -ε(ν), -αμε(ν), -ετε (/ -ατε, see below), -αν/-ασι(ν) (HORROCKS 2010: 318–19). To form the aorist indicative of barytone and oxytone verbs these endings are added to the perfective stem (for which see 2.2). Not only had verbs with the sigmatic aorist and liquid/nasal-stem verbs (the so-called first aorist) acquired this common set of past-tense endings, but from Hellenistic times onwards the thematic (or second) aorist of verbs such as βλέπω, ἔρχομαι, εὐρίσκω, λέγω, πίνω, φεύγω, which had originally formed with the endings of the imperfect (-ον, -ες, -ε, -ομεν, -ετε, -ον), began to adopt these endings more and more (GIGNAC 1981: 335–6; HORROCKS 2010: 180–1; for extensive older bibliography on the subject see PSALTES 1913: 211).⁹³ Some verbs may form an alternative /k/ aorist (e.g. δίδω, ἀφῆνω and others, see 2.2.1.10). These verbs, too, make use of the endings of the sigmatic aorist.

The passive voice is formed by adding the aorist passive endings to the passive perfective stem (for which see 2.2). The inherited set of passive endings, -ην, -ης, -η(ν), -ημεν, -ητε, -ησαν, remains in partial use throughout the period covered by this Grammar. Even when the more transparent, innovative set of endings -ηκα, -ηκες, -ηκε(ν), -ήκαμε, -ήκετε, -ηκαν/-ήकाσι(ν) becomes acceptable for use in written texts, the old endings, or at least those for 2 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl., continue to be used.⁹⁴

The innovative set of passive endings with its characteristic <κ> starts to appear in writing from the 13th c. onwards, beginning with 1 sg. and then gradually spreading to other persons. They are likely to have been adopted in the passive paradigm by analogy

⁹³ E.g. of εὐρίσκω: εὐραμεν for εὐρομεν in the *Septuagint* and the *New Testament*, Hero (1st c. AD), Vettius Valens (2nd c.) and Basil of Caesarea (4th c.); εὐραν for εὐρον in the *Septuagint*, Oecumenius (3rd–4th c.), Kosmas Indikopleustes (6th c.); εὐρατε *Vita Aesop.* G (1st. c. ?); John Chrysostom (4th–5th c.); ἡῦρα in Nikon, *Ptoch.*, *Achil.* N, etc.; ἡῦραμεν in Ps.-Herodianus, *Vita Aesop.* G, Epiphanius (4th–5th c.), John Chrysostom etc.; ἡῦραν in John Chrysostom, Antiochos Monachos (7th c.) etc.; ἡῦρατε Melito Apologetes (2nd c.) (data from the online *TLG*).

⁹⁴ In his grammar Girolamo Germano, whose observations on the language are always accurate, clearly states that the Greeks "say [both forms]" only for 2 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl.: "dicono ἐγράφηκες, & ἐγράφης ... ἐγράφηκεν, & ἐγράφην ... ἐγραφήκαμεν, & ἐγράφημεν ... ἐγραφήκαμε, & ἐγράφησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–19.

with the aorist indicative (athematic aorist) of βαίνω, with which they shared their inherited endings: ἔβην > ἔβηκα : ἐγράφην > ἐγράφηκα (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 548–9). Forms with -ηκ- of βαίνω can already be found in the 8th/9th c. (see 2.2.1.10.1), and also occur in early texts that do not use the κ-forms for the passive, such as Glykas and *Digenis G.*⁹⁵ The spread of /k/ to the aorist passive indicative is likely to have been helped by the fact that the morpheme /k/ had become a marker for the aorist (mainly indicative) with other verbs as well (BABINIOTIS 1972: 217–19; see also 2.2.1.10). The use of the inherited forms does not limit itself to verse texts, in which the different stress patterns of ἐγράφηθην (e.g. verse end) and ἐγράφηκα (e.g. before the caesura) are convenient (e.g. πέντε φορές ἀνέβηκε καὶ πάλιν ἐκατέβη *Velth.* 1144), but also continues in prose texts and documents, where we find them even with italianate and new verbs such as ἀφιδάρω, ντελιβράρω, ὀμπλιγάρω and κουζουλαίνω. The fact that the cluster /st/ in the perfective passive stem of these verbs (see 2.2.1) is usually written in its dissimilated form <στ> and not the more formal <σθ> indicates that the use of the old endings is not a matter of archaism, e.g. οἱ ὁποῖες ἐστιμαρίστησαν οἱ τέσσερεις (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 174, 175.23); ἐμπλιγαρίστη ὁ κυρ-Ἀντώνης (1572, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 17, 71.16–17); ἐπουπλικαρίστη εἰς τὸ φόρος τῆς Σητείας (1601, Crete, SIAKOTOS 2006: 1, 190.11–12).

Athematic aorists will be discussed in the section on the passive voice (4.4.2), because they share their endings with the passive rather than the active paradigm (e.g. ἔβην, ἔβηκα), although ultimately here, too, use is made of the common past-tense endings -α, -ες, -ε, etc. The distinction between middle and passive aorist endings had begun to disappear in Hellenistic times and the endings of the middle aorist increasingly came to be replaced by those of the passive (BLASS et al. 1961: 42–3). For residual middle forms that are still used in texts of the LMedG and EMG periods, especially of certain verbs (such as ἀρχομαι, γίνομαι), see 4.9.1. For forms of the barytone verb τρώ(γ)ω in which deletion of the vowel of the ending occurs (e.g. ἔφας < ἔφαες) see 2.2.2.3.

4.4.1 Active Voice

4.4.1.1 Barytone and Oxytone Verbs

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἔγραψα	ἐγράψα	ἔγραψαν
	2	ἔγραψες	ἐγράψες	ἔγραψας

⁹⁵ The κ-forms can be found in all regions, with the exception of Pontic-speaking areas. In the scarce material from these areas no κ-forms have been found for the passive or for βαίνω (see also OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 283–4). For the use of the κ-forms in the modern dialects, see NEWTON 1973: 226–7.

		General	Restricted	Rare
			ἔγραψις	
	3	ἔγραψε(ν)	ἐγράψε(ν) ἔγραψενε ἔγραψι(ν)	
Pl.	1	ἐγράψαμε(ν)	ἐγράψαμενε ἐγραψάμεν ἐγραψάμι ἐγράψαμαν	ἐγράψαμεν
	2	ἐγράφετε ἐγράψατε	ἐγράφετεν(ε) ἐγραφέτε ἐγράψιτε	ἐγράφεταν
	3	ἔγραψαν ἐγράψανε ἐγράψασι(ν)	ἐγράψα(ν) ἐγράψασινε	ἐγράψασαν

This synoptic table covers the aorist active indicative of all verbs, both those that have a sigmatic (e.g. γράφω > /graps/, γρικῶ > /grikis/) or liquid/nasal perfective stem (e.g. κρῖνω > /krin/) (first aorist), and thematic (or second) aorists that have adopted the past-tense endings of the sigmatic paradigm (e.g. εἶπα, εἶδα, ἦλθα, ἔλαβα, ἔπεσα). It also covers aorists formed from alternative perfective stems in /k/ such as ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἀφῆκα/ἄφηκα, ἐποίηκα/ἔποικα, for which see also 2.2.1.10, as well as those of irregular verbs, given that the irregularity is usually in the formation of the perfective stem, not in the endings employed (see also 2.4).

Forms of the aorist active indicative are proparoxytone in principle, though sometimes the stress may shift to the penultimate, whereas in other cases forms may carry the stress on the fourth syllable from the end when a suffix is added to the verb form. Thematic aorists simply adopted the common set of past-tense endings whilst keeping their old stem, which means many of them have disyllabic forms (e.g. εἶδα, ἦλθα). Paroxytone forms can also be found of verbs with one-syllable stems and a prepositional prefix (e.g. ἐπῆρα < ἐπαίρω, ἀφῆκα < ἀφίημι), though these forms may develop a proparoxytone variant by analogy with the majority of verbs (e.g. ἄφηκα).

For the presence/absence of the augment, see the introduction to Chapter 3.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-α -αν
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The ending -α is the normal ending for the 1st person singular before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, as the following examples from various areas show:

- τὸ οἰκοδόμησα (1138?, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 14, 102.10)
 καθώς και προεῖπα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 208.15; διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔβαλα id., *Logos* 9 310.29; ἡμαρτα id., *Logos* 11 340.18 (for ἡμαρτον)
 ἀκρόστιχον οὐκ ἔφαγα GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 546
 ἐγόρασα (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ΒΕΝΕΧΕΝΙΤΣΧ 1927: 18, 8.1)
 ἔλαβα μνήστρα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 17.54–5)
 ἀπῆρα τὸ κλειδὶν *Ptoch.* I 216
 κ' ἐπίασα τὸ βιβλίον *Chron. Mor.* H 7638
 ὑπόγραφα (1458, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 3 [Γ'], 26.22)
 ἔνεγκα αὐτὸν καυχώμενος DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 597 app. crit. (< φέρω)
 ἐπαρακάλησα *Fior* 77.3
 ἀκούω, ἤκουσα SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 48.2
 τὸ ἀμπέλι ... ποῦ ... ἐδεκρετάρισα εἰς τὸ ὄνομά της (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 56.11–12)
 ἐκράτηξα ἀπὸ 'κεῖνα ἀπὸ ἡτάξα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 50.89)
 ἐσπούδαξα ΡΑΡΑΣΥΝΑΔ., *Chron.* IV §7.3
 δὲν τὲς ἡῦρα (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 306, f.1r.12)

Addition of final /n/ has been found sporadically. The forms, if they are not simple scribal errors, may represent a form of hypercorrection, since at least Cretan tends to drop final /n/ where other varieties of the language do not (see I, 3.7.2 for details):

- ἀφιέρωσιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἡφιέρωσαν εἰς ... (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 218.86)
 ἐγὼ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχασαν καὶ τὰ πλούτη DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 603 app. crit.
 ὡσάν σοῦ τὸ 'γραψαν μὲ ἄλλα μου χαρτῖα (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 27.20–1);
 ἐγὼ ἐμίσεψαν ἀπὸ 'κεῖ (ibid. 27.27)
 ἐγὼ ὁ κοντόσταβλος Μεταξάδων ἔλαβαν ἕναν ὀρισμὸν (1570, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 33, 398.9)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs mainly in verse texts, to accommodate the metre:

- τὸ πῶς τὸ ἑκαταλέξα *Chron. Mor.* H 7035
 ὡσάν ἐδῶσα τὸ ἱππάριν τῆς τὴν ὕστεραν ραβδέαν *Dig.* E 1588 app. crit.
 ξυλῖες τοὺς ἐδῶκα *Achil.* O 598
 ἐγρικῆσα τὸν ὀρισμὸν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 54.19 (same in B 55.19 and M 55.19); δὲν του ἀνοῖξα id., *Chron.* B 267.2 and M 267.1⁹⁶
 Ἰησοῦ νὰ μπόρουν εἰς χαρτὶν νὰ γράψα *Cypr. Canz.* 23.1
 ἐτάξα του καὶ χάρη *Alex. Rim.* 2117
 ἐκείνο το σ' ἐδῶκα *Kakop.* 104

⁹⁶ This stress pattern is more common in Voustronios's *Chron.* A and B than in M, which is more reliable for accentuation (KECHAYOGLU 1997: 75*–6*, 87*–8* and 105*), but cf. 3 pl., where the phenomenon shows a higher degree of systematicity.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ες -ις
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By the beginning of the LMedG period -ες is the normal ending for 2 sg., as the following examples sufficiently illustrate:

- καθὼς μας ἔγραψες ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 206.6; ἐζήτησες id., *Logos* 9 310.6
 τὸ δπερ ἀγόρασες σὺ (1157–8, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 19, 158.15)
 ἡρέμηςες, ἡκόμπηςες GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 165; ἀνάτειλες id. 200
 ἡ ἤκουσες το; (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 59.148)
 σὰν ἐπροέγραψες μας (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.13)
 δπου ἐπέστειλες (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.14)
 ἔγραψες νὰ ποίσης ἀγάπην MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 212.3; δὲν ἔπεψες id. 280.14
 καὶ σὺ τὴν στράταν ἔφηκες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 451
 εἰς το γάλα τῆς μάνας σου οπου ἐβύζασες *Diig. Alex.* K 365.33–4
 ἀμὴ ἐσὺ μὲ ἀνάστησες KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 344.19
 τσ' ἐζήτησες CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.194; καὶ μ' ἴντα μ' ἐπερίχυσες id., *Katz.* III.467
 ποῦ ἔπιες τὸ νερόν *Dimotika Ivir.* VIII.4
 ἐλευθέρωσες (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 3, 310.13)
 τὸ ἐξεφόρτωσες LANDOS, *Geopon.* 145.18
 καὶ εὐεργέτησες τοὺς ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΣ, *Achouri* 181

A shift of the stress to the penultimate has been found in the chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios.⁹⁷ In Machairas the proparoxytone forms are followed by a clitic pronoun:⁹⁸ καὶ σοῦ ἐδέρες με MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.2;⁹⁹ ἐφυλακίσες με id. 446.2; καὶ 'χαρίσεις του τὴν Τριμιθείαν id. 562.33; ἐγρικῆσες πῶς ἐμήνυσεν ὁ καπετάνος VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 96.1; ἐπέψες τον ἀδελφόν μου id. 136.12–13.

Forms with /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4: τὸ μοιράδι ἀπὸ ἔγραψις στὰ πφτέργ<ι>α σου (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.29–30); πλεότιρο χρέο ἱπῆρις (ibid. f.45v.31–2) (= ἐπῆρες).

Sg.	2	-ας
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The residual ending -ας is not very common, occurring mainly in mixed-register texts:

- πῶς δὲ παρ' ὧραν ἔδυνας καὶ ἔσβεσας τὸ φῶς μας *Dig.* G I.238
 πῶς ἡπλωσας ἐπάνω μου *Ptoch.* I 145

⁹⁷ These forms appear only in ms A, which is not entirely reliable accentuation-wise (KECHAYOGLU 1997: 75*–6*).

⁹⁸ But forms with dual stress can also be found: ἐξαπόλυσές μας id. 454.4–5; ἐπεθύμησές με νὰ σ' ἔχω καὶ μῆνυσές μου id. 574.14–15.

⁹⁹ In Cypriot the perfective stem of δερ(ν)ω is δερ-, not δειρ-. Cf. εἰς Φράνκος ... ἐγκαλὲ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν α' Συριάνον ὁποῦ τὸν ἔδερεν *Assizes* B 480.14–15.

τί πόλεμον ὑπόμεινας *Pol. Tr.* 3157 (reading of A)
 ὑπόμεινας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.8)
 ἔμεινας δνειδος καὶ κατάρρα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 611

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-ε(ν) ἰ -ενε ἰ -ι(ν)
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The ending -ε(ν) is the only 3 sg. ending before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar, as a few examples will suffice to illustrate:¹⁰⁰

ἀγόρασεν (1042, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 3, 46.20)
 ἐλάλησέν με ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 31 810.27; τὸν διάκονον συνεπάθησε *ibid.* 824.2
 ἐζήτηξεν *Jonas* 217.109
 ἐχάωσεν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 67.79)
 ἐξέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν (1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.20–1)
 ἐπιλόγιασε *Dig.* E 201
 ἡδειλιάσεν *Achil.* N 1580
 παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν (15th–16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2)
 ἐπίασέν τον ζωντανὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 136.9 (Lolos)
 μᾶς ἐπρόσταξε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.9)
 τὰ κράτηξε (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.30)
 ἐπόθανεν (1573, Famagusta, CONSTANTINIDES 1988: 172, f.145v.20–1)
 ἐπίασέ τον καὶ λέγει τον ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.31
 μὰ σὰν ἐμίσεψε ἀπὸ κεῖ ΚΟΡΝΑΡΟΣ, *Erot.* III.13

Addition of -(ν)ε to the proparoxytone verb form, often without a shift of the stress or a second accent, resulting in forms that are stressed on the fourth syllable from the end, can be found in literary and non-literary texts from Chios and certain Cycladic and Heptanesian islands. It has also been found in verse texts from Cyprus, in which it is likely to be a versificatory device as Cypriot does not normally display the phenomenon (for more information see also I, 2.6.3.3):

εἶδενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 50.6
 ἦρθενε ἀπὸ τὴν Κασσάντρεα (1640, Andros, POLEMIS 1999b: 11, 35.2)
 ἐπαράδωσενέ τονε (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 190, 161.11)¹⁰¹
 ἡ θάλασσα ἐφυγενε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.7–8)
 καὶ Ἀμηρᾶς τῶν εἶπενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 479; σὰν εἶδενε ὁ Ἀμηρᾶς *ibid.* 795; (αἰχμαλωσίης ...)
 ἦκαμενε ἀμέτρητες *ibid.* 1162 app. crit.; δὲν ἦβαλένε *ibid.* 1708
 μοῦ ἴκαμενε (1686, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 647, 889.3–4)
 τῶν τὸ ἦφικενε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 44.5); ἐδωκενε (*ibid.* 44.9); εἶδενε (*ibid.* 44.13)
 ἔχασενε ἀπὸ μένα (1694, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 10, 24.9)
 ἐβγάλενε τοὺς ὀρισμούς ἔξω ΚΟΝΣΤ. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 227; ὁπού ῥτενε *ibid.* 398

¹⁰⁰ Two instances of 3 sg. aorist indicative in -α in 17th-c. Chiot theatrical plays are rhyme-induced. It is highly unlikely that such forms ever actually existed for 3 sg.: ὁ Ἀσρὼν τὰ θέσα VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 212 (rhymes with μέσα); σὰν ἠθέλεν, τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐνοιγεν καὶ ἐσφάλα ΚΟΝΔΑΡ., *Paidēs* 42 (rhymes with μεγάλα).

¹⁰¹ In this example a second stress is added because of the following enclitic pronoun, with which the verb forms a phonological unit. Forms with the stress on the sixth syllable from the end are an impossibility in Greek. For details see I, 4.2.3.

ἐπρεζεντάρισενε (1701, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 27, 41.12); τὸ ἔδωσενε (1708, *ibid.* 85, 95.14) (ἐπρεζενταρίσενε and ἔδωσενε in the ed.)
 νά, ποὺ ῥθενε ἡ ὥρα μου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* V.224

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts and can even be found in non-literary texts. In Machairas's chronicle paroxytone forms occur only when the verb is followed by a clitic pronoun (but cf. 3 pl. where this is not necessarily the case).

πείσμαν ἀπλῶς ἐθέκεν *Log. parig.* L 30
 οὐ παῦσεν ὁ ἡμέτερος γραμματικός (1387, Athens, BUCHON 1843: XL, 220.7–8)
 καὶ ἐπέσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν *Assizes* B 362.15; οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐμοιράσεν *ibid.* 420.27
 καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἐτυφλώσεν *Velis.* χ 536
 ὀρίσεν ἡ αὐθεντία μου (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.39)
 ἐφυσήσεν τοὺς ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 34.25; καὶ ἐκατηγορήσεν τοὺς *ibid.* 46.6; καὶ ζήτησεν τοὺς *ibid.* 382.20
 ἐπέψεν εἰς τὸ σπίνιν του VOUSTR. *Chron.* A 268.7–8 and B 269.7–8; ἐμηνύσεν ἡ ρήγαινα *id.*, *Chron.* B 283.16 and M 283.14; ὁ Θεὸς ἐσμίξεν μας *id.*, *Chron.* A 284.16 and B 285.17¹⁰²
 καὶ αὐξήσῃ τὴν τιμὴν του ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VII.358
 ἐδῶσέν του τὰ γράμματα ΚΟΝΣΤ. ΔΙΑΚ., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 155

Forms with /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4:

ἀπότυχι ὁ Λοβοιωάννης (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.4)
 ἔδωσιν γρόσια (1676, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 87, 211.4); ἐζήτησιν καὶ τὸ παρὸν (*ibid.* 211.4)
 μι ἔβαλιν (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.15) (= με ἔβαλεν); ἔμασι ζητεῖα (1692, *ibid.* 22, f.49r.7)

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	-αμε(ν) ἰ -αμενε ἰ -άμε(ν) ἰ -άμι
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The most common form for 1 pl. is the proparoxytone form in -αμε(ν). With the final /n/ it is found before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

ἐπαρελάβαμεν (1031, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 1, 24.15); ἀποστείλαμεν (1042, *ibid.* 3, 46.13)
 ἐξερευνήσαμεν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 40.9–10; ἀπελάβαμεν *id.*, *Logos* 4 206.5
 ἀπήγαμεν ὅπου μᾶς ἐχρεώσται καὶ ἐχρεωστοῦμαν τον *Paroim.* A 8
 εἶπαμεν (1348?, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 101, 229.4)
 τὸ πῶς ἐπολεμήσαμεν *Chron. Mor.* H 3657
 ἐπροδράμαμεν *Dig.* E 512
 διότι σὲ ἐπταίσαμεν *Chron. Toc.* 2986
 εἶπαμεν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.18)
 εἶδαμεν (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 57.69)
 τὰ ἐσπείραμεν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 279, 261.7)
 ἐδῶκαμεν ἑμεῖς (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 227.8)
 πῶς ἐποίησαμεν τὲς ὁμολογίης *Vios Aisop.* K 181.1
 ἀπὸ ὅσα καὶ ἀν ἀποκτήσαμεν *Alex. Fyll.* 117.26

¹⁰² As noted under 2 sg., this stress pattern is much more frequent in versions A and B of Voustronios's chronicle.

ἡμεῖς ἐρισολβέραμεν νὰ σταθοῦμεν ἐδῶ (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 20, 135.10–11)
ἡλάβαμεν (1769, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1974: 5, 26.14)

Forms in -αμε, without final /n/, appear in written texts from the 13th/14th c. onwards, often alongside forms with final /n/:

ἐδιαχωρίσαμε (1206, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 160, 350.45)
κ' ἐπῆραμε τὸ νῆκος *Chron. Mor.* H 3657
ἐξεγλυτώσαμε τους *Pol. Tr.* 13672 app. crit. (A)
καὶ ἐπικράναμε σε *Chron. Toc.* 2986
ἐκεῖνο ὅπου σὲ γράψαμε (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.5)
κ' ἦλθαμε νὰ πνιγούμε *Apoll. Rim.* V 924
τότες τοὺς ἐκοιτάξαμε *Alex. Rim.* 1657; πάλι ἐκαταντήσαμε *ibid.* 1663
ἐδέσαμε τον καὶ ἡφέραμε τον ἐδῶ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 367.19
ἀρχιρίσαμε νὰ κάμωμεν τὲς ἀμαρτίες *Diig. Alex.* F 30.6 (Konstantinopulos)
ἡμοιράσαμε τα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 35, 76.5)
ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἐχρεωστούσαμεν νὰ κάμωμεν ἐκάμαμε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Louk.* 17.10
ἐγυρίσαμε εἰς τὰ ὀπίσου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.50
κι ἂ σᾶς ἀρέσαμε, χαρὰ δειξέτε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.414
ἐσυγκρίναμε καὶ ἀνακρίναμε (1675, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 39, 65.16)

Sometimes 1 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. In these cases there is usually a second stress on the penultimate, and sometimes the notation of the first stress is omitted (cf. 2 pl. ' -έτε). Examples have been found in verse and prose texts as well as in non-literary documents. The texts that can be localized are of northern provenance, or at least display northern features (*Diig. Alex. K.*, Matthaios of Myra and *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* (Meteora?)).¹⁰³ The provenance of *Dig. P* is unknown, but there is no linguistic evidence to corroborate its supposed Chiot origin.¹⁰⁴

καὶ ὄωρισάμεν τὴν ρηθείσαν μονὴν (1059, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 7, 92.6)
αφοῦ ἐπερασάμεν *Diig. Alex. K.* 346.23; ἐφαλτσώσαμεν *ibid.* 346.23–4; ἐπαράλαβάμεν *ibid.* 370.16
ἐγραψαμε το (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.17)
ἐκάλεσάμεν ἀρχόντες πολλοὺς *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 1224
ἐπροσκύνησάμε τὴν εἰκόνα (17th c., Meteora, VEIS 1984: 187, f.172v.1–2)
ἤκουσάμεν [VLASTOS], *Dig. P* VII 377.20–1
μικρὸν ἐθρήνησάμεν ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2766
ἐπέρασάμεν πάλιν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 52.4 (Kaftantzis); ἐμοίρασάμεν μοναχοὶ μας *ibid.* 66.26–7
ἐπλήρωσάμεν (1696 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B 25, f.186r.22); τοὺς ἐπαρακάλεσάμεν (1697 [18th-c. copy], *ibid.* I/13, f.190r.12)
μέρες ἐκαμάμεν VATATSI, *Periig. I* 281; ὅσα θεώρησάμεν *ibid.* 495; ὅπου προέγραψάμεν *ibid.* 717; ἰστόρησάμεν *ibid.* 718

¹⁰³ This stress pattern can still be found in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

¹⁰⁴ The Chiot origin of *Digenis P* was hypothesized by the editor, D. Paschalis, but refuted by POLITIS 1973: 332 and KECHAGIOGLOU 1993: 122, fn. 12.

Forms in /i/ instead of /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.5.4: ἰκρίθησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλογάργ<ι>ασάμι (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 3, f.39r.3–4); ἐκαμάνμι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 12, 82.29) (with an “intrusive” /n/, for which see also I, 3.5.2.4).

Forms in -αμενε, with the stress on the fourth syllable from the end, are likely to have had a wider geographical spread than just Chios (for addition of -(v)e see I, 2.6.3.3): εἴπαμενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.35.

Pl.	1	-αμα(ν)
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Sporadically -αμεν can be found with /a/ for /e/ in the final syllable, either as a result of assimilation, or as a reinforcement of “pastness”, resulting in -αμαν, an ending now characteristic of various northern dialects (Epirus, Macedonia, south-eastern Thrace, see PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 90; cf. the passive aorist, 4.4.2). It also occurs once in Machairas, but this may just be a writing mistake.

ἐδῶσαμεν τὸ τίμιον Ἰωάννην (16th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 186, 123.2)
ἦλθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοκιμάσωμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 398.8
ἐτραβήξαμαν χέρι (1698, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 78, 245.11); σὰν φιταίξει ἕνας ὅλοι
ἐφταίξαμαν (*ibid.* 90, 253.20)
ἐφύγαμαν ... ἐπῆγαμαν ... ἐθάψαμαν ... ἐκαθίσαμαν ... ἤρθαμαν (1719, Ioannina, POLITIS/
POLITI 1991: 2439, 441.1–7)

Pl.	1	-εμεν
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With /e/ for /a/ in the first syllable this ending has been found once in a document from the Peloponnese. The change is probably due to assimilation (see I, 2.8.5; cf. the imperfect and passive aorist, 4.3.1.2 and 4.4.2, with which this ending is equally rare): ἐγράψεμεν (1687, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 103, 323.6).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ετε ἢ -ετέν(ε) ἢ -ιτε ἢ -έτε
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The ending -ετε, borrowed from the imperfect and first attested with the aorist indicative in Hellenistic times, is by far the most common ending for 2 pl. throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ἐπῆτε πικρασμούς της *Log. parig.* L 21
ἄσοι ἐλαλήσετε διὰ ἐμὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 956; κὶ ἀπῆλθετε *ibid.* 1855; ἐπλουτύνετε *ibid.* 5107
ἐφθάσετε *Dig. E* 1733
ἐσεῖς ἐβάλετε βουλὴν *Diig. tetr.* 691
καὶ ἐσυμπονέσετέ με *Rim. than.* 91
πὼς τοῦ ἐκρατήσετε τὸ μνηῖον του (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 17, 11.2)
ὅ,τι ἄρα ἐγράφετε (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.8)
ἐχάσετε τὸ δάσκαλο τὸν πολυσγαπημένον FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 90
ἐγράφετε κεφάλαια ἀπρεπα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 48.19–20; ἐγροικῆσετε *ibid.* 12.35–6

ἐμιλήσετε μαζί (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.12)
 όπου ἡκούσετε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 336.5
 δὲν ἐσμίξετε ἀμάδι (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2009: 906, 708.11)
 ἐγροικήσετε CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.443; καλέ, πῶς τὴν ἐχάσετε; id., *Katz.* IV.421
 τραδιτόροι, όπου ἐτραδίρετε τὴν πατρίδα σας *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.32–3; δὲν
 ἐπαρακαλέσετε τὸν βασιλέα σας *ibid.* 93.9
 τοῦ ὁποίου ἐγράφετε (1675, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: 61.22); τὰ τοῦ ἐζητήσετε (*ibid.* 61.23)
 μ' ἐσπείρετε KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.309; ἀπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε *ibid.* IV.319; ἐλθμονήσετε *ibid.*
 IV.450

Tellingly, almost all EMG grammars, from Sofianos to Spanos, only give forms in -ετε. Kritopoulos is the only one to give -ατε for all verbs, whereas Portius has -ετε only for barytone verbs:

ἐγράφετε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 54.2; ἐκρατήσετε *ibid.* 61.2; ἐγελάσετε *ibid.* 63.21
 εἶδετε GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.31; ἐγράφετε *ibid.* 89.8; ἐτιμήσετε *ibid.* 91.21; ἐγελάσετε *ibid.*
 91.25
 ἐγράφετε PORTIUS, *Grammar* 33.21; but: ἐπατήσετε *ibid.* 37.29; ἀγαπήσετε *ibid.* 40.8
 ἐγράφετε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 23.6; ἡγαπήσετε *ibid.* 40.4
 ἐγράφετε PARISINUS, *Grammar* 135.1; ἐβαστάσετε *ibid.* 145.1; ἐπατήσετε *ibid.* 151.1
 [ἐγρά]ψετε SPANOS, *Grammar* 35.8; [ἐφιλή]σετε *ibid.* 39.24; [ἐγελ]άσετε *ibid.* 41.16

With addition of final /n/ this ending occurs in 17th-c. texts from certain Aegean islands (Chios, Syros):

εἶδετεν αὐτόν GERMANO, *Grammar* 87.32
 αὐτὰ ποὺ ἐγροικήσετεν VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 99; ἀφοῦ ἐφύγετεν ἐσεῖς id., *Pathi* 217
 γιὰ τί τὸν ἐλυπήσετεν τόσον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 863; όπου μοῦ ᾄδοσετεν ἐσεῖς *ibid.* 868; εἶδετεν
 ᾠδῶς ... ἐνίκησέ μας *ibid.* 2661
 καλῶς ἦλθετεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 429
 τὰ δσα ἐτάξετεν (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8); ὡσάν σκύλοι ἐγυρίσετεν πάλι
 στὰ ἴδια σας ξερατιά (*ibid.* 13.1); ἐκαταφρονέσετεν τὲς ἐρμηνεῖς μας (*ibid.* 13.16); καὶ δὲν
 ἐψηθήσετεν (*ibid.* 13.17)

With addition of -(v)ε it is likely to have had a wider geographical distribution than just Chios (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details): εἶπετενε GERMANO, *Grammar* 86.35.

Sometimes 2 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. There is always a second stress on the penultimate, and sometimes the first accent is omitted (cf. 1 pl. act. ' -όμεν, 1 pl. pass. ' -ηκάμεν and 2 pl. pass. ' -ηκέτε). Forms with this stress pattern have been found in two texts of northern provenance and in two manuscripts of the *War of Troy*:¹⁰⁵

δταν τὸ σύνταμα ἐποικέτε *Pol. Tr.* 2918 app. crit. (BV)
 πολλά υψηλά μου ἐστειλέτε *Diig. Alex.* K 347.3
 ἐκαταφρονέσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ προφήτου Μωϋσέως DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 13, μ8r.16
 (1561)
 τί εἶδετε εἰς αὐτόν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὸν ἀδίκησετε καὶ τὸν ἐπίασέτε καὶ τὸν ἐδειρέτε PAPASYNAD.,
Chron. 98.18–19 (Kaftantzis)

¹⁰⁵ This stress pattern can still be found in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and the Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

A form that looks like a hybrid formation with the residual subjunctive ending -ητε, but is in fact more likely to be a case of mid-vowel raising of [e] to [i] (ἐδειλιάσετε < ἐδειλιάσετε) (see I, 2.5.4), occurs in *Achil.* O:¹⁰⁶ ἐδειλιάσητε *Achil.* O 216.

Pl.	2	-ατε
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The inherited aorist ending -ατε is found before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, but is clearly not as common as -ετε (see above). The reason for this may be that the ending -ατε is still widely used with the aorist imperative, making indicatives and imperatives indistinguishable but for the augment, which may be omitted in verbs with a prepositional prefix or initial vowel, or after words ending in a vowel (for the imperative see 4.5.2.1; for the augment see 3). Moreover, -ετε is the normal ending for the imperfect as well (see 4.3.1.1). Forms in -ατε are found in literary and non-literary texts, often alongside forms in -ετε:

ἐπιδείξατε (1131, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 111, 124.16); ἦλθατε (*ibid.* 146.8)
 κόρην ἡχμαλωτεύσατε *Dig.* G I.220; ἡμπλικεύσατε *ibid.* II.150 (< ἀπλικεύω)
 ἐκερδίσσατε *Pol. Tr.* 825; τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ ἐπήρατε *ibid.* 1370
 ἐπεζεύσατε *Dig.* E 336; ἐκατεφθάσατε *ibid.* 405
 δ,τι ἄρα ἐγράφετε καὶ ἐπαρεγγεῖλατε (1489, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 19, 100.8)
 τὸν γὰρ ἐνίκησατε προχτὲς *Achil.* O 397
 διατὶ καλὰ ἐγροικήσατε *Theseid* I.27,3 (Follieri)
 νερόν οὐκ ἐποτίσατέ με DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2797
 ἀχ τ' ἀδικον π' ἀκούσατε *Cypr. Canz.* 125.16 app. crit.
 ἐδείξατε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 604
 ἐχάσατε Alex. Rim. 1894; ἡκούσατε *ibid.* 2461
 δλα δσα ἡκούσατε ὀπισθεν PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 113.32–3
 οὕτως ἐποίησατε *Vios Aisop.* K 181.1–2
 νὰ ἐλάβετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦνον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.9–10)
 τ(ὴν) καλὴν ἀγάπην, όπου μοῦ ἐδείξατε (1692, Palermo region, PAPADOPOULOS 1994: 2,
 181.9–10)

Pl.	2	-εταν
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This unusual ending, with /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable, has been found in a document from Albania, and in the *Chapbook of Alexander*, which is of unknown provenance: δταν ἦλθεταν καὶ κονέφετε (1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 39, 227.11); διατὶ ἐφονεύσεταν τὸν βασιλέα σας Alex. Fyll. 68.30. (See also P. Mackridge in *Κονδυλοφόρος* 15 (2017) 259–63).

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-α(ν) -ανε
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¹⁰⁶ Cf. περιπέσουσιν for περιπέσουσιν *ibid.* 228 app. crit. and κινοδοξήσης for κινοδοξήσης *ibid.* 347 app. crit.

The inherited 3 pl. ending -αν is used in texts from all areas before, during and after the period covered by this Grammar, alongside the equally frequent ending -ασι(ν) (see below):

- ἐγκάλεσαν (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 98.30)
 ἔτινα ἐμολόγησαν (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.23)
 κ' ἐποίησαν ἀγάπην *Chron. Mor.* H 2719
 ἐμίλησαν *Dig.* E 361
 πράγματα ἔχασαν πολλὰ *Chron. Toc.* 35
 ἐσυνεφώνησαν (1474, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 32, 166.1)
 καὶ ἐμολόγησαν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.7)
 ὡς γῦπες τοὺς ἐσύνθλασαν *Achil.* N 553
 εἶπαν εἰς αὐτόν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.5
 ὁμολόγησαν ὅτι ἔλαβαν (1509, Zakynthos, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1967: 2 [B], 225.4)
 τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρίθμησαν *Alex. Rim.* 2; ὁποῦ τὴν ἐθεμέλιωσαν *ibid.* 564
 ὅταν ἐψόφησαν τοῦτοι KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.13
 ἔγραψαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.12; ἐτίμησαν *ibid.* 91.21; ἐθελήσαν *ibid.* 94.20
 καὶ δὲν μᾶς ἐχάλασαν (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.16–17)
 τὸν ἐρώτησαν οἱ ἄνωθεν μάρτυρες (1680, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 25, 102.13)

A shift of the stress to the penultimate occurs in verse and prose texts and can even be found in non-literary texts:

- πῶς ἐμακρολογῆσαν *Diig. tetr.* 552
 στὴν ὥραν ὅλοι ἐγκράξαν *Achil.* L 386
 ἤμπορῆσαν *Assizes* A 128.15
 ἐγαπήσαν τὸν Χριστὸν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2152
 ἐκωλοσύραν τοὺς καὶ ἐκρεμάσαν τοὺς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 134.3–4
 ἐζητήσαν κρίσιν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.9; ἐσκοτώσαν τον καὶ ἐκόψαν τὴν κεφαλὴν του *ibid.*, 112.6–7
 ἐκατεκάψαν το τὸ ἀγαρηνὸν τὸ γένος *Moirol. Konst.* 113
 καὶ χίλιους ἐλαβῶσαν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* X.145
 ἐχάλασαν του μίαν εἰκόνα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.17; καὶ ἐρωτήσαν τὴν *ibid.* 351.7
 ἐξετίμησαν τα (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 27, 66.9)
 τοὺς διωγμοὺς ποὺ ἐπροξενῆσεν μου ὁ Φιλαδελφείας (1653–1655, Venice, FONKID 2000: 239, f.1r.7)
 ἐρωτήσαν τονε (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 277, 381.2); ἐπουλῆσαν (*ibid.* 283, 387.16)
 ἐκανισκέψαν τονε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 25.3
 ἐπουλῆσαν τὰ γονικά τοὺς πράγματα (1672, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 5, 17.12–13) (but ἐπούλησαν *ibid.* 17.22)
 ἐπουλῆσαν τα τοῦ γουμένου (1687, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 20, 53.9)

Deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from southern/south-western areas, but mostly in forms that present a shift of the stress to the penultimate, in all likelihood in order to distinguish them from proparoxytone 1 sg. forms in -α (for details see I, 3.7.2.2.1):

- ἐθέκα τὸν μάστρε Ἀντώνη τὸν γιατρό (1389, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 3, 89.2)
 μ' ἀναστεναγμούς, ὅπ' ὅλους ἐπικράνα FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 12
 καὶ ἐτρέξα νὰ μποῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 90.14; ἐπαρακαλέσα νὰ βάλῃ κανέναν
 καβαλλάρην *ibid.* 430.7–8
 τίποτες δὲν ἐμολογήσα πως ... VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.13
 καὶ τ' ἄστρα του μετρήσα *Alex. Rim.* 2

- μα ἔδεν τὴν ἐφελῆσα *Apoll. Rim.* A 81; τα λόγια ἔδεν τ' ἀρέσα *ibid.* 82
 δὲν τὴν ἐμεταφέρα *Imb. Rim.* 498; καὶ μέσα τὸν ἐθέσα *ibid.* 825
 ἐπῆρα τοὺς (1570, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 28, f.10v, note 3.5)
 κ' ἂν δὲν τὸν ἐφλακιάσα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.12; ὅλους μᾶς ἐμοιράσα *ibid.* IV.424
 ἐπομείνα κοντέντοι (1573, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17 [later copy], 72.39)
 ἐτιμήσα το (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 35, 53.16)
 ἐζήσαν κι ἐποθάνα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYP., *Pali* 3001 (hapax)
 καὶ τὸ κληρονομῆσα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 323.19; ἀποδεκεῖ ἐκινήσα *ibid.* 323.18
 ὅσοι τῶς ἀπαντήσα *Leilasia Par.* 415

Addition of -(ν)ε can be found in texts from south-western areas (Peloponnese, Crete, Heptanese) and certain Aegean islands (see also I, 2.6.3.3):

- ἐπολεμήσανε τον *Chron. Mor.* H 1674; ἐπροσκομίσανε τα *ibid.* 1840
 καὶ ἐπῆρανε τα (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.II, 302.20.7)
 ἐπουλῆσανε του (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 64.6)
 καθὼς τὸ ἐστιμάρανε (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 33, 176.12)
 καὶ ὠμιλήσανε μαζί τοὺς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.31–26.1; ὠμοφωνήσανε *ibid.* 35.11
 ἐγράφανε GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.11; ἐτίμησανε *ibid.* 91.21; ἐθελήσανε *ibid.* 94.20; ἐφάγανε *ibid.* 96.3
 καὶ ἤλθανε οἱ κλέπτες καὶ μοῦ τὰ ἐπῆρανε ὅλα (1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.9–10)
 καὶ εἶπανε μου *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6; ἐσυνδράμανε ἀντάμα μου *ibid.* 99
 ὅλοι ἐπεθάνανε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.6)
 καὶ τὸ καστέλι ἐπιάσανε ... κι ἀπέτις τὸ νικήσανε ... ἤρθανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 323.17–19
 εἰς τὴν φέδε τοῦ ὁποίου τὰ ἐρεκομαντάρανε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.6–7)
 σὰν τὸν εἶδανε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2861
 ἡγοράσανε (1688, Andros, PASCHALIS 1948: 43.3)
 τὸ ἐκονσιδεράρανε ... καὶ τὸ ἐστιμάρανε (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.1–2)
 τὰ ἐξανακτίσανε (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.3)

Pl.	3	-ασι(ν) ! -ασινε
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The endings -ασι and -αν (see above) alternate freely throughout the MedG and EMG periods, and this alternation is certainly not restricted to verse texts; it is an inherent feature of the language, and not an artificial metrical device (see HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35). Forms in -ασι(ν) can be found throughout our period, with and without final /n/, in texts from all regions:

- ἐποίησασιν (1125, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 96, 125.1)
 ἀμφότεροι ἐλύσασιν τὸν γάμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 232.206)
 τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν *Chron. Mor.* H 2101
 καὶ ὅλας ἐγυρεύσασιν *Dig.* E 84; καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγνωρίσασιν ποσῶς *ibid.* 85
 καθὼς ἐχάλασασιν καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλονικαίους (1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16)
 ὁποῦ ἐκουβαλήσασιν (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.28)
 εὐκαιρέσασιν τὴν χώραν (15th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28, 209.4.3–4)
 καὶ εἶπασιν *Alex. Rim.* 416; ἐτότες ὀρδινιάσασιν *ibid.* 455
 ἐκυνηγήσασιν *Pist. kekoim.* 83
 ἐπαρακαλέσασιν τονε (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.9)

ἐκτίσασι καὶ ἐσκεπάσασι (1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 139, 109.12)
 ἐγράψασι GERMANO, *Grammar* 89.11; ἐτιμήσασι *ibid.* 91.21; ἐθελήσασι *ibid.* 94.20; ἐφάγασι *ibid.* 96.3
 τὰ πετούμενα πουλιά δλα ἐψοφήσασι (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.6–7)
 ἐποθάνασιν οἱ δύο (1695, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1888: B', 249.8)
 ἐχαλάσασι EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.5; ἐτραβήξασι ἴσα στὸν Μορέα *ibid.* 15.5–6

Addition of -(v)ε is likely to have had a wider spread than just Crete and Santorini (see I, 2.6.3.3 for details). A second accent is usually absent, resulting in forms that bear the stress on the fourth syllable from the end. The fact that no examples have been found of oxytone verbs should probably be regarded as a coincidence.

ἐπήγασινε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 66.20 app. crit. (K)
 ἐμνόξασινε σήμερο CHORTATIS, *Panor.* V.151
 μᾶς εἶπασινε πάλι *Rim. Sant.* 416
 ἐνεχώσασινε καὶ ἓνα λείψανο (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 183.112); ἐκοντραφάρασινε τὸ κομανταμέντο (*ibid.* 183.115–16)
 κι ἐπάψασινε οἱ ἔγνοιες μου FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.108
 ἐβγάλασινε (1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 416.8); ἐπήρασινε (1665, *ibid.* 9, 418.7)
 ὁπού ἤρθασινε τόσοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 136.4; ἐβάνασινε σ' ὀρδινιά *ibid.* 151.7
 κ' ἐφέρασινε τοὺς γιατροὺς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1755; μὰ ἐσφάλασινε κι ἄλλες *ibid.* III.1595; κ' εἶπασινε τὰ χεῖλη του *ibid.* V.952

Pl.	3	-ασαν
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This ending, a conflation of -ασιν and -αν, has been found, with barytone verbs only, in a handful of 14th–16th-c. documents that can be securely localized (Cyprus and Epirus), in the Paris version of the *Chronicle of Morea* and in *Diig. Alex. K*, a text that displays northern features:

ἐχαλάσασαν πολλὰ ὀσπίτια (14th c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 27, 206.3.6); ἐπήρασαν τὸ κάστρο (15th c., Cyprus, *ibid.* 28.I, 209.3.3); ἐπήγασαν (*ibid.* 209.4.2); ἐπιάσασαν (*ibid.* 209.7.6); ἐτζακίσασαν (*ibid.* 210.8.4), ἀρχεύσασαν (*ibid.* 210.8.16); ἤρτσασαν εἰς τὰ σπῖτιά τους (*ibid.* 210.8.17); ὅταν ἤπήρασαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν Καλλιπολιν (16th c., Epirus, *ibid.* 71A 158.4.1)
 τὰ πλάγια δλα ἐγέμασαν ... τὰ φουσσάτα *Chron. Mor.* P 5051; ἤλθασαν ὡς ρογάτοροι *ibid.* 8944
 ὅσο σας ἐπήρασαν θέλει το πληρώσει Ἀλέξανδρος *Diig. Alex. K* 347.17

Pl.	3	-ανσι
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The alternation between -αν and -ασι can sporadically lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι, which is likely to be graphematic rather than an existing ending (cf. the imperfect (4.3.1.1) and εἶμαι (4.8.2)): ἐγοράσανσιν το (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 336, 541.6). As becomes clear from the manuscript (Oxford Auct. 24), the following examples in the Oxford version of the *Achilleid* – ἐπεμείνανσι *Achil.* O 295; ἐστήσανσι *ibid.* 405;

ἐπληρώσανσι *ibid.* 707 – are all the result of corrections by the scribe, who first wrote ἐπέμειναν, ἔστησαν, ἐπλήρωσαν and then intended to change the forms into ἐπεμείνανσι, ἐστήσανσι, ἐπληρώσανσι (correcting the accentuation in the first two cases but not in ἐπλήρωσανσι) because he needed an extra syllable. The same appears to be the case in the following example from the *Theseid* in Par. gr. 2898: ἐκρούσανσιν *Theseid* I.77,4 app. crit. (Follieri), where the scribe wrote ἐκρούσαν (with circumflex), and then added -σιν without correcting the accentuation.

4.4.1.2 Residual Thematic Aorist

		Restricted	Rare	Innovative
Sg.	1	εἶπον		εἶπου(ν)
				εἶπου
Pl.	1	εἶπομεν		
	3	εἶπον	εἶποσαν	εἶπου

Of certain verbs, especially βλέπω, ἔρχομαι and λέγω, residual thematic (or second) aorist forms can still routinely be found for 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. in a variety of texts of the LMedG and EMG periods, mainly those that aim for a higher stylistic register and in more formal contexts, and usually alongside the more common forms. Some representative examples are:

1st Person Singular

ἀλλὰ μητρὸς ἀπέλαβον γραφὴν *Dig. G* II.127
 ἐπροσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν (1360, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 49, f.236r.1)
 εἶπον εἰς νοῦν τοιάδε *Ptoch. I* 157
 καταβλαττάς ἂν ἔμαθον *Ptoch. III* 181
 ἓνα αὐθέντην ἔσχον *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 21
 ὡς ἔμαθον ὑστέρου *Liv.* α 1596
 καὶ εἶδα τὰς ἱστορίας ἅπασας ... καὶ εἶδον πόθεν κείμεται *Liv.* V 1017–18
 καὶ τὸ περδίκιν ἔλαβον *Achil.* N 1379
 ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἔφευγον καὶ ἐμπροσθέν μου λειτουργίαν εὗρον *Paroim.* I 75
 ὡς ἔμαθον καὶ ἤκουσα DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 3101
 ὡς λέγω, καὶ ἔλαβον (1520, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 58, 108.11)
 τὴν κόρην τότε ἔλαβον *Dig. A* 2714

In certain texts an innovative variant reminiscent of the old thematic form εἶπον can be found, namely εἶπου, probably on the analogy of the imperfect of oxytone verbs (ἐβάρουν; cf. PANDELIDIS 2011 regarding εἶπουνα, for which see also below). This form has only been found for the verb λέγω, in texts from the Heptanese, Cyprus (see also 3 pl.) and in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv.* N and *Diig. tetr.*) from the 15th c. onwards:

ἀκμήν οὐδόλως εἶπου τα οὐδὲ καυχίστηκά τα *Diig. tetr.* 472 app. crit. (VCA)

καὶ ἀφοῦ τὸ ἐκατάλλαξα καὶ ἐδιάκρινα, τὸν εἶπουν *Liv.* α 2844 app. crit. (N)
 εἶπουν σοῦ το ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 208.30; ὡς γοῖόν σ' αὖς τὸ εἶπουν *ibid.* 668.12–13
 (exclusive form)
 καὶ εἶπουν τοὺς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 264.9, B 265.8 and M 265.7 (almost exclusive)
 διὰ τὲς ποιῆς εἶπουν ἄνωθεν *Fior* 80.19 (reading of I); διὰ ἐκείνον ὅπου εἶπουν ὥδε ἀπάνω
ibid. 83.19–20
 δτ' εἶπουν ἴσου τὴν ζῶν ν' ἀφήσω *Cypr. Canz.* 16.4; also in 76.11, 127.13 and 150.13
 δὲν σοῦ τὸ εἶπουν ἐγὼ *Bertoldos* 12.12
 δὲν σοῦ εἶπουν ἐγὼ *Bertoldin.* 117.24
 τοῦ εἶπουν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.32) (author from Athens)
 σοῦ 'πουν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 623

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in two texts from Cyprus: δὲν το εἶπου κρυφά VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 273.2 app. crit.; διὰ τὲς ποιῆς εἶπου ἄνωθεν *Fior* 80.19 app. crit. (B); ὡς σοῦ εἶπου *ibid.* 90.24–5 app. crit. (I).

Addition of the past-tense ending -α (cf. KOURMOULIS 1956) has been found in 17th- and 18th-c. documents, from Athens and the Peloponnese respectively (cf. the imperfect of oxytone verbs, 4.3.2.1 and see PANDELIDIS 2011): τοῦ εἶπουνα (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.16) (author from Athens); τοῦ εἶπουνα πὼς κάλλιον δώσε μού το ἐμένανε (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1998b: 232.12); τοῦ εἶπουνα ἀκόμη πὼς ... (*ibid.* 232.19).

1st Person Plural

ἐν ταύτῃ κατελάβομεν τῇ ὁρωμένη βρύσει *Dig.* G V.111 and *Dig.* T 1709
 ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, ἐμάθομεν ἀρκούντως GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 45
 γυμνοὶ ἦλθομεν εἰς κόσμον *Spaneas* V 136
 ἦλθομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν *Liv.* α 3426 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βρύσεως τὸ νερόν ἐπιομεν μὴ διψοῦμεν *Liv.* S 1534 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ὡς ἐφάγομεν, ἐκαθήμεθα SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 44.20
 τόπον πολὺν ἐδράμομεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2513
 φουσάτον εἶδομεν πολὺν *Achil.* N 480
 σιγουριτάν ὅπου τοῦ ἐκάμομεν (1542, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1970: 3 [Γ'], 293.11–12)
 εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐπήλθομεν *Dig.* A 2715
 ὡς ἄνωθεν εἶπομεν LANDOS, *Geopon.* 148.14–15

3rd Person Plural

ἀπόλαβον οἱ μοναχοὶ (1125, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 96, 125.3)
 οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ μου εἶδον *Dig.* G VI.409
 καὶ τότε ἔλαβον χαράν *Pol. Tr.* 13524
 ἑκατὸν Παῦλοι ἀπέθανον *Paroim.* H 25
 ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἔφυγον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 998
 ἐξήλθον του γυρεύειν *Diig. Apoll.* 87
 ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μίαν χρυσὴν κούπαν *Vios Aisop.* E 293.25
 ἔφερον τόνδε Μανουῆλον (1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 2, 4.6–7)
 οὐκ εἰσῆλθον διὰ νὰ μὴ μianθοῦν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 367.4–5
 ἔλαβον καὶ ἐφαγαν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 104.6
 ὡς δὲ ἔπιον δύο καὶ τρεῖς φορές *Vios Aisop.* K 172.22
 τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὅπου ἔλαβον ἀπὸ δαύτους *Bertoldin.* 169.2

ἔμαθον μερικὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι LANDOS, *Geopon.* 130.24
 θάνατον ἔξαφνα ἔλαβον IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6611

The Cypriot *Tale of Apollonios* has a form εἶπουν, which is rather more common for 1 sg. (see above for discussion): στέκονται ἄνδρες βλέπουν τες, τούτον τον λόγον εἶπουν *Diig. Apoll.* 483.

The 3 pl. residual Koine ending -οσαν can occasionally be found in mixed-register texts, especially with the verb ἔρχομαι:

ἀμφότεροι εἰσῆλθοσαν *Dig.* G II.143
 εἰσῆλθοσαν *Pol. Tr.* 2348
 συνήλθοσαν *Velth.* 233 (Cupane); καὶ εἶδοσαν ἀλλήλους *ibid.* 848
 ἀνῆλθοσαν εἰς τὸ φανόν *Dig.* T 2243
 πάντες δὲ συνεξήλθοσαν *Dig.* A 346; τοὺς Ἀραβίτας εὗροσαν *ibid.* 762

4.4.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἐγράφηκα	ἐγράφην	ἐγράφηνα ἐγραφήκα ἐγράφθα
	2	ἐγράφης ἐγράφηκες	ἐγράφηκis	ἐγραφήκες ἐγράφθας
	3	ἐγράφη(ν) ἐγράφηκε(ν)	ἐγράφηνε(ν) ἐγράφηκι(ν) -ῆκε(ν)	ἐγράφθ' ἐγράφθεν ἐγράφεκε(ν) ! -εκι(ν) -ησε(ν) -ηε(ν)
Pl.	1	ἐγράφημεν ἐγράφημαν ἐγραφήκαμε(ν)	ἐγράφηκάμεν -ηκαμι	ἐγράφημε ἐγράφαμεν ἐγράφημα ἐγράφεμεν ἐγράφηκάμαν
	2	ἐγραφήκετε(ν)	ἐγράφητε ἐγράφηκέτε	(ἐγραφήκατε)
	3	ἐγράφησαν ἐγράφηκαν ἐγραφήκασι(ν) ἐγραφήσανε	ἐγράφησα ἐγράφησανε ἐγραφήκα(ν) ἐγραφήκανε ἐγράφθαν	ἐγραφήσαν ἐγράφηκάνε ἐγράφηκασιν

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the passive voice makes use of two sets of endings, the inherited set -ην, -ης, -η(ν), -ημεν, -ητε, -ησαν and an innovative set -ηκα, -ηκες, -ηκε(ν), -ήκαμε, -ήκατε, -ηκαν/-ήκασιν(ν), which appears in written sources from the 13th c. onwards.

The disappearance of the old endings is a gradual process: the first to fall into disuse is 1 sg. -ην, for it had become indistinguishable from 3 sg. -η, which often had an added final /n/. From the 13th c. onwards -ην begins to disappear from common written practice and is replaced by -ηκα. The next ending to fall into disuse is 2 pl. -ητε, which starts to be replaced by -ήκατε from the 15th c. onwards.¹⁰⁷ For 2 sg. -ηκες can be found with βαίνω from at least the 13th c. and in the passive paradigm in manuscripts of the 15th c., whereas 3 sg. -ηκε(ν) appears in texts earlier: with βαίνω, as noted in the introduction, in the 8th/9th c. and for the aorist passive indicative in the 14th c.; but it should be borne in mind that 2nd-person forms are generally much rarer in written texts than 3rd person forms. For 1 pl. and 3 pl. κ-forms begin to appear in manuscripts in the 15th c., with both βαίνω and the passive paradigm.

The above table covers the aorist passive indicative of all barytone and oxytone verbs, including deponent verbs such as γίνομαι (ἐγένην/ἐγίνην, ἐγένηκα/ἐγίνηκα, replacing the aorist middle ἐγενόμην), δέχομαι (ἐδέχθην, ἐδέχθηκα), φαίνομαι (ἐφάνην, ἐφάνηκα) and χαίρομαι (ἐχάρην, ἐχάρηκα), as well as the (active) aorist indicative of certain athematic verbs, namely βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives (ἐβην, ἐβηκα). For alternative aorist active indicative formations of ἐμπαίνω and ἐβγαίνω (ἤμπα and ἤβγα) see 2.4 s.v. βαίνω; for the same, as well as the widespread confusion between the imperfective and perfective stems of γίνομαι (γιν- and γεν- respectively), see 2.4 s.v. γίνομαι.

Distribution of Allomorphs

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	-ην ! -ηνα
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The inherited ending -ην is on its way out by the beginning of the LMedG period, due to the fact that it had become indistinguishable from the 3 sg ending -η(ν) (see below). By the 13th c. -ην will have been largely replaced by the innovative ending -ηκα (see below) in the spoken language, which by then begins to surface in written texts. In the EMG period -ην is mainly found in mixed- and higher-register texts. It is very seldom found without final /n/ (e.g. ἂν οὐκ ἐψήλωσα πουλά καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὰ νέφη *Poulol.* 412 app. crit. (P); ἐγέρθηκα κι ἐντύθη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 124) and, unlike 3 sg., usually not with dissimilated /st/ for /sθ/, /xt/ for /xθ/ or /ft/ for /fθ/ in the passive perfective stem, with a few notable exceptions:

¹⁰⁷ Note that Sofianos (16th c.), who is moderately conservative, only gives forms in -ητε: ἐγράφητε *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 57.18; ἐκρατήθητε *ibid.* 66.19; ἐγελάσθητε *ibid.* 69.9, and actually gives κ-forms only for 1 sg. (ἐγράφθηκα, ἐκρατήθηκα, ἐγελάσθηκα) and once, by a slip of the pen, for 1 pl. (ἐκρατήθηκαμε), whereas Germano (17th c.) for 2 pl. only gives forms in -ήκατε.

εἶδα το καὶ ἐξενίστην το *Liv.* E 117; (τὴν καταδίκην ...) τὴν ἑκατεδικάστην *Liv.* V 399; γονεῖς τε καὶ τὴν πίστιν μου ὡς διὰ σέ ἡρνήστην *Dig.* T 361. Forms in -ην of βαίνω and its prefixed derivatives are very rare, because this group of verbs had started to adopt the -ηκα ending a few centuries earlier (see 2.2.1.10.1):

τὰς ἀγίας ἐδουλώθην γραφὰς ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 208.15–16; ἐγχειρίσθην *id.*, *Logos* 31 812.18
οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθην *Dig.* G V.230
ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπεγράψην (1262, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 14, 7.18)
ἐξ ὧν ἐπαραγγέλθην *Pol. Tr.* 215; νὰ ἐστράψην *ibid.* 379 app. crit. (X)
εἶδα το καὶ ὀρέχθην το *Liv.* V 2335
καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἑκατεδέχθην το *Dig.* E 1253
καὶ εἰς ὕπνον ἐκορέσθην *Liv.* E 2683
ἐπεὶ ὀρίσθην ἐγὼ Γεώργιος Παλαιολόγος ὁ Καντακουζηνός (1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.4)
νὰ ἔρηνήθην *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 50; ἀπεκρίθην *ibid.* 509
λίθος ἐγένην, μάννα μου, ἀκίνητος ἐστάθην [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1179
καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 20; νὰ κατεβῶ ἐβιάσθην *ibid.* 53
πολέμησα, τσακίσθην *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 975
ὁ καιρὸς οὐοῦ ἐξυπνίσθην *Vios Ioann. Eleim.* 266.18
καὶ χάριν σοῦ ὁμολογῶ, διὰ σοῦ ἐβαπτίσθην *Dig.* T 656
καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκριθην (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.15)
π' ὁλος ἐμεταστάθην *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 1; μεγάλως ἐξεπλάγην *ibid.* 249

καὶ μὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ ἵππου ἐπέβην *Dig.* G VI.186
ἐξέβην ἀπὸ λύπης μου *Liv.* E 10
λοιπὸν ἀνέβην στὸ δένδρον BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 37 (same in V)
τὴν γῆν ἐφευγα καὶ ἐδιέβην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 149.6
φαρὶν ἐκαβαλλίκευσα, ἐξέβην εἰς τὸν κάμπον *Dig.* A 3069

Addition of the active 1 sg. past-tense ending -α occurs occasionally. Forms in -ηνα are supposedly characteristic of certain parts of Asia Minor, if we are to believe Pachomios Rousanos:

καὶ αἰχμάλωτος ἐδιάβηνα κόσμον πολὺν καὶ χώραν *Liv.* E 3992
εκολλήθηνα *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 384 app. crit.
ὡς δὲ Ἀρτακήσιοι καὶ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐδάρθηνα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Πόντιοι ἐδάρθην, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν
ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον ἐδάρθηκα λέγουσιν *PACH. ROUS., Peri ofel.* 36.4

Sg.	1	-ηκα ! -ῆκα
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The innovative 1 sg. ending -ηκα first appears in writings of the 13th c. (possibly 12th c. in the case of βαίνω, but the manuscript of *Ptoch. I* is 14th-c.), and can subsequently be found in texts from most areas, from north to south and from east to west:

ἀνέβηκα καὶ ἐκάτσα *Ptoch. I* 131; εἰσέβηκα τὴν θύραν καβαλάρης *ibid.* 130
οὐδ' εἰς αὐλὰς ἐσέβηκα τοῦ δεινός *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 17
ἐπεξέβηκα *Dig.* E 1441
ἐνέβηκα εἰς τὰ νέφη *Poulol.* 412 app. crit. (E)
ἀνέβηκα εἰς τὸ ξύλον τὸ αἰνῆτικον (1416, Lesbos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 31.1, 223.4.2)

ἐδιέβηκα *Diig. Alex. F 70.1* (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐσέβηκα εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 335.2)
 ἐμετέβηκα (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 83.1)

ἐμνήστηκα *Jonas 215.57*; ἐτάχτηκα *ibid.* 215.60
 πρὸς ὦραν ἐθυμώθηκα *ANAGN., Stich. pol. 12*
 ἐχάθηκα γὰρ σὲν *SULT. WALAD, Poem III 4*
 ἦρτε με ἡ ἀγάπη σου, κἀκα παράταιρα *RUMI, Poem III 4*
 ἐρμάστηκα μὲ τὴν κόρην τοῦ κυρ-Θεοδώρου (14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1956: [4], 40.2)
 ὁδηγήθηκα (1350–17, Athos?, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 130, 45.1)
 κι ὡς ἐπληροφορέθηκα *Chron. Mor. H 1585*; εὐτύς ἐθλίβηκα τοσοῦτως *ibid.* 6066
 ἐξεניתεύτηκα (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.7)
 ἐγεννήθηκα (15th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [50], 38.1)
 ἐχάρηκα (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.1)
 ἀποκρίθηκα *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 464*; ἐτραῖτουρεύτηκα *id., Velis. (Λ) 500*
 ἡγωνίστηκα (1514, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 48, 57.15)
 ἐγίνηκα ολουνοῦ του κόσμου αφέντης *Diig. Alex. K 361.12*
 δὲν ἐχρειάστηκα πλεὶς τίβοτας (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.31)
 ἐγένηκα παπα-Στεφάν (16th–17th c.?, Macedonia?, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 2166, f.54,1)
 ἐγεννήθηκα *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §2.1*; ἐδάρθηκα *ibid. I §20.2*
 ὄσον ἐδυνήθηκα, ἐφυλάχθηκα *LANDOS, Geopon. 131.38*
 ὅλος ἐμεταστάθηκα *VEST., Prol. Theot. 249*

First person singular forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate are quite common for prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμπαίνω, ἐμπήκα; ἐβγαίνω, ἐβγήκα), for which see 2.2.1.10.1. For passive forms it is very rare, and clearly metre-induced in the Chiot play (the accentuation in the Cypriot document is not entirely reliable): ἐπανδρευτήκα (1573, Famagusta, CONSTANTINIDES 1988: 172, f.146r.1); πολὺ ἐθαυμαχτήκα *VEST., Prol. Theot. 400*.

Sg.	1	-α
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An as yet unpublished 14th-c. manuscript containing a Judaeo-Greek glossary of uncertain provenance (probably from Asia Minor; ms Evr. IIA 1980, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)) preserves forms in -α, which consist of the passive perfective stem and the active past ending -α (cf. 2 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl in -ας, -εν, -αμεν and -αν respectively):¹⁰⁸ ἐτσακίστα *Prophets gloss. f.32r, l. 1*; ἐτυθρωπτάχτα *ibid. l. 2* (the last form possibly from σκυθρωπιάζω, after various phonological alterations; see KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)).

¹⁰⁸ The use of active endings for the aorist passive is a morphological feature typical of (modern) Pontic (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 29–30; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1958: 283–4), and also partly of Cappadocian (for 1 sg. and pl. and 3 sg. and pl. only: DAWKINS 1916: 144–6, 190–1), and it may well have been more widespread in the period covered by this Grammar. To this day Pontic does not make use of the innovative κ-forms, which makes the supposed Pontic origin of the Russian–Greek conversation book edited by VASMER 1922, as advocated by TZITZILIS 1999, perhaps unlikely, since it has quite a few instances of 1 sg. -ηκα.

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	-ης
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The inherited ending -ης continues to be used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, even after the appearance of the new ending -ηκες (see below), not only in verse texts, which benefit from the different stress patterns the two forms present (e.g. πάντης μὴ ἐφαντάχτης *Liv. V 1197*, verse end, and καὶ τί τὸν τὸ ἐφαντάκτηκες *ibid.* 1206, before the caesura), but also in prose and non-literary texts. The following observation by Girolamo Germano indicates that it remained in use in the spoken language as well: dicono ἐγράφηκες, & ἐγράφης *GERMANO, Grammar 80.15–16*. Some representative examples are:

ἀφότου ἐξέβης *Chron. Mor. H 5543*
 ἐξέβης ἡ κυρ' ἄλωποι νὰ μὰς φιλοσοφήσης; *Diig. tetr. 204*
 ἂν ἐπαρακατέβης *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 635*
 πότε ἐξέβης; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 144.1d–2d)
 πῶς ἐκατέβης σύμψυχος *BERGADIS, Apok. V 79* (same in A)
 ὁπότε ἐξέβης, μιὰρὲ *Spanos D 346*
 πῶς ἐσέβης; *Apoll. Rim. E 241*
 ἐδώθης πῶς διέβης; *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voev. 669* (Pidonia)
 ἐδιάβης (1663, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 39, 136.4)
 ἀκόμη οὐκ ἐγεμίστης *GLYKAS, Stichoi 184*; ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης *ibid.* 199
 ἐρνήθης *Dig. E 253*; ἐπαραβραδιάστης *ibid.* 856
 ἐπαραγγέλθης *Pol. Tr. 629*
 καὶ ἐγίνης *Poulol. 94*; καὶ ἐγένης *ibid.* 292
 ἐπαρνήθης *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd. 181*; ἐγίνης *ibid.* 211
 οὐδὲν ἐκατεγνωρίστης (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 281–2)
 ὑποσχέθης (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 3, 133.65)
 ἀρνήστης *Katal. 276*
 ἐσοῦ νοιάστης *Cypr. Canz. 119.1*
 βλέπε ὅτι λαθάστης *Fyll. gadar. 30d*
 ἐστράφης (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 4, 260.6)
 ἐχθρεύτης *AITOLOS, Voev. 308*
 γὴ ἐκουζουλάθης, κρίνω *CHORTATIS, Panor. II.560*
 ἐσύ ὁπού ἐγεννήθης *Bertoldin. 116.21*
 πῶς ἀξιώθης καὶ ἦλθης νὰ τες ἰδεῖς *Don Kis. 47.4*; ἀφού ἐγεννήθης *ibid.* 177.31

Sg.	2	-ηκες ! -ήκες ! -ηκίς
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The innovative ending -ηκες can be found from at least the 13th c. (ms date of Glykas) with βαίνω, and from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv. V* and *Pol. Tr.*) with other verbs. It is often found alongside the inherited ending -ης.

καὶ ὥσει σκιά διέβηκες *GLYKAS, Stichoi 199*
 ἐπαραξέβηκες *Dig. E 267*
 ἐξέβηκες ἀπὸ τὸν ὀρισμὸν μου *Pol. Tr. 9331*
 νὰ διὰβηκες *Liv. E 1402*
 μέσα στὸ σπῖτι σέβηκες *Alex. Rim. 2352*

ἀνέβηκες, υἱέ μου, κι ἐκαρφώθης *Thrinus Kypr.* 115

καὶ τί 'τον τὸ ἐφαντάκτηκες *Liv.* V 1206; τὰ με ὀργίστηκες πολλὰ 'ταν *ibid.* 1897

ἐκαταδέχθηκες *Pol. Tr.* 340; ποτὲ νὰ μὴ με ἀρνήθηκες *ibid.* 389

ἐντροπιάστηκες *Achil.* L 1023

λέγει: κακὰ ἀπεσώθηκες *Florios* 1753

τὸ ἀπὸ ποῦ ἐγεννήθηκες *Imber.* 762

ἐφανίστηκες *ERMON., Ilias* 20.319

ἐνελέκτηκες *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 15 (< ἀναλέγω)

ἐσυνετάγηκες *Byz. Il.* 100

σὺ γὰρ ἐκρυβήθηκες *Spanos A* 117; καὶ ὑβρίστηκες *ibid.* 397

κρίνω κι ἐγίνηκες ἔχθρὸς *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 72

Χριστέ μου, ποῦ πουλήθηκες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 639

ἐτζενιάστηκες *Cypr. Canz.* 150.8

ἐρνήθηκες *MOREZINOS, Klini* 75.31

πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογιῆς *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

τὸ θαῦμα ὅπου ἐγίνηκε σὲ δαῦτον *Thavn. Nikon Metan.* V 39–40

ἀντιστάθηκες *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.362

ἐδάρθηκες, ὑβρίστηκες *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 246

Forms with /i/ in the final syllable bear witness to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4):
ἐφοβήθηκες (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 65.30).

Second person singular forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate are quite common for prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμπαίνω, ἐμπήκες; ἐβγαίνω, ἐβγήκες), for which see 2.2.1.10.1. For passive forms this is very rare, and clearly metre-related in the following example (verse end): καὶ δὲν ἐφοβηθῆκες *Alex. Rim.* 964.

Sg.	2	-ας
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A form in -ας can be found in a 14th-c. Judaeo-Greek glossary that is probably from Asia Minor (to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)). The form consists of the passive perfective stem and the active past ending -ας (cf. 1 sg., 3 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl in -α, -εν, -αμεν and -αν respectively): ἡγωνίστας *Kings II gloss.* f.9r, l. 7.

3rd Person Singular

Sg.	3	-η(ν) -ηνε(ν)
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The inherited ending -η(ν) continues to be used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, alongside the innovative ending -ηκε(ν) (see below), not only in verse texts, which profit from the different stress patterns of the two forms (e.g. καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν ἀπεσώθηκεν *Dig. E* 845 first hemistich, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθην *ibid.* 1120 second hemistich) (see HINTERBERGER 2001, esp. 227–35), but also in prose and non-literary texts, with and without final /n/:

ἐξέβην ναὶ καὶ ἠνώθην σε *Eisit.* f.4r.1

κάτω εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐσέβην *Chron. Toc.* 3382

ἂν συνέβη τίποτας (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.13–14)

ἐσέβη ὡς λοντάρι *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua* XI.187

ἐσυνέβη *Don Kis.* 142.26

ἀπεδείχθη *NIKON, Logos* 31 813.35

ἐπαρεδόθη τὸ μῆλον αὐτὴν (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 23, 10.5)

ἐσυμβιβάστην οὕτως *Chron. Mor.* H 4328

ἐκέινον τὸ ἐπροσφέρτην νὰ ποιήσῃ *Assizes B* 461.19

δλη κατεζουλίστην *Dig. E* 1560

ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ (1409, Lesvos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 31.I, 224.5.1)

ἐστέφθην ὁ ρέ Γκὴ ... ὁ ποῖος ἀρμάστην με τὴν κυρὰν Σιμβύλλαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 18.22–3; ἀρχεῦτην ἡ μάχη *ibid.* 206.28

ἐστιμαρίστην (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 175, 176.5)

ἐνεφανίστη (1602, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 8, 162.4–5)

ἔνας δὲν εὐρέθη νὰν σὲ θαρσάπη (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26)

ἔτζι ἐμαζώχτην ἡ χώρα καὶ ἐγίνην μεγάλη *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §29.23

ὁ Μπραῖμης ἐζουρλάτην *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4218a

ἐγράφη (1661, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 42, 315.3)

ὑπανδρεύτη (1668, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 12, 27.8–9)

οὐδὲ ἐντράπη (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 217.56)

ἐπειδὴ ... νὰ ἐσυνουσιάστη ... με λόγου της (1685, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 68, 275.13–14)

ἀποκρίθη ὁ δὸν Κισότης *Don Kis.* 46.11; ἐστάθη μὴ κορασίδα γλωσσού *ibid.* 150.21

Addition of the active past-tense ending -ε(ν) occurs in several texts from various areas:

ἐπήρθηεν, ἐθράσυνεν *Chron. Toc.* 1795

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐσέβηνεν ὁ θάνατος *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.30

ὁ κράλης με ἀποκρίθηεν (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 58.5) (author from Athens)

τὸ πῶς εὐρέθηεν ἐκεῖ *Dig. O* 2312

ὁ σκώθηεν κι ὁ τταχρικὴς *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 563

Sg.	3	-ηκε(ν) -ηκι(ν) -εκε(ν) -εκι(ν) -ῆκε(ν)
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The new ending -ηκε(ν) appeared with βαίνω before the start of the period covered by this Grammar (a first attestation was found in an 8th/9th-c. text, see 2.2.1.10.1), and from at least the 14th c. (ms date of *Log. parig.* L) with other verbs. It is often found, with or without final /n/, alongside the inherited ending -η(ν):

συνέβηκεν (1023, S. Italy, Guillou/Holtzmann 1961: 2, 27.3)

ἐπέβηκεν τοῦ ἵππου *Dig. G* IV.759

διέβηκεν ὡς ἀστραπή *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 357

καὶ μέσα νὰ ἐκατάβηκεν *Ptoch. IV* 191

ἐσέβηκεν τοὺς δύο *Log. parig.* L 40

ἐσυγκατέβηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 609

ἐκατέβηκεν κυρ-Δημήτριος ὁ Ράλης (14th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.I, 245.18CP.1–2)

ὁ πρῶτος ὅπου ἐσέβηκεν *Velis.* χ 223

καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ξέβηκεν *Chron. Toc.* 881

ἐπαρέβηκε τὴν ἐντολὴν *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 3, γ7r.17 (1561)

καὶ ὡς ἀπεχαιρετίσθηκεν *Log. parig.* L 330 (Lambros)

ἀφῶν ἦρτεν ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πικρώθηκεν *SULT. WALAD, Poem I* 12; κάτω στὴ γῇ ἐπιδάστηκεν *ibid.* 15

εὐρέθηκεν *Chron. Mor.* H 160; κι ὡς ἐπληροφορέθηκεν *ibid.* 1469

ἠκούστηκεν (14th c., Asia Minor, DARROUZÈS 1964a: [33], 37.1)

ὅς ἐδυνήθηκε *Pol. Tr.* 28; μεγάλως τὸ ἐχάρηκεν *ibid.* 75; οὗτος τὸν ἀπεκρίθηκεν *ibid.* 106
 ἐκρύβηκεν *Velis.* χ 352
 καὶ ἐφάνηκεν τῶν δύο κριτάδων (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.12–13)
 ἐπεριπλάκηκεν τὸν *Achil.* N 1159
 οὐλὴ ἡ σπορὰ ἐχάθηκεν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 1.23–4; πάλιν ἐστράφηκεν *ibid.* 148.15
 κ' ἐκεῖνος ἐγλυκάθηκεν *SACHLIKIS, Symvoules* 203 transcr. P (Lendari)
 ἀμουρεύτηκεν μιᾶς καλογριᾶς *Fior* 147.9
 ἐγράπτηκε (17th c., Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 59, 317.1)
 ἐδιαμοιράσθηκεν *Bertoldin.* 107.24–5
 ἐχύθηκε καταπάνου τοὺς *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 17.28; ἐγίνηκε ἀμάχη φοβερὴ *ibid.* 22.1
 ἐκάγηκε *Leilasia Par.* 556

Third person singular forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have only been found of prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμπαίνω, ἐμπήκε; ἐβγαίνω, ἐβγήκε), influenced by the active κ-aorist of verbs such as ἀφήνω, δίδω, εὐρίσκω, θέτω, which also have both paroxytone and proparoxytone forms (e.g. ἀφήκα and ἄφηκα, εὐρήκα and εὔρηκα). For details see 2.2.1.10.1.

Forms with /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable are phonetic variants, which reflect raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4): ἀποδάρθηκε *Chron. Toc.* 254 app. crit. (V); δὲν ἐβγήκε πρᾶμα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 59.8); μὴ γράφεις πῶς χάθηκιν ὁ κόσουμος (1698, *ibid.* 8, 70.33–4) (κόσουμος = κόσμος, see I, 2.6.2). Forms with /e/ for /i/ in the first syllable of the ending may be viewed as a form of hypercorrection (see I, 2.5.4.3): ἀποκρίθηκεν ὁ Ζώτος (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.13–14); ἐπιστόθηκε (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 66.31).

Sg.	3	-ε(ν)
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A 14th-c. Judaeo-Greek glossary that is probably from Asia Minor (to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)), a document from Pontos (Trebizond area), one from the Crimea and one from Thessaly (provenance of the author unknown) all preserve forms in -ε(ν), which consist of the passive perfective stem and the active past ending -ε(ν) (cf. 1 sg., 2 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. forms in -α, -ας, -αμεν and -αν respectively):

ἐκτίσθε ἐκ βόθρου καὶ ἰσθόρηθε (1306, Trebizond, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEFS 1886: 114.19)
 ἐκυλίστην *Kings II gloss.* f.10v, l. 6–7 margin; μεταμελήθεν *Jeremiah gloss.* f.33v, l. 9;
 ἐμεταλλάχτην *Samuel gloss.* f.4v, l. 6 supralinear; ἐπεβάλθεν *ibid.* f.4v, l. 15 supralinear
 ἐστάθεν (15th c., Pontos, ALEXAKIS/MAVROMATIS 2015: 5, 12.8); ἐπεδέβεν / ἐπεδαβεν (*ibid.* 12.10–11) (< ἀποδαβαίνω; see LAMPSIDES 1935: 18)
 ἐδῆβεν ἀπὲ τὸν τόπον (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.5) (< διαβαίνω)
 ἐγεννήθεν ἡ θεγατέρα μου (1508, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 4, back.2) (ed. ἐγέννηθεν)

Sg.	3	-ηε(ν)
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This ending is rare and has only been found with the deponent verbs χαίρομαι and φαίνομαι. VAN GEMERT (1973: 325–6 and 1980: 174–5) suggests it is formed by analogy with the imperfect ending -ειε(ν), but it cannot be excluded that this is simply the addition of the active ending -ε(ν) to the passive form in -η, given that it only occurs with deponent verbs, which have passive morphology but active meaning: ἐχάρηεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου *FALIEROS, Erot.*

En. 101; δὲ μοῦ φάνηε νὰ κινήσω *Dim. poiim.* 4.10 (ed. φάνειε);¹⁰⁹ ἐχάρηε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 40.17, 138.8 and elsewhere.

Sg.	3	-ησε(ν)
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These 3 sg. forms occur only with βαίνω. The “ending” consists of the old ending -η + aoristic formant {s} + active ending, and has probably been modelled on the inherited 3 pl. ending -ησαν: τί ἐστιν ἡ χρεῖα, ἡ ἐσυνέβησέ σοι; (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 179.1d); κι ἀπὸ τὸ σκάμμα τὸ πολὺ, ἐσήκωνεν ἡ σκόνη | τόσο ψηλά, <κ> ἐσέβησε <σ> τὰ σπῖτια καὶ κουκλώνει *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 279.13–14.

Sg.	3	-Ø
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A rare form in which the unstressed vowel of the ending is deleted has been found in a document from Pontos (Trebizond area) (cf. OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 318 for the modern dialect): ἀνεκαινίσθ' καὶ ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ (17th c., Pontos, VEIS 1939: 15, f.2.6).

1st Person Plural

PL	1	-ημεν -ημε -ημαν -ημα -εμεν
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The inherited ending -ημεν is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, alongside new endings which begin to appear during the LMedG period (see below). They occur in verse texts, prose and non-literary texts from all areas, though they are rarely used in Cretan and Cypriot literature:

ἐκατέβημεν *Dig.* E 509
 ἐσέβημεν *Pol. Tr.* 7937
 μίλιν ἐπαρεξέβημεν *Liv.* V 3007
 τὸ ποῦ ἐσέβημεν βαθεᾶ *Chron. Toc.* 3916
 ἡμέρα τρίτη ἐκατέβημεν (1610, Athos, KADAS 1988: 100, 336.26); ἀνέβημεν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου (*ibid.* 336.28)
 ἐνέβημεν *Diig. Sant.* 57.13–14
 ἐπαρεχωρήθημεν καὶ ἐδουλώθημεν *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.22
 πόρρωθεν ἐκαθέστημεν ὑποκάτω εἰς δένδρον *Dig.* G VI 309
 ὑπεγράφημεν (1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 25, 11.20)
 ἐξεδιαλέχθημεν *Arm.* 62
 ἡὐφράνθημεν ὀλίγον *Liv.* V 2471; ὀλίγον ἐκοιμήθημεν *ibid.* 3746
 οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν νὰ κάμωμε ἔργον τέτοιον *Pol. Tr.* 7941
 ἐσμίχθημεν τὰ Ἄλβανα τοῦ τόπου *Chron. Toc.* 1826; καὶ πάλιν ἐβαρέθημεν *ibid.* 2717
 ἀπεσώθημεν εἰς τὴν Αἶνον (1416, Lesbos, SCHREINER 1975/79: 31.I, 223.4.3–4)
 προνοήθημεν (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.12)
 γραφὴν ἐδέχθημεν *Diig. Apoll.* 102; καὶ ταῦτα ἐξηγήθημεν *ibid.* 866
 καὶ ονομάσθημεν αυθέντες *Diig. Alex.* K 352.1–2; ὑψώθημεν ἕως τὸν οὐρανόν *ibid.* 367.3

¹⁰⁹The editor interprets the form as an imperfect (“it did not occur to me”), but an aorist reading (“it never once occurred to me [before Eros shot his arrow]”) is more likely, especially since the form is derived from the perfective stem of the verb.

ἐβεβαιώθημεν SOFIANOS, *Tre tiranni* 207
 ἐσάστημεν νὰ γενῇ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 12, 14.19); ἐσυμβιβάστημεν
 (ibid. 19, 19.7)
 ἐκοπρομετέριστημεν (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 65, 50.8–9) (<
 Ital. *comprometterei*)
 dico no ... ἐγραφήκαμεν, & ἐγράφθημεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–18
 εφοβήθημεν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 164 (Pidonia)
 δὲν ἐδυνήθημεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.19
 ἐπαραξενίστημεν *Diig. Sant.* 55.69; ἐμαζεύτημεν πολλοί ibid. 56.5

Deletion of final /n/ is not very common, but occurs occasionally in texts from various areas:

πάντες γυμνοὶ ἐγεννήθημε *Spaneas* V 136 app. crit.
 μὲ χαράν τὰ ἐδέχθημε *Diig. Alex.* F 220.22 (Lolos)
 τὸ ἐπιστώθημε ἀπὸ εὐλαβῶν χριστιανῶν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.22; ἐπληροφόρηθημε ἀπὸ
 πιστὸν ἀνθρώπων ibid. I §31.71–2; καὶ ἰσάστημε ibid. I §30.3
 ἐσυβάστημε νὰ τοῦ δώσω (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.2–3) (see I,
 3.7.2.2.2)

With /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable, this ending appears in texts from southern areas such as S. Italy, the Heptanese, Crete, the Peloponnese, Cyprus, and in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv. N*, *Diig. Alex. V*) from at least the 13th c. onwards:

ἐδιάβημαν *Chron. Mor.* H 6742
 ἐκατέβημαν *Dig.* E 250
 ὅτι ἀπεδὰ ἐξέβημαν *Liv.* E 4071
 κλεισούρες ἐδιέβημαν *Liv.* α 2868 app. crit. (N)
 ἀφὸν ἐδιέβημαν *Diig. Alex.* V 65.9
 καὶ ἔβημαν ἀπέκει *Theseid* X.21,1 (1529)
 ἐσέβημαν *Diig. Alex.* F 30.9 (Konstantinopulos)
 τότε ἐξέβημαν *Alex. Rim.* 2047
 ἐδιάβημαν (1546–51, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 26, 65.29)
 ἐκατέβημαν MOREZINOS, *Klini* 65.5
 ἀπεξενώθημαν (1235–6, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 49, 252.18)
 ἀμφοτέροι συνηρέσθημαν (ca. 1290, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1977: 84, 61.11) (< συναρέσκω)
 διὰ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐτράπημαν *Chron. Mor.* H 5129
 οὐκ ἐφοβήθημαν *Dig.* E 193 app. crit.; ἐπαραβραδιάστημαν ibid. 338; ἀπότι ἀναπαύθημαν
 ibid. 1719
 ἐκδικήθημαν *Pol. Tr.* 787 app. crit. (V); ἐστράφημαν ibid. 8832 app. crit. (BC)
 ἦτζου ἐστάθημαν κουντέντε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.29–30; ἐκοιμήθημαν ibid. 652.34
 ἐλευθερώθημαν *Theseid* X.21,1 (1529)
 τοὺς θεοὺς δεθήθημαν *Alex. Rim.* 623; πάλι ἐφοβήθημαν ibid. 1676
 ἐποπληρώθημαν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 175, 176.6)
 ημεῖς τόσον ἐχάρημαν ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 146.8
 διὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐλείπητημαν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μας τούτην *Pist. kekoim.* 126
 ἐθαυμάστημαν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.8)
 καὶ εὐρέθημαν σὲ σύνοδον (1613, Mani, LASKARIS 1957: 2, 308.6); καὶ ἐχάρημαν (ibid. 308.11)
 ἐβρέθημαν *Rim. Sant.* 254
 καὶ δικαίωθημαν (1679, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 16, 41.27–8); ἐκουτενταρίστημαν (1692, ibid.
 26, 65.14–15)

Deletion of final /n/ is quite rare: ἐξολοθρεύθημα τελείως (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.9); ἐκουκλώθημα *P&N Diath.* 625; ἐστάθημα φιδελισμοί (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.17).

Forms with /e/ for /i/ in the first syllable of the ending are very rare. The change is probably due to assimilation (see I, 2.8.5): ἐλυπήθημεν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1803) (for the same ending with the active imperfect, in the same text, see 4.3.1.1; with the active aorist in a document from the Peloponnese, see 4.4.1.1).

Pl.	1	-ήκαμε(ν) ! -ηκάμεν ! -ηκαμ ! -ηκάμαν
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The innovative ending -ήκαμε(ν) has not been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv. V*). It is absent from 14th-c. works such as the *Chronicle of Morea* and appears only once in one isolated 16th-c. ms of the *War of Troy*:

ἐσεβήκαμεν ἀπέσω *Liv. V* 263
 κλεισούρας ἐδιεβήκαμεν *Liv. S* 1581 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἐδιαβήκαμε *Diig. Alex.* F 222.1 (Lolos); ἐξεβήκαμεν γεροί ibid. 76.12 (Konstantinopulos)
 πάντα μὲ νίκη ἐβγήκαμε CHORTATIS, *Erof. Intern.* IV.17
 καὶ ἐκατέβήκαμε κάτου PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.44
 ἐμεταβήκαμεν (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 82.5)
 πάλιν ἐβουλευτήκαμεν *Liv. V* 603
 ἐσυναχθήκαμεν τὰ τρία μοναστήρια (1481–96, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1984: 61, 313.1)
 ὅτι ἐφοβήκαμεν τοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 7468 app. crit. (B) (hapax)
 ὅλες ὀρφανιστήκαμε FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 91
 μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐδεκτήκαμεν τὸ ἔλα σας MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 350.3–4
 ἐδεχθήκαμε τα καλὰ *Diig. Alex.* V 41.27; οὐδενὸν βασιλέως ἐγινήκαμεν δημιγέρτες ibid. 65.9–10
 ἰσαστήκαμε (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.20)
 ἐξανασυνιβαστήκαμεν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 52, 55.3)
 ἐγελαστήκαμεν εἰς τὰ λόγια *Vios Aisop.* I 277.18
 ἀποξενωθήκαμε (1620, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 2, 169.13)
 ἰσαστήκαμεν (1639, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 3, 114.45)
 καὶ σκεπαστήκαμεν κ' οἱ δυὸ VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 62
 ἀνασκουμπώθηκαμεν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §32.17
 δὲν ἀποκριθήκαμεν (1669, Central Greece, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 84, 216.19)
 ἐδεχθήκαμεν τοὺς (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9b, 72.13)

The same ending with dual stress, on the fourth and the second syllable from the end, in which the first stress rests on the same syllable as in the singular, can be found in texts of northern provenance. The first accent is sometimes omitted:¹¹⁰

ἐστάθηκαμεν εἰς πόλεμον ... καὶ ὑψώθηκαμεν *Diig. Alex.* K 367.1–2; καὶ ἐξέβηκαμεν γεροί ibid. 370.16
 ἐδιηγήθηκαμεν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2765
 ἔτσι ἀνασκουμπώθηκαμεν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 84.8–9 (Kaftantzis)

¹¹⁰This stress pattern can still be found in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and the Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

ελογαριάστηκάμεν (1690, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURLKA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 21, 14.6)
 εσυνάχθηκάμεν εἰς τὸ κονάκι (1697 [18th-c. copy], Sibiu, TSOURLKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: B I/13,
 f.190r.7)

ὅσα διηγῆθηκάμεν VATATSI, *Periig.* I 495; τόσ' ἀφηγήθηκάμεν *ibid.* 495

With /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable, and with the same columnar stress pattern, the ending occurs in a document of, again, northern provenance (in which the first accent is omitted) (cf. the imperfect of barytone verbs, 4.3.1.1): ελογαριάστηκάμαν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f.2r.19).

In a letter from Thessaloniki we find a form -ηκαμι, which may represent ἐζημιώθηκαμι or ἐζημιώθηκαμι (the original lacks stress notation) and in which the /e/ of the final syllable has become [i] through mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4): ἐζημιώθηκαμι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 8, 70.11–12).

Pl.	1	-αμεν
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Forms with addition of the active 1 pl. past ending -αμεν to the passive perfective stem occur in the Pontic-speaking region of Trebizond and in Crimean Greek in two 15th-c. documents (cf. 1 sg. in -α, 2 sg. in -ας, 3 sg. in -εν and 3 pl. in -αν): ἐσυνεβιβάσταμεν (1435, Pontos, MAVROMATIS/ALEXAKIS 2009: 13, 166.2); τὸ ἔρτιμον τὸ δικό σας ἐχάραμεν το (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168.3–4).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	-ητε
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The inherited ending -ητε is the only available ending during most of the LMedG period, and continues to be in use after the appearance of the new ending -ήκετε, though not very frequently after the 16th c.:

καὶ πότες ἐκατέβητε BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 280 (same in V)

ἀφοῦ ἐπαρέβητε τὸν ὀρισμὸν μου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 184.14

χαρῆτε εἰς τὰ ἐπικράνητε *Log. parig.* L 668

ἐβάλθητε εἰς σκάνταλα *Chron. Mor.* H 3746; ἀν ἐμαχίστητε *ibid.* 3774

καὶ ἐγλήγορα οὐκ εὔρέθητε δλοὶ ἀρματωμένοι *Dig.* E 1712

ποτέ οὐδὲν ἐνικήθητε *Pol. Tr.* 828; ἐβάλθητε *ibid.* 8694; ἀγάπητην ἐβουλήθητε νὰ ποίσετε *ibid.* 8910

ὅτι ποτὲ δὲν ἐφοβήθητε *Achil.* L 310

καὶ ξένοι ὅσοι ἐχάθητε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 39

δὲν ἐκαταδέκτῃτε νὰ πῆτε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 348.29; πῶς ἐστράφητε; *ibid.* 650.23

ἀρνήθητε *Theseid If.* 25,8 (Follieri)

ἐσκιάσθητε ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνάνδρους ... Ἰνδιῶτες *Diig. Alex.* F 72.18–19 (Konstantinopulos)

εσεῖς που δὲν ἐδέκτῃτε ξένον με καλοσύνην DEFAR., *Sos.* 363 (Holton)

ἐπαρτήθητε GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 70

τώρα ὁπού ἐπίετε καὶ εὐφράνητε *Vios Aisop.* K 179.15

εὔρέθητε πλούσοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.37

ὅσοι ἱερεῖς ἐπληρώθητε LANDOS, *Geopon.* 254.24

πῶς ἀδελφοί ἐγίνητε IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2562

ἐβουλήθητε νὰ μὲ παραδώσετε *Alex. Fyll.* 82.22

Pl.	2	-ήκετε(ν) ! ' -ηκέτε
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This innovative ending has not been found before the 15th c., but from the 15th c. onwards it quickly becomes the most common ending for 2 pl.:

ἐβγήκετε ἐκ τὸν ὄρκον *Pol. Tr.* 10157 (hapax)

ὅσον ἐβγήκετε ἀπὸ την Ἀμμόχουστον VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 216.14

ἐβγήκετε *P&N Diath.* 1163

τί ἐβγήκετε νὰ ἰδεῖτε; KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 7.26

ἐσυμβουλευτήκετε CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 226 app. crit. (M); βαλθήκετε *ibid.* 226 app. crit. (B)

ἀναπαυτήκετε SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 87

ἀπαλησμονήθηκετε BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 140

ἐπλερωθήκετε MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 474.4; ποίσετε τὸ ἐννοιαστήκετε *ibid.* 582.32

ἐχαρήκετε *Diig. Alex.* F 22.20 (Konstantinopulos); ἐμαζωθήκετε *ibid.* 42.19

ἀναθραφήκετε μαζί CHORTATSI, *Katz.* V.466; ἐκαταδεχτήκετε *ibid.* V.523; ταχιά νὰ

παντρευτήκετε *id.*, *Panor.* IV.89

ἐγεννηθήκετε *Vios Aisop.* K 201.4

ἀφουκραστήκετε τὰ χαμηλοπωμένα *Stathis* III.571

ἐχαλαστήκετε ἐσεῖς κακῶς ἀπὸ τ' ἐμένα *Dig.* A 3219

ἐσταθήκετε ἡ ἴδια πανουρία *Bertoldin.* 140.6

ἐγραφήκετε GERMANO, *Grammar* 90.14; ἐσταθήκετε *ibid.* 96.26

δὲν μὲ ἐπιμελήθηκετε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Math. 25.43

ἐπεριπλεχθήκετε PAPASYNAD., *Chron. Proem.* §3.4; ἐβουλήθηκετε *ibid.* I §36.186

πῶς ἐπογενήκετε (1650, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: (2), p. 29.2)

ἐσεῖς ἐγενήκετε (1672, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 96, 237.13)

ἐμαζωχτήκετε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.957

Sometimes 2 pl. forms can be found in which the stress falls on the same syllable as in the forms of the singular and the 3rd person plural. In these cases there is always a second stress on the penultimate (cf. 1 pl. act. '-αμεν, 2 pl. act. '-έτε and 1 pl. pass. '-ηκάμεν). Examples have been found in texts from the northern mainland:¹¹¹ δὲν ἐφοβήθηκετε τὸν θεόν; δὲν ἐντράπηκετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; DAM. STOUT., *This., Logos* 13, μ8r.15–16 (1561); ἐβουλήθηκετε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 99.1 (Kaftantzis).

The SMG ending -ήκατε has not been found before the end of the period covered by this Grammar. One single instance in the *Chapbook of Alexander* (17th c.), τὴν σήμερον ἐφοβήθηκατε *Alex. Fyll.* 82.11–12, is in all probability a later modification (the modern edition is based on the Venetian edition of 1750). Several instances of -ήκατε in the modern edition of Damaskinos Stouditis's *Thisavros* (16th c.) are of much later date; the edition of 1561 and even that of 1751 only have forms in -ήκετε (the modern edition is based on a 19th-c. reworking¹¹²).

¹¹¹ This stress pattern still occurs in the modern dialects of Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia and the Pontos (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: B 88).

¹¹² See for instance the baffling presence of the following sentence in *Sermon* 30.239–40: εἶναι ὁλίγη τέχνη τῶν ἀτμοκινήτων μηχανῶν, ἀτμοπλοίων, καὶ σιδηροδρόμων;

3rd Person Plural

Pl.	3	-ησα(ν) -ῆσα(ν) -ησανε -ησανα -ῆσανε
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The inherited ending -ησαν is used frequently throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, alongside the new κ-endings, which begin to appear in writing in the 15th c. (see below). The old ending is used in verse texts, prose and non-literary texts:

ἐκατέβησαν ἕως τὴν Πρέβεζα (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 483.7.2)
ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.14
κι ἐβγησαν *Thrinios Kypr.* 66 ms; οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐμπησαν *ibid.* 769
ἐμπησαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 643

ἠύρεθησαν (1062, Sicily, ROGNONI 2004: 11, 117.2)
οἰκονομήθησαν NIKON, *Logos* 31 812.10; ἐσυνάχθησαν καὶ ἐγράφησαν *ibid.* 814.11
τὰ μάρμαρα ἠφανίσθησαν *Ptoch.* I 76
ἐσυμπαθήστησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 2719; ὅσα καὶ γὰρ ἐγίνησαν *ibid.* 2817
ἐκαύσθησαν *Dig.* E 300; ἀπομαζώχθησαν *ibid.* 1317
εὔρεθησαν (1481–96, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1984: 61, 313.6)
ἐπίδασθησαν καὶ ἐφούρκισαν τοὺς (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 96.6)
πολλὰ ἀγγαλέστησαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 114.34; ἐθυμώθησαν *ibid.* 248.30–1
ἐκρύβησαν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* I.100
τότε ἐνθυμήθησαν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.35; δὲν ἐφοβήθησαν *ibid.* 340.19
ἐκρουσεύθησαν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 177, 177.4)
ἀναπαύθησαν (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 340.12)
ἐστημαρίστησαν διὰ δουκάτα ιη' (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 117, 115.6);
αὐτὰ ἐντελιβραρίστησαν (*ibid.* 209, 209.9)
ἐκυβερνήθησαν (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.34)
ἐξοδιάστησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχονταρῖκι (1607–8, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 17, 78.2–3)
dicono ... ἐγραφήκανε, & ἐγράφησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 80.15–19
ἔκαμα καὶ σκοτώθησαν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 44
τὰ σιτάρια ἐκάησαν (1713, Chios, LAMBROS 1910: 351, 209.14)
ονομάσθησαν *Don Kis.* 46.35

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in literary texts from Crete and Cyprus, and texts of uncertain provenance. In Cypriot verse texts it usually occurs at the verse end or before the caesura. When the verb form is followed by a word starting in /n/ (typically νά), the omission of final /n/ may be viewed as a form of haplography (see the examples from Machairas and *Diig. Alex. F*). In non-literary sources it has been found in texts from south-western areas and certain Aegean islands.

οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐβήσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν Πόλιν *Anak. Konst.* 28 app. crit. (P)
ἐδιάβησαν τ' αμαξία VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 82.11
καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐβήσαν *Apoll. Rim.* A 1569
καὶ διὰβησαν τὴν ὥρα *Apoll. Rim.* N 884

ἐτελειώθησαν τὰ στηθεῖα (1079, Mani, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 47, 306.1)
ἐστάθησαν νὰ διαφεντευτοῦν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 312.23–4; ἐσυνπιάστησαν νὰ δοῦν *ibid.* 321.28–9
τοὺς ἀγαπήσασιν ποτὲ καὶ γράφησαν *Cypr. Canz.* 97.44
καὶ κεί του ἐθυμήθησαν *Apoll. Rim.* A 430; τότε ἐξελυτρώθησαν *ibid.* 1566

ὀρθώθησαν νὰ πολεμήσουν *Diig. Alex. F* 24.5 (Lolos) (hapax; haplography)
τα σωθικά μου εσφάγησαν CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.170 app. crit. (N); ποιοι λογισμοὶ
ἐγεννήθησαν *ibid.* V.75
ἐτιμήθησαν ὑπὸ ... (1603, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 5, 21.16)
ἐγίνησαν ξύδι (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.14)
ἐπαραστάθησαν ἀπὸ πάνω τῆς (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 13, 316.8)
δὲν ἀκούστησαν ποτὲ στὸν κόσμον ἄλλες FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.32; ἀπούσαν ἐγνωρίστησαν *ibid.* III.616
ἐνεφανίστησαν κατέμπροστε ἐμοῦ νοταρίου (1685, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 362.1–2)
καὶ οὕτως εὐχαριστήθησαν (1699, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 5, 166.4)
τὰ ὅποια ἐμετρήθησαν ἐμπροστὲ μας (1699, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 13, 29.10)

Addition of -(ν)ε, without a shift of the stress to the antepenultimate, has been found in texts from the Peloponnese, but it is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (see I, 2.6.3 for details):

κ' ἐπροφωνέθησανέ τοὺς *Chron. Mor.* H 3663 ms (= ἐπροφωνέθησανέ τοὺς, first accent omitted)
καὶ ἄλλοι ὅπου ἐνθυμούθησανε (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 447.20)
ἐδιάβησανε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.17 ms; ἐμαζώκησανε *ibid.* 61.25 ms; ἐσκοτώθησανε
πεντακόσοι *ibid.* 68.26 ms; ἀνέβησανε ἀπὸ το γιοφύρι το ξύλινο *ibid.* 90.13–14 ms (the modern editor adds secondary accents on these forms)

A shift of stress to the penultimate is found several times in the Cypriot prose chronicles of Machairas (V) and Voustronios (versions A and B),¹¹³ but is quite unusual elsewhere:

ἐνεβήσαν ... καὶ ἐκατεβήσαν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.14–15
οὐκ ἐφανῆσαν *Pol. Tr.* 4305 app. crit. (X)
οὐδὲν ἐφανερωθήσαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 32.6–7; δὲν τὴν ἐγευτήσαν *ibid.* 72.24;
ἐπροσδεκτῆσαν τον *ibid.* 114.29–30; ἐξεβῆσαν ἔξω *ibid.* 394.11
ἐλαβωθήσαν πολλοὶ VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 5.15; ἐρικουμαντιστήσαν *ibid.* A 38.15 (same in B);
ἀθυμηθήσαν *ibid.* 64.18 (same in B)
καὶ ὅλ' εὐωχηθήσαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2103; εὐχηθήσαν *ibid.* 2104

It must be noted that this appears to be the only 3 pl. past ending that does not develop an alternative in -ασι(ν): no forms in *-ῆσασι(ν) have been found.

Pl.	3	-ηκαν -ηκάνε -ῆκα(ν) -ῆκανε
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As with the rest of the plural, the innovative κ-form does not appear in written texts before the 15th c., but throughout and beyond the EMG period it can be found regularly in texts from most areas:

ἐξέβηκαν *Dig.* E 1411
ἐκατέβηκαν *Achil.* N 550
ἐμπηκαν *Bertoldos* 65.8

¹¹³ Versions A and B are less reliable than M where the accentuation is concerned (KECHAYOGLOU 1997: 75*–6*, 87*–8* and 105*), but the frequency of the phenomenon in Machairas indicates that these forms may be legitimate.

μοῦ ἐσυνέβηκαν (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.8)

οἱ Χωραγῖτες ἐβγήκαν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 215

ἐσυνδάρηκαν *Pol. Tr.* 3206 app. crit. (A); ἀρματώθηκαν *ibid.* 8484 app. crit. (AX); ἐχάθησαν *ibid.* 10468 app. crit. (C)

ἐστάθησαν ἕναν χρόνον (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 67, f.IIv)

ἐπαρAPONÉθησαν (1493–4, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 36, 179.2)

τὸ νὰ ᾿βρέθησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.6–7

αὐτοὶ τὸν απεκρίθησαν *Diig. Alex.* K 345.32; καὶ εμαζώθηκαν *ibid.* 347.29

ἠύρεθησαν (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 78, 269.3)

ἐδιαλέκθησαν (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 9, 18.18)

τὰ ὅσα ἐγίνηκαν (1576, Macedonia, CHASIOTIS 1964/65: 3, 252.12)

ἐσυμμαζώχτηκαν (1585, Mani, LAMBROS 1905: 397.5)

ἐγίνηκαν (1601, Epirus, ALEXOULIS 1896/1900: 47a, 368.4)

ἐτραβήχθησαν κάτω *Bertoldos* 71.31

ἐχρεώθηκαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.17; ἐχτυπήθηκαν *ibid.* I §24.26; ἐκάθησαν *ibid.* I §31.11

ἀναπαύθηκαν (post 1666, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 23, 313.11)

ἐδεκατίστηκαν (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f.2r.24)

Deletion of final /n/ does not occur with this ending, probably because it would render it indistinguishable from the 1st person singular (but see below for deletion of final /n/ with the paroxytone variant of this ending, and above for -ησα). A single instance in ms A of *Panoria* is likely to be a writing mistake: τα σωθικά μου εσφάγηκα CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* II.170 (a second instance: ἐδόθηκα *ibid.* 307, is editorial, from ἐδόθησαν (A)).

With addition of -(v)ε and dual stress, this ending has been found in a late 17th-c. text of northern provenance, written in Constantinople or the Danubian Principalities. The first stress of ἐσώθηκα is omitted in writing: ἐσωθηκάνε τὰ φλωριά *Diig. Vefa* 219.

The same ending with a shift of the stress to the penultimate can be found in texts from southern areas (Crete, Cyprus, Dodecanese, Chios) and in texts of unknown provenance, again from the 15th c. onwards (for this phenomenon across persons for prefixed forms of βαίνω, see also 2.2.1.10.1):

ἐμπήκαν *Chron. Mor.* H 4846

καὶ εἰς λογισμοὺς ἐμπήκαν *Dig.* E 75

σ' ἐμᾶς ἐκατεβήκαν *Alex. Rim.* 1643

σάν ὀρνιθες ἐμπήκαν *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 2504

καὶ ὅλοι ᾿θαπατήκαν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1571

δὲν ἐσαστήκαν *Assizes A* 46.26

οὐκ ἐφανήκαν *Pol. Tr.* 4305 app. crit. (V)

σφικτὰ περιεμπλακῆκαν *Achil.* N 1322

ἐξηγηθῆκαν εἰς τὴν χώραν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.32–3; ἀνακατωθῆκαν *ibid.* 248.30

ἐχαθῆκαν LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 30

καὶ ἐξηγηθῆκαν τοῦ *Fior* 130.27

καὶ κείνοι ἐσκιακτῆκαν ZINOS, *Vatr.* 419

ἐκρυφογαμηθῆκαν *Epain. gyn.* 186

τοῦτα ποὺ ἐγενῆκαν *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 267

μέσα ᾿μπαρκαριστῆκαν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 175.28 (Xirouchakis); καὶ εὔρεθῆκαν

κούντουρες *ibid.* 326.16 (Alexiou/Aposkiti omit final /n/)

λαοὶ ἐμαζωκτῆκαν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1891

εὔρεθῆκαν (1697, Chios, TSELIKAS 2000: 99, 77.12)

᾿βρεθῆκαν κάποιοι χριστιανοὶ KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 15

Deletion of final /n/ with the paroxytone variant of this ending has been found in literary texts from Crete, Cyprus and the Heptanese:

κρουσάροι ἀναφανῆκα *Imb. Rim.* 627

καὶ ἐννοιαστῆτε πόσοι ᾿σκοτωθῆκα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 468.9

ὄρνεα εὔρεθῆκα *Alex. Rim.* 1633

κ' εἰς μιον ἐμαζωκτῆκα *Apoll. Rim.* A 681

οἱ δάφνες ἐφανῆκα CHORTATSIS, *Panor. Prol.* Apoll. 75; γὰρ μένα κ' ἐκαγῆκα *ibid.* I.249; ... καὶ

ὄλα ἀπὸ μὲ διαβῆκα, | χῶμα γενῆκα ἀψήφιστο κ' εἰς λησμονίαν ἐμπῆκα *id.*, *Erof. Prol.* 31–2;

ζιμιὸ τὸ μοιραστῆκα *ibid.* V.198; χίλιοι νὰ πεταχτῆκα *id.*, *Katz.* III.439

τὰ μάτια ἐθαμπωθῆκα *Vosk.* 27

καὶ ἐνεθραφῆκα ὁμάδι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.616

σ' μιὰ κόρη κ' ἕναν ἄγουρο ποὺ μπερδευτῆκα ὁμάδι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.9

Addition of -(v)ε can be found in both literary and non-literary sources from south-western areas (Crete, the Heptanese), Chios and certain Cycladic islands:

ἐμπήκανε εἰς τὸ καράβι κείνο *Alex. Rim.* 1671; τότε καβούροι βγήκανε *ibid.* 1680

ὡσάν ἐμπήκανε οἱ Φραντζέζοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.12; ἐβγήκανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν *ibid.* 127.32

ἐσυνεβήκανε λαβωματιές, φόνοι (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.6)

ἐλεμενταριστῆκανε (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 15.61)

ἐστιμαριστῆκανε (1579, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 21, μβ'.107)

ἀποκριθῆκανε (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 130, 88.5)

ἐσυνιβαστῆκανε (1620, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 363, 336.2)

ἐσταθῆκανε, vel ἐσταθῆκασι, vel ἐστάθησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.26–7

ἐγεννηθῆκανε στὸ σπίτι (1640, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2011: 8, 219.19–20)

τὰ χοντρά ζωᾶ ὄλα ἐχαθῆκανε (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), 28.6)

καὶ τώρα μ' ἀρνηθῆκανε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 176.24

καὶ τσῆ ξαναφανῆκανε MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1246

εὐχαριστηθῆκανε (1682, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1976: 139, f.214r.14)

τῆς ἐναντιωθῆκανε (1700, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 24, 329.11)

καθὼς αἱ τοὶ τῶς ἐκουντενταριστῆκανε (1702, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 40, 54.22)

ἐμαζωχτῆκανε *Chron. Theod.* 20.17

ἐθαυμαχθῆκανε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 41.15; ἐφυλακτῆκανε *ibid.* 50.24

Pl.	3	-ήκασι(v)
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Alternation of -αν and -ασι(v) throughout the past-tense paradigms leads to a new ending -ήκασι(v) from the 15th c. onwards, which remains in use throughout the EMG period in texts from both southern and northern areas, with and without final /n/:

εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐμπήκασιν *Pol. Tr.* 10004

ἐδιαβήκασιν *Cypr. Canz.* 145.5

κ' ἐτρέξασιν κ' ἐμπήκασιν *Anak. Konst.* 22

κ' ἐβγήκασιν ὄξω *Apoll. Rim.* A 234

τρεις μῆνες ἐδιαβήκασιν CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* IV.199

ἐβγήκασιν ἐπτά δαιμόνια KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 8.2

συνεβήκασιν τῶν ασεβῶν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5906

εἰς τὸν κάμπον ἐβγήκασιν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2599

ἐμπήκασι στην Ἑλλάδα EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.2–3

βαρά τῶν ἐφανήκασι CHOUNNOS, *Kosmog.* 1688

μαντάτα ἐπεσώθηκασι *Achil.* N 195; κι ἀφότου ἐρματώθηκασιν *ibid.* 504

ἐννοιαστήκασιν *Fior* 112.15; οἱ σενατούρηδες ἀπολογηθήκασιν *ibid.* 130.21–2

τα μέλη μου ἐκοπήκασι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.171

ἐφυτευτήκασι τὰ ἀνωθεν ἀμπέλια (1603, Crete, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 2, 265.8–9)

ἐσταθήκανε, vel ἐσταθήκασι, vel ἐστάθησαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.26–7

ἐφανήκασι βαρά τοῦτα τὰ λόγια VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 41.27; ἐκουζουλαθήκασι χερότερα *ibid.* 104.29

ἐνεφανιστήκασι (1656, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 2, 48.5)

εὐχαριστήθηκασι (1663, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 1, 11.13); ἐνεφανιστήκασι (1665, *ibid.* 2, 13.18)

δλα ποὺ γενήκασιν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 131

ἐπεριμαζωχθήκασιν MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Valach.* 103; ἐγεινθήκασιν *ibid.* 2539

ἐξημερωθήκασι τρίγια κάτεργα (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14)

εὐρεθήκασι (1679, Venice, MANOUSAKAS/SKOULAS 1993: 218, 55.8)

οἱ ὅποιοι ἐβαλθήκασιν σὲ δρκον (1695, Paros, ZERLENDIS 1888: B', 249.3)

ἐσταθήκασι (1695, Sytos, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.4)

ἐπρικαθήκασι πολλὰ KORNAOS, *Erot.* IV.1299

ἀφηγηθήκασι στοὺς συντρόφους EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.19; ὀργισθήκασι *ibid.* 16.23

εὐθύς ἐμαζωκθήκασιν *Leilasias Par.* 33

The only instance of this ending in Machairas has the accent on the fourth syllable from the end (ἐγίνηκαν > ἐγίνηκασιν). A document from Cyprus has stress notation on both the fourth and the third syllables from the end, making it impossible to establish where the accent was intended to go: ἀφὸν τοῦτα οὐλα ἐγίνηκασιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 95.24 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari); ἐδόθικασιν (1694, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 4, 91.11–12).

Third person plural forms with addition of -(v)ε have only been found of the verb ἐμπαίνω: ἐμπήκασινε Bounialis M., *Diig. Pol.* 322.6 and 516.5, and not with aorist passive forms. Here the verb ἐμπαίνω is influenced by the active κ-aorist of verbs such as ἀφήνω and εὐρίσκω which do have forms with -(v)ε (e.g. ἀφήκασινε, εὐρήκασινε). See 4.4.1.1.

PL	3	-αν
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In the following examples from a 14th-c. Judaeo-Greek glossary that is probably from Asia Minor (to be published in KRIVORUCHKO (forthcoming)) and in a marginal note of unknown provenance,¹¹⁴ the active 3 pl. ending -αν is added to the passive perfective stem (cf. 1 sg. in -α, 2 sg. in -ας, 3 sg. in -εν and 1 pl. in -αμεν).¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴The editors' hypothesis that the text displays Cypriot features (LAPPA-ZIZIKA/RIZOU-KOUROPOU 1991: 43) is unfounded. Cf. the form ἐντῶκασιν in the same ms note (*ibid.* 43.2), which with [d] for [ð] is found not only in Cypriot, but also in Pontic (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 100); the addition of -(v)ε to verb forms (ἐντῶκασιν, ἐσακῶσασιν) is a feature of most Pontic varieties (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 79–80) and of other varieties of the language, but it is decidedly not a Cypriot feature (see I, 2.6.3). Other notes in the same ms. point to a Pontic provenance for the ms as well: the proper name Καστελλίτας has the Pontic ending -ίτας (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 381), and the 3 pl. possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτοῦ) looks like a slightly "normalized" version of Pontic αὐτου/του (for which see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 233).

¹¹⁵Another 14th-c. example (1300–1 or 1361–2) occurs in an otherwise not very vernacular inscription (no. V 176) in the Crimea: ἐκτ[ισ]θαν, for which see www.iospe.kcl.ac.uk/.

ἐσυγκινήθαν *Prophets gloss.* f.31r, l. 4; ἐκατεκόπαν and ἐσπαθοκόπαν *Kings II gloss.* f.9r l.

3–6 margin; ἀνεκόπαν *Jeremiah gloss.* f.33v, l. 2 supralinear; ἐπεστάθαν *Samuel I gloss.* f.4v, l. 9 supralinear; ἐμετρήθαν *Samuel II gloss.* f.1v, l. 9 right margin

δταν αἰχμαλωτίσαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι (1526, Unknown, LAPPA-ZIZIKA/RIZOU-KOUROPOU 1991: 21, 43.157v)

4.5 The Imperative

Depending on the genre, written texts may show a relative scarcity of imperative forms, which typically occur in direct speech. Imperatives are thus absent from most non-literary documents, with the exception of letters and manuals, and from many literary texts too, with the exception of theatrical works, paraenetic poetry and narrative texts that include dialogue or in which the narrator addresses his readers. Therefore limited evidence has sometimes been found for forms that are very likely to have had a wider distribution in the spoken language.

This section covers the imperative, active and passive, of all regular verbs, as well as of irregular verbs insofar as they make use of the regular imperative endings, as in the majority of verbs the irregularity is located in the formation of their stems rather than their endings.

The first part deals with the present imperative, which is formed by adding the imperative endings to the imperfective stem of the verb, e.g. active γράφ-ε, γράφ-ετε; passive γράφ-ου, γράφ-εστε. Compared to other verbal paradigms, the imperative shows modest regional variation. In the following description, prohibitions (μὴ + imperative) are listed among the examples only when the form is clearly an imperative and not a subjunctive: e.g. μὴ σύχναζε *Paroim.* H 13. However, when the imperative is indistinguishable from the subjunctive, as is often the case in the plural, e.g. μὴν ἀργεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 238; μὴν φοβᾶσθε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.7, examples are considered to be subjunctives (for which see 4.1).

The second part covers the aorist imperative, which is formed by adding the imperative endings to the perfective verb stem, e.g. active γράψ-ε, γράψ-ετε; passive γράψ-ου.

For barytone verbs that have identical perfective and imperfective stems (e.g. κρίνω, σὺρω) it is sometimes difficult to establish whether an imperative is a present or an aorist. They are considered to be aorists, unless the context leaves no doubt that they should be interpreted as present imperatives (for verbal aspect see IV, 4.4).

For imperatives with stem irregularities, such as of ἄγω, sg. ἄγωμε, pl. ἄγωμέστε, sg. ἄμε, pl. ἄμέτε, and of βλέπω, sg. βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε, see 2.4. For other ways of expressing the imperative, also for persons other than the second, with νά, ἄς, μὴ + subjunctive see IV, 1.3.

4.5.1 The Present Imperative

4.5.1.1 Barytone Verbs

4.5.1.1.1 Active Voice

/e/-imperatives

The present active imperative is formed by adding the active endings of the imperative, -ε for the singular and -ετε for the plural, to the imperfective stem of the verb (for which see 2.1).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράφε	γράφι	γράφεν
Pl.	2	γράφετε	γράφετον γράφετενε	γράφιτε

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ε(ν) -ι
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The normal ending for the 2 sg. present imperative is -ε before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar. In the imperative, the stress moves to the antepenultimate, unless the verb form consists of two syllables. When a proparoxytone imperative is followed by a clitic pronoun, a second stress usually appears on the ultimate syllable:

πρὸ πάντων ἔχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον *Spaneas* P 1; ἀπόφευγέ τα *ibid.* 94
 στήκε, ψάλλε ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ... φώναζε μεγάλως *Ptoch.* IV 50
 καὶ γύρευέ το *Log. parig.* L 151; καὶ θέτε το εἰς τὰ χεῖλη σου *ibid.* 169
 ἀντὶ τοῦ μισοῦ βάνε ε' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 36, 32.4)
 γύρευγε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 822); πάγαινε εἰς τὸν φόρον (*ibid.* 60.1193)
 ἤξερέ το ἡ αὐθεντία σου (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.6)
 μὴ θέλε μανθάνειν *Vios Aisop.* E 288.18
 ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄκουε *Paroim.* H 7; δπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε καὶ δπου
 ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε *ibid.* 13
 χόρευε κι ας πηδούμεν *Katis* 12
 ἄλλο γίνωσκε (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.19)
 ἄφηνε, δὲν ντρέπεσαι *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 237
 καὶ ἤξευρε μοναῦτα εἰς τὰ δεσάστρε σου νὰ κονμφορτιαστῆς *Fior Suppl.* 269.8
 μ' ἀγάπην τὸ διόρθωνε *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 206
 καὶ τρῶγε κάθα ταχὺ νηστικός τρία *LANDOS, Geopon.* 235.12; ἀρχιζε τὸ ἄλλο *ibid.* 254.33
 γράφε το εἰς χαρτία καὶ φύλαγε αὐτὸ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* II §11.18

Addition of final /n/ is not uncommon in the work of Kartanos, and appears to be a south-western feature when viewed in conjunction with the aorist imperative (see below):

καὶ εἰς αὐτεῖνον ἤλπιζεν, καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μὴ ἐλπίζης *Spaneas* Z 57 (for pseudo-augment see the introduction to Chapter 3)
 ἔχεν ὕγελαν, τοῦ λέγει *Theseid* ms Par. gr. 2898, f.27r; δι' αὐτὸ καμπόσο ἀνέμενεν *ibid.* f.38r
 κοιτάζεν *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 134.1; μὴ θαύμαζεν *ibid.* 150.15; καὶ ἤξευρεν νὰ μᾶς εἰπεῖς
 πῶς στέκουν τὰ ζῶα *ibid.* 240.29; μόνον ἔλεξεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν τους *ibid.* 387.30 (< ἐλέγχω)

In local varieties of the language that are affected by the phenomenon of mid-vowel raising (of unstressed /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4), forms in /i/ can be found, which surely were more common in the spoken language of these areas than they were in writing: περίμενι ἀκόμη (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1406); ὑπαγι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (*ibid.* 67.1394–5).

Verbs starting in unstressed /e/ tend to lose this vowel in non-past forms (e.g. ἐξεύρω > ξεύρω; ἐπαίρνω > παίρνω), whereafter “new” paroxytone forms emerge for the

imperative singular: γιατί ξεῦρε ἂν μᾶς δεῖ θέλει μᾶς σκίσει *Cypr. Canz.* 93.68, but also: ξεῦρε κι ἐνὶ πρῶτα ἡ ὁμορφιά σου *ibid.* 91.23; μὰ παῖρνε διαλεμένους *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1983.

Barytone vowel-stem verbs, including verbs that obtain vowel stems through the loss of intervocalic /y/ such as ὑπάω < ὑπάγω and τρώω < τρώγω, can have both “uncontracted” forms (for examples see above) and forms in which one of the vowels is deleted, e.g. ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ λέγει *Dig.* E 1581; καὶ τ' ἄλλα δλα τρῶ' τα *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 536. For discussion and further examples see 2.1.1.2.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ετε(ν) -ετενε -ιτε
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The standard ending for the 2 pl. present imperative is -ετε before, throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods (for the identical 2 pl. pres. ind. ending see 4.1.1.1):

τὴν δλότην μερίζετε μὲ τὰ βς' (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 22.12.7)
 τρέχετε, κινδυνεύειν ὁ Αἴας! *ERMON., Ilias* 15.101cap
 φεύγετε, πᾶτε νὰ γλυτωθῆτε *Anak. Konst.* 34
 τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 242
 κλαίετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε, σπανοὶ *Spanos* D 1640
 στέκετε, μὴδὲν φεύγετε! *Diig. Alex.* F 294.22 (Lolos)
 ξεφαντώνετε *Imb. Rim.* 496
 χαίρετε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.33; ἠκούγετέ τον *ibid.* 357.27; ἀκούετέ τον *ibid.* 389.19
 σύρε πηγαίνετε *Nov. II* 161.6–7
 λέγετε ... τρῶγετε *GERMANO, Grammar* 83.3
 ἀκούετε καὶ καταλάβετε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 15.10; κρούετε, καὶ θέλει σας
 ἀνοιχθεῖ *ibid. Louk.* 11.9
 μόνον ἐτοῦτο ἀναγνώθετε *LANDOS, Geopon.* 132.16

Addition of final /n/ is found in texts from Chios (cf. the identical present indicative, 4.1.1.1; see also the aorist imperative, 4.5.2.1): ἔχετεν ᾠεῖά *KONDAR., Paidēs* 15; δέικτετεν τὰ προστάγματα *ibid.* 252; (ἂν εἴν' λοιπὸν καὶ θέλετεν κ' ἐμένα τὴν πατρίδα | νὰ μάθετεν ...) ἀπὸ τὴν Χίον ξεύρετεν εἶναι τὰ γονικά μου *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 3073.

Barytone vowel-stem verbs, including verbs that can lose the intervocalic /y/ such as ὑπάγω and τρώγω, can have both “uncontracted” forms (see examples above) and forms in which the weaker vowel /e/ of the ending is omitted after the stronger vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/ of the verb stems, e.g. ὑπάτε εἰς τοὺς γονιούς σας *Achil.* O 588; καὶ τρῶτε, ξεφαντώνετε *Imb. Rim.* 496; πῶς κράζει, ἀκοῦτε *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 187. For discussion and more examples see 2.1.1.2.

Addition of -(ν)ε has been found in a text of uncertain provenance, but is likely to have been a feature of various local spoken varieties, among which, notably, Chiot¹¹⁶ (for such forms see I, 2.6.3.3): τὴν φωνὴν πᾶσα λαὸς ἀκούτενε (15th c., S. Italy, NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS/HOLLENDER 2010: P1, 103.1).

¹¹⁶GERMANO, *Grammar* 86–7 mentions that in Chios -νε is also added to the imperative, but unfortunately he does not give any examples.

In texts from areas that are affected by mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4), one (or conceivably both) of the unstressed /e/'s in this ending may become /i/ (cf. 2 pl. pres. ind.): λοιπόν, λέγίτε τίποτα *Diig. tetr.* 568 app. crit. (C).

/a/-imperatives

In the EMG period a number of barytone verbs with monosyllabic stems developed alternative formations in -α (2 sg.) and -ατε (2 pl.) for the present imperative (as in MG, which has τρέχα, φεύγα and regionally στέκα).¹¹⁷ The /a/ ending is also used for the aorist active imperative of prefixed derivatives of βαίνω and certain other verbs, and has even been found with certain aorist passive imperatives (see 4.5.2.3).

Note that verbs that allow for the /a/-ending belong to the same semantic field of verbs of motion – “go!”, “leave!”, “run!” “stay!” – and may therefore have been modelled on common aorist imperatives in -α such as that of ἐλάω (ἐλα), which after the demise of ἐλάω had attached itself as an imperative to ἔρχομαι, and of βαίνω (ἐμβα, κατάβα), all of which are Ancient (see LSJ s.v. ἐλαύνω and βαίνω) (see also THUMB (1912: 128 and 155), who notes that the aspectual value of these present imperatives is rather weak).

Sg.	2	-α
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Singular

- φεύγα ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην *Diig. tetr.* 815 (reading of oldest ms C (a. 1461))
 τρέχα, Ἀλέξανδρε *Diig. Alex.* V 30.8
 καὶ ἂν σὲ κυνηγήσει φεύγα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 420.22–3
 τρέχα, τρέχα, μάνα μου *Bertoldin.* 145.34–146.1
 φεύγα τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸ βασιλέα (1651, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2000: 401, f.2r.64)
 στέκα *Zinon* V.281, 286, 290
 τρέχα, ὑπάγε βιαστικά *Don Kis.* 128.14; στέκα λοιπόν με προσοχὴν *ibid.* 266.29
 στέκα ἀτὸς σου ἐδῶ SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.35 (but pl. στέκετε *ibid.* 57.4)

Plural

Pl.	2	-ατε
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Plural forms in -ατε seem to appear much later than their singular counterparts. No examples have been found before the early 18th c.: φευγάτε μακριά, φευγάτε! *Don Kis.* 632.8.

4.5.1.1.2 Passive Voice

The most common present passive endings are -ου for the singular and for the plural -εστε/-εσθε, though there is some regional variation. These endings are attached to the active imperfective stem (see 2.1) to form the imperfective passive imperative.

¹¹⁷ The form στέκα can be found e.g. in the modern dialect of Corfu (AVLONITI 2006: 40) and in certain northern dialects (PAPADOPOULOS 1926: 91).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράφου	γράφουσιν γράφουσιν	γράφο -ουσαι -οσε
Pl.	2	γράφεστε γράφεσθε	γράφεσταν γραφοῦστε(ν)	

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ου -ο
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The inherited ending -ου is the standard 2 sg. ending for the present passive imperative before, throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. Examples have been found until well into the 18th c. (cf. oxytone verbs, below):

- μὴ στέναζε, μὴ θλίβου GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 437
 τότε ἔρχου εἰς τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου πρόσωπον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.614)
 μὴ ζῶνου χαμηλούτσικα καὶ μὴ συνηκτενίζου *Ptoch. IV* 57
 χαίρου τῆς ρώμης βασιλεῦ *Eisit.* f.1v.1
 εὐχου μου *Dig.* E 559
 τούτην ἀλείφου τὴν *Pol. Tr.* 540 app. crit. (A); ἔρχου συχνὰ εἰς ἐμένα *ibid.* 3278
 σηκώνου ταχυτέρου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 98); ἔρχου εἰς ἐμὰς συχνὰ (*ibid.* 283)
 κείτου ἐδευτοῦ, μεθύστακα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.539–40
 δέχου νὰ μᾶς ἐβγάλεις ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια τοὺς ἀπίστους (17th c., Cyprus, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 22, 269.4)
 ἀναπεύου *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 139.23
 εἰς τὸν ὄρκον σου στέκου ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1463; φυλάγου, ὅσον δύνεσαι *ibid.* 1975
 χαίρου, καυχου καὶ λέγε το BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 411.24
 κάλλιο διορθῶνου τώρα *Charon* II 19
 προσεύχου *Don Kis.* 45.14
 γράφου SPANOS, *Grammar* 37.3

A form in -ο found in a Russian–Greek conversation book that is likely to have been written in Athos is not a morphological variant of those in -ου but possibly the result of hypercorrection of back-vowel raising of /o/ to /u/ (for details see I, 2.8.3) (if it is not a simple writing mistake): παντοτε ἔρχο (app. crit.) (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 172).

Sometimes passive imperative forms can be found of verbs that are not normally passivized, such as προσέχω in its meaning “to be careful, to beware”: προσέχου μην τοὺς σέλσεις ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 48; προσέχου (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVII, 224.4); τότε προσέχου απ’ αὐτοὺς STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voev.* 1260 (Pidonia).

Sg.	2	-οσούν -ουσούν
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The only regional variation found is the ending -οσουν/-ουσουν, which occurs in texts by Heptanesian (Corfiot?) authors.¹¹⁸ The ending is identical to that of the 2 sg. passive imperfect (see 4.3.1.2), and possibly in some way modelled on it (see also the corresponding ending of oxytone verbs, 4.5.1.2.2, and cf. the imperative present active ending -ουνε in the same region, which constitutes a similar analogical formation, 4.5.1.2.1):

καὶ χαίρουν μάλιστα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 380.20; κάθουν ἐδῶ ibid. 394.41;
κάθου ... καὶ δέχουν ibid. 461.27; ὁπότεν προσεύχεσαι, ἡβλέπουν ibid. 461.31–2;
προσεύχουν ibid. 462.32
ἐνεστώς. γράφουν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 58.5–6
διὰ τοῦτο δουλεύουν ἀπὸ τὴν Αὐλὴν μου σὲ κάθε σου χρεῖαν Bertoldos 48.26–7

Sg.	2	-ουσαι -οσε
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The ending -ουσαι occurs in one manuscript of Chortatsis's *Panoria*. It appears to be a conflation of βλέπου (see above) and the striking imperative βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε (PERNOT 1932: 986; KRIARAS 1932: 1109), which is the reading of the other manuscripts (for βλέπεσαι/βλέπεσε see 2.4): βλέπουσαι, στο Θεό μου CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.251 (reading of N). However, the ending may have been in use with other verbs as well, as the following example appears to be a variant of it: ο Σολομών εἶπεν: εἰς ὅλα τα πράγματα συμβουλεύοσε καὶ ὕστερον μὴ μετανοήσεις Anthos Ch. G 113.9–10.

Plural

Pl.	2	-εστε(ν) -εσθε(ν)
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The normal 2 pl. endings for the present passive imperative of barytone verbs are -εστε and its more formal variant -εσθε (for manner dissimilation of /sθ/ to /st/ see I, 3.8.1; for the identical present indicative and imperfect endings see 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.2). However, there is a clear preference for periphrastic forms with νά or ἄς (see IV, 1.3) and therefore a limited number of examples has been found:

αὐξάνεστε, πληθύνεστε CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 48
καθέζεσθε (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 548–9); στήκεσθε (ibid. 2487)
πορεύεστε, κινήσατε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 60
κάθεστε, ἀναπεύεστε Alex. Rim. 809
καὶ στέκεστε καὶ μὴδὲν φεύγετε Diig. Alex. K 364.31–2
γράφεσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 58.5–6
(τὸ ρόδο ...) βιάζεστε νὰ πιάνετε CHORTATIS, *Erof. Interm.* II.86
ἔρχεστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.9
αἰσχύνεσθε, παράνομοι VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1223

¹¹⁸ KONDOSPOULOS (2001: 70) mentions similar forms (e.g. νιβόσουνε) in the modern dialect of Kefalonia, but used as aorist, not present, imperatives.

Addition of final /n/ is rare: τὴν νιότη σας χαίρεστεν ὥστε ζεῖτε *Kakop.* 185.

A form with syncope (see I, 2.7.2) appears in Koronaios's poem on Merkourios Buas. It must be noted that at times Koronaios tends to stretch the language to accommodate the metre: καὶ βάστε σ' ὀρδινίαν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.147 (= βάλλεστε).

Pl.	2	-οὔστε(ν)
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The only regional variant found for 2 pl. is -οὔστε(ν), which can be found in texts from Chios (cf. the identical present indicative and imperfect endings, 4.1.1.2, 4.1.2.2, 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.2.2): βλέπουστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 83.8; φυλαγοῦστε ibid. 83.8; ἐρχοῦστε ibid. 83.9; καθοῦστεν VEST., *Pathi* 294 and PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1422.

4.5.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

4.5.1.2.1 Active Voice

The present active imperative of oxytone verbs is formed by adding the active endings of the imperative, -ε for the singular and -ετε for the plural, to the imperfective stem of the verb (for which see 2.1). In the case of oxytone A-stems the stem vowel /a/ and the /e/ of the ending contracted to /ai/ in AG, which evolved into /a/; in the case of oxytone E-stems, /e/ + /e/ became /ei/ > /i/ (traditionally spelled <ει>). From the very beginning of the period under review, A-stem endings are routinely used for E-stem verbs as well; the reverse, however, does not usually occur (see also 2.1.2.1). There is some regional variation in the endings of the imperative. All present imperatives of oxytone verbs are paroxytone, unless -(ν)ε has been added (for which see also I, 2.6.3).

		General		Restricted		Rare
Sg.	2	γρίκα	βάρει βάρ(ε)ιε βάρα	(γρίκουε)	βάρουε	βαρ'
Pl.	2	γρικᾶτε	βαρεῖτε βαρᾶτε	γρικᾶτεν	βαρεῖτεν βαρᾶτεν	βάρτε βαρ(ε)ιέτε

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-α
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For 2 sg. of A-stem verbs, the inherited ending -α is the standard ending in both literary and non-literary texts throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar; this ending is also used with E-stem verbs.

A-stems

ψηλάφα και ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸ εὐρίσκης ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 310.21
 ἐρώτα και νὰ μάθης GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 137; και ὡς ἡπορεῖς ἀπάντα *ibid.* 189
 βάστα το *Pol. Tr.* 535
 ἐσὺ τοὺς μέτρα, λυγερή *Katal.* 196
 σῶπα, τί λές; FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 115; ἀγάπα πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπον *id.*, *Log. did.* 57
 ἀκουε Εὖα και πλάντα *Synax. gyn.* 130
 χαιρέτα μου τον από την μεριάν μου VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.13–14
 σκέθα μου τὴν καρδιάν *Cypr. Canz.* 107.34 (<σκεθῶ)
 και βάστα εις το κεφάλι σου *Diig. Alex.* K 354.3
 ἀγάπα τους (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 150.4)
 ἀρχίνα GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. cominciare*
 και χαιρέτα μου τὸν μπατέρα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 25.11)
 γρίκα μου νὰ σοῦ δηγηθῶ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.103
 λίγο κέρδα και μὴν φύρνα *Paroim.* (Warner) 69.19 (<φυρνῶ <φυρῶ)
 σιώπα, φίλε Σάντσο! *Don Kis.* 46.11

E-stems

ἐκεῖνο ἡὺχαρίστα *Spaneas* Z 212
 φίλα, περίπλεκέ το *Liv.* V 3775
 βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον *Flor.* L 700
 και τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔλεα *Peri xen.* 451
 πᾶσα ἡμέρα ζήτα νὰ κάμης περισσότερα *Vios Aisop.* E 288.10
 ἐνέργα ἢ με τὸ κορμί ἢ με τὴν ὀρδινιά σου FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 78
 δήγα το νὰ τὸ βλέπη πρεπάμενα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 502.13–14 (<ὀδηγῶ)
 σκόπα πρώτα *Fior* 112.25
 περέχα τα LANDOS, *Georon.* 144.11 (περιχῶ <περιχέω); λειτούργα πρώτον τὸ ἓνα ὄνομα
ibid. 254.32
 προσκύνα τὲς ἀγίες εἰκόνες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §16.13
 χέρι ποῦ δὲ μπορεῖς νὰ κόψης, φίλα το *Paroim.* (Warner) 122.25
 και εὺχαρίστα τὸν θεὸν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1863
 τὸ γονή σου ἐπαίνα KORNAROS, *Erot.* 2.2029

Sg.	2	-ει
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The inherited 2 sg. E-stem ending -ει is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, but only with E-stem verbs:

και τὸν πηλὸν κουβάλει *Ptoch. III* 211 app. crit. (CMK)
 ἐπάνω σου τὸ κράτει *Pol. Tr.* 535
 θῶρει με, κύρκα *Achil.* L 1276
 και τήρει και τὴν δόξαν *Alfan.* I 75
 μή μας ἡλησμονεῖ μας (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2721)
 πούρι ὁ σταλαγμὸς τοῦ πόθου βάρει βάρει | νὰ τρύπησε τὸ μάρμαρο FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 25–6
 σκούπει τὸν οἶκον (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 103.2d)
 κράτει τα ἐσὺ, Βίδο (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.15)
 πορπάτει εις τὴ στράτα σου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.411
 ἀκολουθεῖ με ΡΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.24
 περιπάτει, ὅτι ἐνίκησές με *Vios Aisop.* I 255.44
 πᾶτει τὰ ἄσπρα σταφύλια ξέχωρα ἀπὸ τὰ μαῦρα LANDOS, *Georon.* 145.33

Sg.	2	-Ø
Pl.	2	-TE

Deletion of the final /a/ or /i/ may occur lexically with the verb βαρῶ. It has been found in a Heptanesian (Zakynthian) text, *Evgena*.¹¹⁹ This apocopated form is the basis for a new plural form βάρτε, attested in the work of the 17th-c. Kefalonian poet Anthimos Diakrousis: βάρ' τὴν πόρτα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1359; βάρτε και κόψετε τοὺς ΔΙΑΚΡ., *Diig. Pol.* 931.

Sg.	2	-(ε)ι(ε)ν -ε
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Forms in -ειε (sometimes spelled <ιε>) consist of the inherited E-stem ending -ει with the 2 sg. imperative ending -ε, borrowed from the dominant barytone paradigm (for a discussion see 2.1.2.2.4). The ending is found with E-stem verbs from at least the 14th c. onwards, with and without final /n/ (for the identical imperfect ending, see 4.3.2.1). The ending could probably be pronounced both with and without synizesis, e.g. βάρει: ['varie] or ['varje] (see e.g. the example from *Ptoch. IV*, in which κράτειε is trisyllabic ['kratie], whereas in *Ptoch. III* κουβάλειε, at the verse end, is pronounced [ku'vaɛ] (for synizesis see I, 2.9.4):

και φόρειε τὸ προσῶμιν σου και τὸν πηλὸν κουβάλειε *Ptoch. III* 211 (readings of mss SA)
 κράτειε τὴν φωνήν σου *Ptoch. IV* 481 app. crit. (V)
 σιγὰ περπάτειε ταπεινά *Flor.* L 1125
 και ἀντλῖε τοὺς πόδας STAFIDAS, *Iatrosof.* 10.275
 θῶρει με, κύρκα, θῶρειε με *Achil.* L 1276
 μὰ τοῦτο κράτειε θαρρετά FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 151
 και μίλειε της και λέγε της *Love poems* V 396
 πάντα παρακάλειε τὸν θεὸν *Diig. Alex.* E 251.15 (Lolos)
 θῶρειε τὸν μπούσουλά σου *Fyll. gadar.* 94q
 συμπάθιε ... συγχώρει GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. perdonare*
 κράτειε και ἐμεῖς σοῦ βοηθοῦμε *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 93.13
 και φόρειε το *Bertoldin.* 116.32; ἀκαρτερίε με ἐδῶ *ibid.* 125.18

With an added final /n/ it was found in version I of the *Life of Aesop*, the scribe of which is thought to be of southern (PAPATHOMOPOULOS 1999: XI) or perhaps Chiot (EIDENEIER 2011: 417–18) provenance: κράτειεν τὴν γλώσσαν σου *Vios Aisop.* I 276.24.

Forms in -ε have undergone deletion of /j/ (see I, 2.4.7.3–4). Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus:

κράτε τα και βλέπε τα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 446.34
 θῶρε τίνος δίδεις *Fior* 101.28
 λάλε πάντα παρκάτω παρὰ ὁποῦ πολομᾶς *Fior Suppl.* 272.14–15
 θᾶρε μόνο στο δεῖν τῶν ἐμματιῶν της *Cypr. Canz.* 98.31

Sg.	2	-ΟΥΕ
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¹¹⁹ It also occurs in a Zakynthian comedy of the late 18th c. (1795), D. Gouzelis's *O Chasis* (ed. Z. Synadinos, Athens 1997): βάρ' το, βασιτάζο Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.212. This form βάρτε is unrelated to the identical Cypriot form βάρτε (<βάλτε <βάλετε), for which see 4.5.2.4.

This E-stem ending is quite rare in written texts of the period under review and has not been found before the 17th c. It occurs in two texts that are very likely to be of Heptanesian provenance. It appears to be formed by analogy with the 3rd person singular of the imperfect, which has a regional alternative in -ουνε (see 4.3.2.1): impf. *μίλει* – *μίλουνε* : imp. *μίλει* – *μίλουνε* (cf. a similar form of analogy in the Heptanesian present passive imperative in -οσουν/-ουσουν, 4.5.1.1.2):¹²⁰ *μίλουνε* *δσον* *καὶ ἂν θέλεις Bertoldos* 60.7; *ἀκολουθουνε* *πούρου* *ὀμπροσθὰ*, *Μισέρ Τζερφόλλιο* *ibid.* 83.2–3; *νὰ ζεῖς*, *ἀκολουθουνε Bertoldin.* 139.3.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶτε(ν)
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The inherited 2 pl. A-stem ending -ᾶτε is in use before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar. It is used with A-stem as well as E-stem verbs:

A-stems

βαστᾶτε *τὸ ἴς τὴν Κρήτην Anak. Konst.* 38
κατὰ καιρὸν *πηδᾶτε* *τες SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 38; *γελᾶτε* *τὲς ἀνέγλυτες* *ibid.* 317; *λαργᾶτε*, *θὲ νὰ δρᾶμω* *ibid.* 30 (Γκιόστρα)
αὐκρᾶτε *τί τοῦ λέγει Flor.* L 1543
ἀπεζᾶτε *τοὺς μαντατοφόρους μου εἰς τὴν γῆν MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 206.19; *καὶ πολομᾶτε καλὲς βίγλες* *ibid.* 382.2; *γροικᾶτε* *πάντες τὸν διαλαλημὸν* *ibid.* 404.3
καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε με καλὰ Alex. Rim. 472; *καὶ χαιρετᾶτε καὶ ἐμὲν κ' ὑστέρου ἐρωτᾶτε* *ibid.* 2292
ρωτᾶτε *τες οποιῦ ἐπαθαν Kakop.* 82
περνᾶτε *τὴν ζωὴ σας Imb. Rim.* 496
γρικᾶτε *μου CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.125; *γὰ τὸ Θεό γλακᾶτε!* *ibid.* III.46
ἀγαπᾶτε *τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σας KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 5.44
τὰ πάθη μου ... βαστᾶτε MONTSEL., Evgena 626
βαστᾶτε αὐτὰ τὰ ἄρματα Alex. Fyll. 65.15

E-stems

τὴν ὕβριν ἐκδικᾶτε Pol. Tr. 1031
τὴν χώραν προξενᾶτε SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol. 319
βουθᾶτε νὰ τόνε δεκτῶ FALIEROS, Thrinos 349
βοθᾶτε τὸν Καλλιμαχὸν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1346
σκοπᾶτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 10.13
γὰ τὸ Θεό, βοηθᾶτε μου, γὰ τὸ Θεό γλακᾶτε! CHORTATIS, Katz. III.46; *παιδάκια μου, ἴκλουθᾶτε* *ibid.* V.473
ἀκολουθᾶτε μου Bertoldos 40.5
ζητᾶτε, καὶ θέλει σας δοθεῖ ... κτυπᾶτε, καὶ θέλει σας ανοιχθεῖ KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 7.7
δένδρη μου, συγχωρᾶτε MONTSEL., Evgena 625
κι εἶπεν του: προσκυνᾶτε ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali 1789; *καν τώρα βοηθᾶτε μας* *ibid.* 4357
χτυπᾶτε, μωρὲ παιδιὰ, τοὺς παλιμουρτάτηδες! ΕΡΤΗΥΜ., Chron. Gal. 59.14–15

Addition of final /n/ occurs in texts from Chios:

γροικᾶτεν, σᾶς παρακαλῶ VEST., Paid. Makkav. 121

¹²⁰ Note that the ending -ουνε is now a feature of the modern dialect of Corfu (AVLONITI 2006: 42–3).

ἀκλουθᾶτεν *ὅλοι σήμερον KONDAR., Paides* 102 app. crit.
καὶ γροικᾶτεν *τὸ PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 724

Pl.	2	-εῖτε(ν)
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The inherited 2 pl. E-stem ending -εῖτε is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in texts from various areas, but only with E-stem verbs:

κάστρον, θεωρεῖτε, ἔποικα Chron. Mor. H 2710
μὴ δειλιάζετε, ἀνδρείως πολεμεῖτε Pol. Tr. 5304
βοηθεῖτε εἰς τὸν παγκόπελον Dig. E 922
σύντομα περιπατεῖτε! Liv. α 3086 app. crit. (N)
μικρὸν ὑποχωρεῖτε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1865
μισεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα τῶν σπανῶν Spanos D 920; *κλαῖτε καὶ θρηνεῖτε, σπανοί* *ibid.* 1640
ἁμαρτωλοὶ θαρρεῖτε FALIEROS, Thrinos 181; *σκιὰν μετὰ μὲ θρηνεῖτε* *ibid.* 213
κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε Moiról. Konst. 56
κ' εἶπεν τοὺς: καρτερεῖτε Apoll. Rim. 793
καρτερεῖτε ὅδ', Φραγκάκια TRIVOLIS, Tagiap. 105; *τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστεῖτε* *ibid.* 212
εὐλογεῖτε ἐκείνους ὅπου σᾶς καταρῶνται KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 5.44
κρατεῖτε τὰ ὄμορφα ὄμορφα FOSKOLOS, Fort. III.95
θωρεῖτε τοὺς σολντάδους μου BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 193.25; *καρτερεῖτε* *ibid.* 409.1

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a text from Chios: *βαρεῖτεν* *τοῦ ἀλύπητα VEST., Paid. Makkav.* 641.

Pl.	2	*-(ε)ιέτε -έτε
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Plural forms modelled on the singular -(ε)ιε are very rare. An example has been found in a text from Santorini. The stem consonant /l/ is depalatalized (see I, 2.4.7.3 for details): *παρακαλέτε καὶ <ἐ>σεῖς Rim. Sant.* 81.

4.5.1.2.2 Passive Voice

The present passive endings are -οῦ for the singular and for the plural -ᾶστε/-ᾶσθε (oxytone A-stem also used with E-stem) and -εῖστε/-εῖσθε (oxytone E-stem). These endings are attached to the imperfective stem (for which see 2.1) to form the imperfective passive imperative. There is some regional innovation in these endings.

		General		Restricted		Rare
Sg.	2	γρικοῦ	βαροῦ	γρικόσουν/ -ώσουν	βαρούσουν βαρ(ε)ιόσουν	βαριοῦ
Pl.	2	γρικᾶστε/ -ᾶσθε	βαρεῖστε/ -εῖσθε	γρικᾶστεν γρικούστε(ν)	βαρεῖστεν βαροῦστε(ν) βαρ(ε)ιοῦστε(ν) βαριέστε(ν)/-ιέσθε(ν)	

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-οῦ -ιοῦ
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By the beginning of the LMedG period the AG A-stem ending -ῶ (the result of contraction in AG of the stem vowel /a/, the thematic vowel /e/ and the ending /o/) had long become obsolete and had been replaced by the E-stem ending -οῦ (the result of contraction of /e/ + /e/ + /o/).¹²¹ The ending -οῦ is the normal ending for both A-stem and E-stem verbs throughout the period covered by this Grammar. In SMG forms in -οῦ are no longer in use, and periphrastic constructions with νά + present passive subjunctive are used instead. The demise of the present passive imperative in -οῦ is most likely to be datable to the modern period (cf. barytone verbs, above).

μή θορυβοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 438
 ἄτακτα, γέλοια καὶ σαλὰ βαροῦ κι ἀπόφευγέ τα *Spaneas* P 94
 παρηγοροῦ ὅσον ἔχεις *Log. parig.* L 217
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συντηροῦ (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 39, 292.16)
 τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦ *Spaneas* Z 433
 καὶ θυμοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης *Achil.* L 1263
 κοιμοῦ, ἀδελφέ (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 105)
 ἀθθυμοῦ πῶς ἐτζένιασες ἐκείνην *Cypr. Canz.* 104.13
 θυμοῦ το *CHORTATISIS, Katz.* II.377
 κυβερνοῦ με ψυχρὰ πράγματα *LANDOS, Geopon.* 174.24; κοιμοῦ μίαν ὥραν *ibid.* 177.25
 χαίρου, καυχοῦ καὶ λέγε το *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 411.24
 δέ τη καλά, φουκροῦ τη *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.43
 φιλοῦ *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.25
 τρώγε, φίλε Σάντισε; καὶ ζωοτροφοῦ *Don Kis.* 539.24

Forms with an added /j/ are rare (for a discussion of this phenomenon see 2.1.2.2.4):
 παρηγοριοῦ *Thysia Avr.* 165 app. crit. (M).

Sg.	2	-οῦσιν -όσιν -(ε)ιόσιν
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The only regional variation found in the singular is the ending -οσύν/-ουσύν, which appears in texts of Heptanesian (Corfiot?) authors. The ending is identical to that of 2 sg. of the passive imperfect (see 4.3.1.2), and perhaps in some way modelled on it (see also the corresponding ending of barytone verbs, above, and cf. the similarly formed present active ending -οῦνε in the same region, 4.3.2.1 and 4.5.1.2.1). Sofianos used an "etymologizing" spelling <ω> for the A-stem verb γελῶ. His example of the E-stem verb κρατῶ has a /j/ inserted after the stem consonant, for which see 2.1.2.2.4: κρατειόσιν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.9; γελώσιν *ibid.* 69.20; καὶ ἐνθυμούσιν τι σοῦ εἶπα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 380.20.

¹²¹ The ending -οῦ with A-stem verbs can be found from at least the 6th c., e.g. κοιμοῦ in Moschos and the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ᾶστε(ν) -ᾷσθε(ν)
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The normal 2 pl. endings for the present passive imperative of oxytone A-stem verbs are -ᾶστε and its more formal variant -ᾷσθε (for manner dissimilation of /sθ/ to /st/ see I, 3.8.1; for the identical present and imperfect endings see 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.2.2). However, there is a clear preference for periphrastic forms with νά or ᾶς (see IV, 1.3) and therefore not very many examples have been found. This ending is also used with E-stem verbs:

A-stems

ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ κροτήσατε χεῖρας *Spanos* D 116
 γελάσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 69.20
 τιμᾶσθε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.6

E-stems

αὐτὰ οὖν δλα ἐνθυμᾶσθέ τα (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.22–288.1)
 με πόθον τὸ δηγᾶστέν *ZINOS, Penth. Than. Prol.* 16
 ἐνθυμᾶσθεν καὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ Ἀκρίτου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 393.9–10

Pl.	2	-εῖστέ(ν) -εῖσθε(ν)
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The inherited 2 pl. endings for the present passive imperative of oxytone E-stem verbs are -εῖστέ and its more formal variant -εῖσθε (for manner dissimilation of /sθ/ to /st/ see I, 3.8.1; for the identical present and imperfect endings see 4.1.2.2 and 4.3.2.2). The meaning is more commonly expressed with periphrastic forms with νά or ᾶς (see IV, 1.3) and therefore few examples have been found. This ending is only used with E-stem verbs:

ποθοενθυμείσθε *Liv.* E 1132
 πληροφορεῖσθε οἱ πάντες *Achil.* N 1742
 θυμείσθε τὲς αἰχμαλωσιᾶς *Alosis* 589
 φιλεῖσθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.25

Pl.	2	-(ε)ιέστέ(ν) -(ε)ιέσθε(ν)
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The innovative ending (ε)ιέστέ(ν), in its more formal form with <θ> for <τ>, has not been found before the 16th c. (ms date of *Diig. Alex.* V), but the fact that Sofianos includes it in his grammar implies that it was already a well-established form. For the same ending with the present see 4.1.2.2; for a discussion of the appearance of /j/ after the stem consonant see 2.1.2.2.4. This ending has only been found with E-stem verbs: κρατειέσθεν δυνατὰ *Diig. Alex.* V 64.20; κρατειέσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 67.9; [φιλ]ειέσθε *SPANOS, Grammar* 40.25.

Pl.	2	-οὔστε(ν) -(ε)ιοῦστε(ν)
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The only clearly regional variant found for 2 pl. is -οὔστε(v), which occurs in texts from Chios with both A-stem and E-stem verbs (cf. barytone verbs, above (4.5.1.1.2), and the identical present indicative and imperfect endings (4.1.1.2, 4.1.2.2, 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.2.2):

τιμοῦστε GERMANO, *Grammar* 93.6; κρατειοῦστε *ibid.* 83.9; ἀγαπιοῦστε *id.*, *Vocab.* s.v.

amatevi

ἀφικροῦστέν VEST., *Pathi* 293

κ' οἱ τρεῖς σὰς το αὐκροῦστέν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2537 (= ἀφικροῦστέν < ἀφικροῦμαι).

4.5.2 The Aorist Imperative

4.5.2.1 Active Voice

The aorist active imperative is formed by adding the endings of the active imperative to the perfective active stem of the verb (for which see 2.2). This category comprises all oxytone verbs and barytone verbs with sigmatic, pseudosigmatic and thematic (second) aorist stems. A specific group of verbs with thematic aorist stems shows alternative stress patterns and other unique characteristics, for which see 4.5.2.3–4).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράψε	γράψον γράψεν γράψι γράψ'	
Pl.	2	γράψετε γράψατε	γράψτε γράψτεν γράψετενε	

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ε(v) ! -Ø ! -ι
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AG imperatives in -ον of barytone and oxytone verbs with sigmatic and liquid/nasal-stem aorists had begun to be replaced by forms in -ε from the first centuries of the first millennium onwards (JANNARIS 1897: 205; DIETERICH 1898: 248; GIGNAC 1981: 350–2), by analogy with the present and the thematic aorist imperatives, which all had /e/-endings (JANNARIS 1897: 205). For 2 sg. of the aorist active imperative -ε is the most common ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, and can be found in texts from all areas and in all stylistic registers:

παράκυψε, βαγίτζα μου *Dig.* G IV.282 (spelled παράκυψαι, as if it were a (non-existent)

middle aorist imperative); ἀπόστρωσε τὸν βοῦλχαν μου *ibid.* IV.376

ἄπαξ τὸν πόνον ἔπαρε καὶ ἀπομερίμνησέ το GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 212

σφίξε σφικτὰ τὰ ὀδόντια σου *Ptoch.* IV 481 app. crit. (H)

γράψε διτὶ διδῶ του ἡμέρας ἄλλας δ' (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.47)

πέψε το τοῦ κυροῦ μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.27)

παράμεινε εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι μας (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1855–6); μαγέρεψε νὰ φᾶμε (*ibid.* 2247)

στεῖλε τον ἐδῶ (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.11–12)

ἔπλωσε, πιάσε, ἀνάγνωσε *Achil.* N 929

κάτσε νὰ φᾶμεν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 84.27; πέψε μου ἀπὸ τοὺς λᾶς τῆς Κιρυνίας *ibid.* 448.9

τὸ μουστάκιν του κλάσε το *Spanos* D 14

μόνον ἔλα καὶ βάπτισέ με KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 357.20–1

κάμε το (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 87.1)

στεῖλε ὑψηλὴ γραφὴν (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.25)

τ' ὄνειρο ... ξεδήγησέ μου *Stathis* III.255 (active form of the deponent verb ξεδηγοῦμαι < ἐκδηγοῦμαι)

Παναγία μου, ἀγιουτάρισέ μας (1731, Kefalonia, TSITSELIS 1904: App. 12, 913.18–19)

The verb γίνομαι, which usually retains its middle aorist imperative in -οὔ/-ου (see 4.9), can sometimes have imperatives in -ε, as in SMG (for confusion of the present and aorist stems (γιν- and γεν-) of this verb see 2.4). The earliest example occurs in a 14th-c. ms of *Ptochoprodromos*: γίνε προσχειράρης *Ptoch.* III 210 app. crit. (M); μη γένε συ ἀνελεήμονος *Diig. Alex.* K 365.32; γίνε ὁδηγὸς τῇ στρατᾶς μου CHORTATIS, *Erof. Dedic.* 59.

Verbs starting in unstressed /e/ (e.g. ἐπαίρνω) tend to lose this vowel in non-past forms (ἐπαίρνω > παίρνω), whereafter “new” paroxytone forms emerge for the imperative singular. Paroxytone forms may also occur as a result of synizesis, through which the disyllabic verb stem becomes monosyllabic (e.g. πιάνω: πιάσε > πιάσε):

ἔπλωσε, πιάσε, ἀνάγνωσε *Achil.* N 929

πάρε τὰ ἄλογά μας, ἔπαρε καὶ ἐκ τοὺς ὄρχοντες TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 185–6; καὶ πιάσε με

ἐκ τὸ χέρι *ibid.* 225

μὰ πάρε τὴν ζωὴν μου MONTSEL., *Evgena* 578

Addition of final /n/ appears in texts from south-western areas (cf. the present imperative, 4.5.1):

καὶ ἤκουσεν τοὺς λόγους μου *Spaneas* Z 431; διάβασεν τὴν χηρείαν σου *ibid.* 475 app. crit.

ἔπαρεν ὀλίγο ψωμί ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 23.2–3

δράμεν ἐγλήγορα καὶ φέρε μου ... *Diig. Alex.* F 98.15 (Lolos); σύρεν καὶ ἐσύ, ψυχὴ *ibid.*

136.16; πέρασεν τὸν Ἐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ σύρε *ibid.* 242.19

γύρισεν, αὐθέντη, πρὸς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐλεήμονά σου μάτια *Theseid* ms Par. gr. 2898 f.32r; γρίκησεν

τοὺς παρεκαλεσμούς μου *ibid.* f.39r; ὁδήγεψεν τὴν στρατᾶν μου *ibid.* f.39r

ρώτηξέν τονε (1574, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 2007: 147.15)

Deletion of the final /e/ may occur, typically before clitic pronouns, though examples have been found of other environments (before the definite article, before νὰ, and even before a bare noun):¹²²

¹²²In the case of the imperatives of διδῶ and θέτω it is a matter of interpretation (and spelling) whether /'dos/ and /'thes/ are apocopated forms of δώσε and θέσε, or the irregular AG imperatives δός and θές, which do not necessarily constitute archaisms (see 2.4).

βοήθησ' με, κανάκι μου RUMI, *Poem I* 4
 τήν ἀδελφήν μας ἄφησ' την Dig. E 346; ἄφησ' με ibid. 953 (spelled ἄφης in the ed.)
 ἀπόλυσ' τον (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 199)
 ἔπαρ' με κόρη σύμβουλον Achil. L 653; στόχασ' τον ibid. 867
 καὶ μῆνυσ' του νὰ ἔλθῃ ὡδε Assizes A 167.30
 πιάσ' τὰ ροῦχα σου FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 71; κι ἔπαρ' κι ἐσύ id., *Thrinis* 95; ἄφησ' νὰ δοῦμεν
 ibid. 275
 καὶ λύτρωσ' με ἀφ' τὸ κακὸ LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 637
 ξάφρισ' το καλὰ (15th/16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.23); ἀδείασ' το δὲξω τὸ νερὸ
 (ibid. 60.30)
 ἔπαρ' παρηγορία Theseid X.34,7 (1529)
 ὀρδίνιασ' τὰ σπῖτιά σου Pist. *kekoim.* 330
 βρίς' τον (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 3, 302.20)
 ἔπαρ' τσι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.337; ἄφησ' τσι καυχῆσές σου ibid. III.457; πιάσ' με, νὰ ζήσης
 ibid. III.513
 γύρισ' την γύρους ἑπτὰ (16th c., Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 87.21)
 ἄφης, ἄφησε GERMANO, *Vocab. s.v. lasciare*; πιάσε & πιάς ibid. s.v. *pigliare*
 φέρ' το, λέγω Bertoldin. 144.30
 τὸ κιρὶ κράτησ' το (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 51.9)
 πιάσ' τὴ βουλή μου KORNAOS, *Erot.* II.43

Forms with /i/ for /e/ are phonetic rather than morphological variants and can be found in texts from areas that display mid-vowel raising (of unstressed /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4 for details): δῶσι μου καὶ τὰ ἱπλοῖπτα (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.46r.3); ἔτσι κάμι, σὲ παρακαλῶ ποὺλλά (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 7, 68.32–3) (ποὺλλά = πολλά, see I, 2.8.3).

Sg.	2	-ον
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The old imperatives in -ον had begun to be replaced by forms in -ε from the first centuries AD onwards (see above). Nevertheless forms in -ον can be found in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, often alongside forms in -ε, e.g. σύγκρινον, σύγκρινέ μας Velth. 616 (Cupane). These forms can be called residual for all varieties but those of Asia Minor and S. Italy, which preserve imperatives in -ον to the present day (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 187); for Pontic see also OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 264. The learning method edited by Lehfeldt (see examples) has more features that are now characteristic of Pontic (see e.g. the aorist passive imperative; see also HENRICH 1996b): the imperative φάσον ("feed [me]!") is derived from the Pontic verb φαγιζω/φαῖζω/φάζω; μάθισον ("teach!") is from Pontic μαθίζω.

πώλησον ταύτην Dig. G I.106; γνώρισόν μοι ibid. IV.316; ἐπάκουσον εὐχῆς μου ibid. IV.371
 ψυχὴ μου, μακροθύμησον GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 308
 σφίξον καλὰ τὰ δόντια σου Ptoch. IV 481
 κράτησον τὰ φουσσᾶτα σου Chron. Mor. H 1117; ἄκουσον, φίλε ibid. 3407; σπούδαξον ibid. 4637
 καρτέρησον, Ἀρμούρη μου Arm. 117
 πλήρωσον ὡς μᾶς εἶπες Dig. E 60
 ἤκουσον, υἱούτζικε Spaneas Z 89
 ἄκουσον νὰ τὸ μάθῃς Chron. Toc. 685; παῦσον τὸν θρῆνον τὸν πολὺν ibid. 3424
 ὀρισον ἄλογα δώδεκα Achil. L 85

ζήτησόν το (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 88.4d); πᾶχυνον τὸν
 σκύλον σου (ibid. 97.1d); φάσον μοι (ibid. 117.2d–3d); μάθισον τὸν υἱόν σου (ibid. 150.4d)
 ἔπαρον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου Ptochol. α 142
 ἄκουσον τὴν ἀλήθειαν Krasop. L 45
 ἐλέησόν μας Diig. Alex. K 355.6
 ἀλλὰ καρτέρησον μικρὸν PETRITSIS, Dig. O 2793
 προσκύνησον Alex. Fyll. 22.7; πῖστευσόν με ibid. 95.12

Plural

Pl.	2	-ετε -ΕΤΕΝ -ΕΤΕΥΕ -ΤΕ
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The most common 2 pl. ending before, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar is -ετε, which can be found in texts from all areas and in all stylistic registers:

ζεματίσετε Ptoch. IV 594; θρέψετε ibid. 598
 γυρεύσετε Dig. E 63
 ἀκούσετε Assizes B 278.1
 τὰ κάτεργα διορθώσετε Pol. Tr. 1608
 θρηνήσετε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 36
 ψυχοπονέσετέ μας Rim. than. 129; ἀπαντήξετέ μας ibid. 130
 ἀγοράσετε (1493–4, Athos, OIKONOMIDIS 1968: 36, 179.3)
 γυρέψετε εἰς τὰς γραφὰς MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 48.25; δῆσετέ με ibid. 448.27–8
 κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνεῖτε Moiol. Konst. 56
 ἀκούσετε, γροικήσετε Theseid I.4,5 (Follieri)
 ἔροχινιάσετε ὀλλίγον καὶ μάθετε Pist. *kekoim.* 66 (< ἐξιχνιάζω)
 τὸν Θεὸν εὐκαριστήσετε Thysia Avr. 1036
 ἀκαρτερέσετε, ἀκαρτερέσετε Bertoldin. 145.32–3
 στελετέ μου (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.28)
 κρατήσετέ το (1666, Rome, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 11, 115.2)

Addition of final /n/ is not uncommon in texts from Chios:

καὶ ἀκούσετεν λιγάκι VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 320; ξεκουφάνετέν τον ibid. 408; λογιάσετεν καλὰ
 ibid. 530; ἄπωνα τότε γδάρετεν ibid. 1228
 καὶ κάτσετεν, βρομήσετεν ὥστε νὰ ᾄδ' αὐτί μου KONDA., *Paidēs* 17
 καὶ ἀμέστ' ἀρπάξετέν την PETRITSIS, Dig. O 185; καὶ μένα φέρετέν την ibid. 186; τὸν Θεὸ
 δοξάσετεν ibid. 2677; γροικήσετεν καὶ τοῦτον ibid. 2985

Sometimes plural forms can be found in which the first stress falls on the same syllable as in the singular (cf. the imperfect and aorist indicative, 4.3.1 and 4.4), with a second stress on the penultimate. This stress pattern has been found in a document of northern provenance: ρώτησετέ τὸ Ζώτο (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17a, f.45v.10).

Syncopated forms have been found from the 15th/16th c. onwards, in texts from a variety of areas (for syncope see also I, 2.7.2):

πιάστε τὸν κλέφτην Assizes B 442.10
 βάλτε καλὰ ᾄς τὸν νοῦν σας Theseid I.4,5 (Follieri)
 πιάστε με FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 267
 πάρτε με μετὰ σας MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 448.28
 γιὰ πιάστε νὰ ᾄγοδῶσομεν γιὰ τὴν αποθαμένη | κασέλα Apoll. Rim. A 921–2
 στεῖλτε προβατοντύματα Alex. Rim. 1037; ἡ φέρτε τὴ γυναῖκα του ibid. 2253

ἐγροικῆστε, ἄνθρωποι *Diig. Alex. F 204.6* (Konstantinopulos)
 σύρτε ἀπέ'δω γλήγορα *DAM. SToud., This., Logos 13, μ8r.17* (1561)
 δώστε *CHORTATIS, Panor. V.345*; πιάστε τη, κορασίδες μου *id., Erot. V.665*
 σύρτε καλύτερα εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου τὸ πουλοῦσι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 25.9*
 καὶ πάρτε τὴν Εὐγένειά μου, σύρτε στὸ περιβόλι *MONTSEL., Evgena 527*; γλιτῶστε με *ibid. 565*
 ἐπάρτε τους ἀπὸ μπροστά *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 2615*
 τὸ δ,τι σᾶς χρειάζεται ἀπὸ μένα πάρτε *Diig. Vefa 1108*
 σύρτε εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην σας *Alex. Fyll. 65.14*

The verb πιάνω can have a syncopated form in which the /s/ of the perfective stem is omitted, resulting in 2 pl. πιάτε. This form has been found in Kallioupolis (Thrace) and in texts from Chios, where it usually has an added final /n/:

πιάτε τον *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 26.48* and *Mark. 14.44*
 πιάτε τον δλοι *VEST., Paid. Makkav. 385*; πιάτεν τὸν τροχόν *ibid. 1042*; πιάτεν τὸν ἄλλον *ibid. 1058*; πιάτεν καὶ αὐτὸν *ibid. 1176*
 πιάτεν το κ' ἐσεῖς *KONDAR., Paides 340*

Pl.	2	-ατε
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The AG 2 pl. ending -ατε had started to be replaced by the ending -ετε of the present imperative in Hellenistic times (JANNARIS 1897: 205; DIETERICH 1898: 248). Nevertheless, residual forms in -ατε do appear in LMedG and EMG texts, usually alongside forms in -ετε:

πανταχοῦ ἐρευνήσατε *Dig. G I.210*; εἰ βούλεσθε, πεζεύσατε *ibid. VI.200*
 ποιήσατε προστάγματα, κ' ἐγὼ νὰ τὰ βουλλώσω *Chron. Mor. H 579*; ἀκούσατε οἱ ἄπαντες *ibid. 724*
 κροτήσατε χεῖρας *Spanos D 116*
 χαλάσατε, ὄρη, ... βουνά, πλακώσατέ με *DELLAP., Epit. Thrinos 377*
 διορθώσατέ το ... καὶ περιθάλψατέ τον (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.6)
 ποιήσατε νὰ εἶναι πεπαιδευμένοι (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 289.14)
 κινήσατε [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim. 60*
 καὶ δικαιώσατέ με *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 232.3* (hapax)
 ἀκούσατε θαυμάσατε Θεοῦ μεγάλην δόξαν! *Diig. Apoll. 403*
 ἐρωτήσατε αὐτὸν τὸν Καισαρείας *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe. (1572) 169-70*
 ἀκούσατε, Δελφοί: *Vios Aisop. K 204.22*
 ἐξετάξατε ... καὶ ἐκεῖ μένιντε *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 10.11*; δειξατέ με τὸ νόμισμα *ibid. 22.19*
 μικροί, μεγάλοι κλαύσατε, χύσατε σαν ποτάμι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 9943*

4.5.2.2 Passive Voice

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	γράφου	γράφῃ -ῃ γράφῃσε -σου	γράφουν γράφῃσεν -οῦ
Pl.	2	γραφῃτε	γραφῃτεν/γραφῃτε(ν)	γράφῃτε

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ου
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The ending -ου, employed by analogy with the present (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 101; see also 4.5.1.1.2), first appears with aorist middle forms, which consisted of the aorist active stem and the middle ending -αι; -ου, as an ending having a sufficiently passive "feel" to it, simply replaced -αι and was thus attached to the active stem. The earliest examples can be found in papyri of the first centuries AD, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωδίου ἄρξου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς Σελήνης καὶ ἐκβαλε τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ζωδίων *Anubion, Carm. astrol. III, 13.7* (ed. Obbink 2006) (1st c. AD); this passage was literally copied, including the form ἄρξου, by Hephæstion, *Apotelesmatica* 186.23 (ed. Pingree) (4th c. AD); and in the apocryphal *Acta Thomae* (3rd c.?; oldest ms 10th c.): κατὰ σεαυτὴν λόγισαι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός, δι' ὅλης σκέψου τῆς νυκτός σήμερον *Acta Thomae* 228.2-4 (ed. Bonnet).¹²³ In contrast with the original middle forms in -αι (e.g. ἄρνησαι), the new forms in -ου are paroxytone (ἄρνήσου), in line with the present passive imperative forms from which the ending was borrowed. When the middle voice had completed its gradual collapse and fallen into disuse, remarkably the aorist imperative form in -ου held its ground.

σφογγίσου ἐκ τὸ πεπόνιν *GLYKAS, Stichoi 267*; ἀνακομπώσου, δέξου τον *ibid. 331*
 τὸ τέκνον σου ἄρνήσου *Dig. G II.168*
 ἄρρωστον ἐπισκέψου *Spanes Va 525*
 ἵψου / τύψου (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 63.318)
 ἔπαρε κ' εὐλογήσου τὴν *Chron. Mor. H 2509*; ἔμέναν παραδόσου *ibid. 4064*
 λυτρώσου *Liv. V 3615*
 εὐλόγησιν εὗξου με *Paroim. F 49*
 ἐντύσου καὶ ποδέσου *Peri xen. 36*
 ὀρίσεν τὴν δτι: ἐκδύσου! *Ptochol. P 229*
 δηγήσου τῆς τὰ πάθη μου *Love poems V 336* (= διηγῆσου)
 ἀγάπη μου, στολίσου *Kakop. 66*
 λούσου ἐκεῖ ἑπτὰ φορές *DAM. SToud., This., Logos 3, γ3v.22* (1561)
 στοχάσου *PAPASYNAD., Chron. II §11.78*; ἐξομολογήσου *ibid. III §11.12*; προσεύξου *ibid. III §24.42*
 ἄρξου τῆς παρακλήσεως (1684-5 [ms], Cyprus, ŠANGIN 1936: 3, 118.3-4)
 ὅσο μπερεῖς βλεπήσου *KORNAROS, Erot. I.1188* (for the stem βλεπήσ- see 2.2.1.7)
 συλλογίσου καλὰ *Don Kis. 113.26*; στοχάσου *ibid. 130.15*

And not only did such ex-middle forms survive, the ending -ου also spread to the passive imperative of verbs that had not had an aorist middle in the first place, or for which the aorist middle had been very rare even in Antiquity (e.g. βοηθῶ, καταδικάζω, κοιμοῦμαι, πληροφορῶ, προδίδω, σηκώνω), as well as of new verbs (e.g. ἀντρειεύω, ζαλίζω,

¹²³ Later examples in non-vernacular texts include: ἄρξου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν παιδεύειν με *Apophthegmata Patrum XV, §119.13* (ed. J.-C. Guy); ὑπαγε, μέμψου τοῖς πατράσι σου *Ps. Gregentios, Dialexis III.236* (ed. Berger; 10th c.); λούσου ἐν ἀγερούσι *λῆμνη Byz. Phys. VIII.13* (ed. Sbordon; 11th c. original?); ἀπάρξου γράφε *Ps. Psellos, Poem 58, 109* (ed. Westerink; 12th c., author unknown, 15th-c. mss); ἄρξου συντόμως *id., Poem 67, 247*.

καλογηρεύω). For all verbs with sigmatic perfective stems, these aorist passive imperatives are formed in exactly the same way as the old middle forms, by adding the ending -ου to the active perfective stem of the verb, e.g. σηκώνω: σηκωσ-ου > σηκώσου; πληροφορώ: πληροφορησ-ου > πληροφορήσου.

- πληροφορέσου *Dig.* E 1793
 ξενίσου *Liv.* E 153
 μισταρεύσου με μετά ψωμίν και μόνον [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1650
 κρημνίσου, τρισάθλιε *Spanos* D 412
 θέλεις γυναίκαν έπαρε, θέλεις καλογηρέψου *LIMEN.*, *Than. Rod.* 406
 στενέψου από τὸ ἔχει σου *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 286
 δόξου ξαν ὄφιν και ἦρτεν τρεχάτον *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 648.30 (<δοκῶ)
 προδώσου *Rim. kor.* A 103
 δὲν εἶπεν Λάζαρε, ἀναστήσου *DAM. SToud.*, *This.*, *Logos* 5, ε8ν.18 (1561)
 τίνος μιλῶ; σηκώσου! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.529; γης, σκίσου, ρούφηξέ με *id.*, *Panor.* V.203
 παντρέψου ἐσύ *Stathis* III.374
 σηκώσου, μὴν κοιμᾶσαι *TRIVOLIS, Re Skotsias* 247
 ἐλεμονήσου με δέσποτα *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 88
 ξεριζώσου και φυτεύσου εις την θάλασσαν *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath. Louk.* 17.6
 ἀφκρίσου νὰ σὲ πῶ *Thrinis Konst. (Zoras)* 62
 ξεζαλίσου *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.725; ἀντρεῖψου και βουηθήσου *ibid.* I.1186

This is the development that can be traced in most areas, but a different development occurs in Cyprus, (parts of?) Asia Minor and the northern mainland, where the ending -ου is attached not to the active but to the passive stem, whether regular or irregular (see THUMB 1912: 158 for these forms in modern Cypriot). The lack of (passive) imperatives in non-literary texts such as the Cypriot law texts edited by Simon and Maruhn and the *Assizes* makes it impossible to establish when these forms first appear. Apart from the abundant evidence from Cyprus from the 15th/16th c. onwards, similar forms have been found in the 13th-c. poems of Sultan Walad (Konya, Cappadocia), in a quadrilingual book for learning Arabic that displays certain features common to modern Pontic in the Greek passages, among which this type of imperative (HENRICH 1990: 365),¹²⁴ as well as in a 17th-c. collection of folk songs copied in Athos, in Kallioupolis's metaphrasis of the *New Testament* and in *Alexander and Semiramis* (Constantinopolitan scribe). The verb στρέφω (imp. pass. στράφου rather than στρέψου) seems to be the only verb with such an imperative to have had a more widespread geographical distribution:

- Ελα κάγου, λυγερέ, στὸν πόθον Του *SULT. WALAD, Poem I* 21
 και εὐχαρίστου της *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 218.6; ἐλεμονήθου με *ibid.* 254.4; ἐννοιάστου *ibid.* 480.33; διασώθου *ibid.* 496.19; ἀναγκάστου νὰ στραφῆς *ibid.* 552.23; βλεπήθου *ibid.* 554.19
 κοιμήθου ἀμέριμνα *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 74.10–11; στάθου με καλήν καρδίαν *ibid.* 258.9
 ἀθθυμήθου τῆς πτωχειᾶς *Fior* 102.38; ἐννοιάστου *ibid.* 102.40
 ὑποδηματώθου (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, *LEHFELDT* 1989: 101.4d); θερμάνθου ἐν πυρὶ (*ibid.* 104.1d); ἐπαναπαύτου καθημένος (*ibid.* 139.4d)

¹²⁴ For such forms in modern Pontic see *OIKONOMIDIS* 1958: 266; in modern Cypriot *CHATZIOANNOU* 1999: 61 ff. and *SYMEONIDIS* 2006: 225 ff.; in Cappadocian varieties *DAWKINS* 1916: 146 and 190.

- ντύθου λεμοσύνην *Cypr. Canz.* 37.5; χρειάστου *ibid.* 37.6; στάθου *ibid.* 45.1; λυπήθου *ibid.* 77.13; πιντώθου *ibid.* 77.29
 ἐννοιάστου καλά *Fior* 75.34
 βλεπήθου με δλες τὲς βλέπησες *Fior Suppl.* 273.18; ἀπολογήθου *ibid.* 276.9
 χάρου ἡ βασιλεία σου ἀπόψα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 786
 ἄγριον πουλί, μερώθου μου *Dimotika Ivir.* X.1
 βλεπήθου, Κύπρος, κι ἔρχεται *Thrinis Kypr.* 52; λυπήθου *ibid.* 138
 και ἀναστάθου ἀπὸ τοὺς νεκροὺς *KALLIOUP.*, *Eph.* 5.14

- στράφου, καλὲ νεώτερε *Dig.* E 991
 στράφου και μὴ αἰσχύνου *Pol. Tr.* 3528 app. crit. (B)
 στράφου εις τὸ παλάτι σου *Hist. Imp. Iib* 2480–1
 στράφου, αὐθέντη εὐγενῇ *Achil.* O 472
 στράφου εις τὸ σεντουκάκιν *DELLAP.*, *Erot. apokr.* 2104
 οἱ καβαλλάριδες ἐνέψαν του: στράφου! *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* 548.25
 ἄμε και στράφου *Fior* 101.13
 στράφου σ' ἐκεῖνο το κλαδί *CHORTATIS, Panor.* III.91; στράφου σ' ἐμὲ λυπητερά *id.*, *Erof.* III.235
 στράφου νὰ δεῖς τὸ Χουσαῖν *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 216.10
 στράφου κ' ἐσύ *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.441

A shift of the stress to the ultimate is very rare and perhaps the result of confusion with the thematic aorist:¹²⁵ λοιπὸν στραφοῦ *Pol. Tr.* 1056 app. crit. (ABX); στραφοῦ και μὴ αἰσχύνει *ibid.* 3528 app. crit. (V).

Sg.	2	-σου
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The combination of the perfective active stem consonant /s/ and ending -ου eventually led to a reanalysis of the morpheme as a passive imperative ending -σου. This new ending could then be used for verbs with non-sigmatic aorist active stems (e.g. δέρνω and σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω), and even for deponent verbs, which did not have an active perfective stem at all (e.g. ἀποκρίνομαι, κοιμοῦμαι, στέκομαι and the oxytone alternative passive perfective stem of κρύπτω, κρυβηθ-). In these cases the ending -σου is added to the passive perfective stem, whereby the passive marker <θ> of the stem is deleted before /s/, e.g. σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω: συρθ-σου > σύρσου, στέκομαι: σταθ-σου > στάσου, ἀποκρίνομαι: ἀποκριθ-σου > ἀποκρίσου, κοιμοῦμαι: κοιμηθ-σου > κοιμήσου. As becomes clear from the examples below, the imperatives of deponent verbs (e.g. ἀποκρίσου, θυμήσου, στάσου and φοβήσου) have a wide geographical distribution, whereas σύρσου and δάρσου have only been found in texts from Crete:

- στάσου κατὰ ἀνατολὰς *Pol. Tr.* 561 app. crit. (V); λοιπὸν και ἀποκρίσου με *ibid.* 9931
 κύρκα, φοβήσου τὸν Θεὸν *Dig.* E 1549
 κρυβήσου μοναχὸς σου *Liv.* E 2087
 κοιμήσου, τέκνον μου καλὸν *Achil.* L 224
 στάσου, καράβι, νὰ χαρῆς *Anak. Konst.* 16
 λάλησε κι ἀποκρίσου *PIKAT.*, *Rima thrin.* 456

¹²⁵ The same form appears in a 10th-c. text transmitted in a 15th-c. ms: στραφοῦ, δίκαιε Ἰωάννη *Hippiatr.* 297.11 (eds. Oder/Hoppe, vol. II).

ἐνθυμήσου *Diig. Alex.* F 298.6 (Lolos); φοβήσου τὸν θεόν *ibid.* 186.23–4 (Konstantinopulos)
 λυπήσου μας *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 30, Z4r.24–5 (1561)
 στάσου στην Καλλιόπην (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 48.25)
 στάσου στὸ Μεστὸν Βιβάρι (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.16)
 κί' ἀφιδαρέψου μού τα *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.13; τσι δούλεψες θυμήσου *id., Erof.* IV.354
 δάκρυσε καὶ λυπήσου *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2457
 στάσου ἡσυχος *Bertoldos* 64.4
 κρυβήσου *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §7.107; στάσου με φόβον Θεοῦ *ibid.* III §23.7
 θυμήσου καὶ ἐμένα (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.11)
 στάσου παρέκει *Don Kis.* 45.14; αποκρίσου με εἰς αὐτό *ibid.* 130.22

σύρσου ἀπὸ δῶ *CHORTATSI, Katz.* I.243
 σύρσου, καὶ με τὴ ράχη πήγαινε ὀπίσω *Stathis* II.127
 σύρσου παρέκει λίγον *Pist. voskos* III 6.404
 ὀπίσω σύρσου *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.371
 κλάψε καὶ δάρσου, Πέθεμνος *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 195.13; Εὐρώπη, δάρσου σήμερο *ibid.*
 549.20 (probably modelled on γδέρνω, ἐγδαρά)
 σύρσου ἀπὸ 'κεῖ *KORNAROS, Erof.* V.676

The only verb that deviates from this formation is ἐγείρω, which used to lack a separate perfective stem. From the moment it developed a new imperfective stem γερν- (see 2.4), forms with -γερν- tended to be interpreted as perfective, and thus what was originally the present imperative (ἐγείρου) came to be used for the aorist:

egiru / ἐγείρου (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 63.20) (translated as "rise, stand up!")
 ἐγείρου, κοράσιον μου *Dig.* E 911
 ἐγείρου ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν *Liv.* V 446
 ἐγείρου διασυντόμως *Flor.* L 514
 δέσποινά μου, ἐγείρου *Achil.* N 1234 (cf. ἐγέρνεται *ibid.* 1065)
 γείρ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, μεθύστακα! *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.529
 γείρου *Thysia Avr.* 1

Addition of final /n/ is very rare and probably does not represent a true "nasal", but rather indicates that the following voiceless stop /t/ was pronounced as voiced /d/ (see I, 3.8.3.2 for details): λυπήσουν τὴν πτωχὴν τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.57).

Sg.	2	-Ø
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Shortened forms exist of certain verbs, such as σηκώνω and στέκομαι.¹²⁶ The form σήκω can be used intransitively as well as transitively (cf. the forms σήκου, below, and σήκα, 4.5.2.3).¹²⁷

¹²⁶ There appears to have been a Late Antique low-register form στᾶ for στήθι (< ἱστημι), recorded in Photios, quoting Olympiodoros (5th c. AD): «στᾶ, στᾶ, οὐ λούει», and also to be found in Leontios of Naples: εἶπεν ὁ κύρις σου· «στά» Leontios of Naples, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 84.24 (7th c.). Choiroboskos mentions the same form when treating the much more common Koine form ἀνάστα (for ἀνάστηθι). Given the scarcity of older evidence, it cannot be established with certainty whether the LMedG form is a continuation of the Late Antique form, or an innovative shortened form of στάσου. The form στά also appears in varieties of modern Pontic (OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 267) and Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 146).

¹²⁷ Transitive use of σήκω can for instance also be found in the Zakynthian Dimitrios Gouzelis's comedy *O Chasis* (σήκω τὸ κεφάλάκι σου I.131), the final version of which dates from 1795 (ed. Z. Synodinos, Athens 1997), as well as in colloquial MG.

ista / ἰστά (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 76.13) (with prothetic /i/ because most Semitic languages do not permit word-initial consonant clusters)¹²⁸

στά, μὴ φοβάσαι *Liv.* E 646
 στά, μὴ ὀλιγωρῆς *Liv.* V 3441 and *Liv.* S 561 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 καὶ στά εἰς προσευχὴν (15th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1927: Suppl., 585.12)
 στάθου, κυρά μου, στά νὰ σὲ βιγλίσω *Cypr. Canz.* 45.1
 στά ὀλίγον *Fior* 116.29
 στά, κόρη μου *Ptochol.* P 238
 σήκω ἀπὸ τὸν ὕπνο *Liv.* V 1167
 σήκω, υἱέ μου *Peri xen.* 36 app. crit. (A)
 σήκω, σύρε στάσου *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 20, τ2v.13–14 (1561)
 σήκω, πατέρα *Diig. Alex.* F 136.11 (Lolos)
 σήκωσε vel σήκω ... τὴν τράπεζαν *ROMANOS, Grammar* 140.17–18 (transitive)
 σήκω *GERMANO, Grammar* 82.15
 σήκω ἀπάνου *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 6.8; σήκω το κρεβάτι σου καὶ περιπάτει *ibid.*
 Ioann. 5.12 (transitive)
 σήκω, γλυκύτατό μου φῶς *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1757
 σήκω, παπᾶ Νεόφυτε *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 259

In the case of σηκώνω, the new ending /o/ of the shortened form may be replaced with the regular imperative ending /u/:

κυρά μου σήκου στόχασ' τον *Achil.* L 843; σήκου νὰ τὸν ἀποδεκτοῦμεν *ibid.* 1089
 σήκου καὶ ζήτησόν το (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 88.4d)
 σήκου ἕναν κόρπον τὰ μνημόσυνα *Pist. kekoim.* 527–8 (transitive)

Sg.	2	-ητι ! -ηθι
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The AG ending -ητι (< -ηθι with progressive dissimilation when the passive stem ends in -θ) gradually fell into disuse from the Koine onwards and came to be replaced by the endings -ου (see above) and -ησε (see below). Residual forms in -ητι can still be found in various texts, especially fossilized forms that belong to the religious/ecclesiastical tradition, such as μνήσθητι (< μιμνήσκω), ἰλάσθητι (< ἰλάσκομαι), πείσθητι (< πείθω), σπλαχνίσθητι (< σπλαγχνίζω), and πληροφορήθητι (< πληροφορῶ):

πείσθητι οὖν *Dig.* G IV.733; φάνηθι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων *ibid.* VI.196; ἦλιε, ζοφώθητι ... | σελήνη, μελανώθητι *ibid.* VIII.216–17
 παύθητι τῆς ὀργῆς σου *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 235; ψυχὴ μου, παρακλήθητι *ibid.* 300
 γοργὸν αὐτὸ ἐπιλήσθητι *Spaneas Va* 384 ("new" formation for ἐπιλάθου)
 καὶ πείσθητι γεροντικοῖς καὶ πατρικοῖς σου λόγοις *Ptoch. III* 72
 αἰσχύνθητι, ἐντράπηθι *Diig. tetr.* 264 app. crit. (CLA)
 τοῦτο πληροφορήθητι *Pol. Tr.* 373; ἐσὺ κοιμήθητι *ibid.* 473
 ἰδοὺ καὶ μνήσθητι ἐμοῦ *Diig. Apoll.* 148
 μνήσθητι [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 263

¹²⁸ Example taken from the *Rasūlid Hexaglot*, a 14th-c. Arabic–Persian–Turkic–Greek–Armenian–Mongol glossary in Arabic script.

καὶ κλίθητι πρὸς πόθον *Achil.* N 970
 πληροφορήθητι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ *Log. parig.* O 166 (Politi); ἀδελφέ, ἀποκρίθητι *ibid.* 628 (interestingly, the earlier ms L reads: πληροφορήθηκε and ἀποκρίθηκε; see below)
 κρημνίσθητι *Spanos* D 24
 μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 383.42
 ἀποκρίθητί μοι *Vios Aisop.* K 198.15
 σπλαχνίσθητί τους *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 9986; ἰάσθητι, Μακρόθυμε *ibid.* 9989

Sg.	2	-ησε(ν)
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The AG ending -ηθι (see above) was reformed into a more familiar-looking -ησε by analogy with the active: sg. δέσε, pl. δέσετε : sg. δέθητι, pl. δέθητε > sg. δέθησε (*CHATZIDAKIS* 1905/07: A 81, fn. 1). The spelling with <αι> for <ε> in the last syllable in some manuscripts and modern editions, as if they were innovative aorist middle imperatives, is unjustified. It cannot be established with certainty when forms in -ησε first appeared, but they were clearly well established by the beginning of the LMedG period and can also be found in certain mixed- and higher-register texts, such as *Kallimachos* and the 14th-c. *Metaphrasis* of the *Alexiad*.¹²⁹ The oldest example found so far is κρυβήθηκε in Symeon the New Theologian, *Poem 21*, v. 418 app. crit. (D) (ed. Koder) (10th/11th c. original; the reading is taken from the oldest ms, Marc. gr. 494, which dates from the 13th c.). Forms in -ησε have been found in texts from northern areas and the mainland, the Peloponnese being the southernmost area where they appear to have been in use. They gradually fell into disuse in favour of forms in -ου (see above) during the 15th/16th c., everywhere but in certain northern areas: see the examples from Kallioupolitis (Thrace) and the grammar of Romanos Nikiforou (Thessaloniki), for which see also *Liosis* 2017: 562.¹³⁰

ψυχῇ, περισωρεύθῃσαι *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 189
 μᾶλλον δὲ στερεώθῃσαι *Spanos* Va 296; αὐτὸ πληροφορήθῃσαι *ibid.* 497
 πληροφορήθῃσαι ἀπ' ἐμέν *Log. parig.* L 164; χάρησε ἀπὲ τῶρα *ibid.* 405
 συγκλίθῃσαι *Liv.* E 197; πληροφορέθῃσαι *ibid.* 213; παρηγορήθῃσαι μᾶς *ibid.* 2961
 πληροφορήθῃσαι το *Pol. Tr.* 219 app. crit. (AEVX), 572 app. crit. (all mss), 1471, 12736 and 12863; καὶ στάθῃσαι *ibid.* 561 app. crit. (E)
 μίαν ἡμέραν στάθῃσαι *Peri xen.* 319
 ἐγνωρίσθῃσαι μετ' ἐμᾶς (15th c., Athos?, *VASMER* 1922: 273); νίφθῃσαι (*ibid.* 1218); ἐνδύθῃσαι (*ibid.* 2453)
 κρύβῃσαι [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 492
 στράφῃσαι ὁμπρὸς δουμάκι *Defi. Par.* 366
 ἀφηκρίσθῃσαι μου *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 94.6
 συλλογίσθῃσαι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 752
 καὶ θάλασσα βρυχήσθῃσαι τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς Πόλης *Thrinios Konst.* (Zoras) 10
 γράφθῃσαι *ROMANOS, Grammar* 27.15; ἀγαπήθῃσαι *ibid.* 42.16; ἀποκρύφθῃσαι vel ἀποκρύψῃσαι *ibid.* 89.24
 προσεσχῃσαι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.6; σιώπα· ἀποστομώθῃσαι *ibid.* Mark. 4.39
 ρίχθῃσαι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν *ibid.* 11.23

¹²⁹ πραγματεύθῃσαι τὴν σωτηρίαν σας *Metaphr. Alexiad* 394.5–6.

¹³⁰ Forms in -ησε survive in modern Macedonia, see e.g. *TSOPANAKIS* 1953: 291–2 for the dialect of Siatista.

Addition of final /n/ is very rare: δέθησεν *Liv.* E 199.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ητε
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AG proparoxytone 2 pl. forms in -ητε are residual by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, as they had been replaced by paroxytone subjunctive forms (see below). They can occasionally be found, often alongside paroxytone forms:

στράφῃσαι *Dig.* G VI.638; αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων ἀπασαὶ σβέσθῃσαι φρυκτωρίαι *ibid.* VIII.218
 ἁμαρτωλοὶ, πορεύθῃσαι *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 486
 δεῦτε σμίχῃσαι σήμερον *Log. parig.* L 14
 ἀθροίσθῃσαι καὶ περισυσταθῃσαι *Dig.* A 2701
 τοῦτον φοβήθῃσαι *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 12.5

Pl.	2	-ῃτε(ν)/-εῖτε(ν) : -ῃτεν/-εῖτεν : -ῃτενε/-εῖτενε
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The 2 pl. aorist passive imperative was morphologically identical to 2 pl. aorist passive subjunctive but for the stress, the former being proparoxytone and the latter paroxytone. Since the subjunctive was used in a hortative sense very close in meaning to the imperative (*JANNARIS* 1897: 206), paroxytone forms gradually replaced the original proparoxytone ones. A similar process of the imperative being replaced by the subjunctive can be seen in the imperative of the active thematic aorist, which not only adapts its stress pattern to the subjunctive, but changes ending as well (e.g. ἴδετε > ἴδῃτε), as well as in prohibitions: μή + present imperative was replaced by μή + present subjunctive in the first centuries AD (*JANNARIS* 1897: 565–6). Some modern editors prefer to spell the subjunctive/imperative ending /ite/ with <η>, others with <ει>; this difference is purely graphematic.

βλεπῃθῃσαι καλὰ *Assizes* B 309.24
 βαλῃθῃσαι εἰς τὸ στρέμμα σας *Pol. Tr.* 1440; τριγύρου του σταθεῖτε *ibid.* 9741
 σμιγεῖτε μετ' ἐμένα *Log. parig.* O 14 (Politi)
 σύντομα σηκωθῃσαι *Liv.* E 2958
 ἀκροσταθεῖτε *SACHLIKIS, Vouli pol.* 96
 καλὰ συντροφευτεῖτε *Kakop.* 186
 δεκτεῖτε καὶ ἐμένα τὸν λόγον μου *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 350.20
 ὦ φίλοι, σταθεῖτε *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 52.9–10
 γερθῃσαι γλήγορα ἀπὸ δῶ *Chortatsis, Erof.* IV.428
 μαζωκεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 195; ξυπνᾶτε, σηκωθεῖτε *ibid.* 237
 ἀσηκωθῃσαι τῶρα *Bertoldos* 19.8
 στοχαστεῖτε τὰ πουλία *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 6.26; ἀναπαυθεῖτε ὀλίγον *ibid.* Mark. 6.31; φοβηθεῖτε ἐκεῖνον *ibid.* Louk. 12.5
 αὐτὰ να τα ἀφήσετε, συλλογισθεῖτε ἄλλον *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., Pali* 1524; μεγάλως ταρκατεῖτε *ibid.* 5369
 ἀφουκρασθῃσαι τὸ λοιπὸν *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.17; καὶ φυλαχθῃσαι *ibid.* I.514
 στοχασθεῖτε καὶ τὰς πληγὰς του *VAROUCHAS, Logoi* 468.36

Addition of final /n/ is a Chiot feature: ἐμένα λυπηθῃτεν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 865; ἐλεημονηθῃτεν *ibid.* 866; δένδρα, ξερρίζωθῃτεν | ... καὶ κάμποι λυπηθῃτεν *ibid.* 3053–4.

Pl.	2	-TE
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Shortened forms of 2 sg. may lead to new 2 pl. formations, as with the verb σηκώνω, which has a shortened 2 sg. form σήκω (see above); for comparable forms cf. 2 sg. ἄμε, 2 pl. ἄμετε, for which see 2.4.

ἔκ το στρώμα σας σηκώντε AITOLOS, *Ais. Myth.* 227.12 (intrans.)

σηκώντε ἅπαντες Bertoldos 41.36 (intrans.)

σηκώντε καὶ μὴν φοβάσθε KALLIOUR., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 17.7 (intrans.); σηκώντε τὴν πέτραν
ibid. Ioann. 11.38 (trans.)

σηκώσετε vel σηκώτε τὴν τράπεζαν ROMANOS, *Grammar* 140.17–18 (trans.)

4.5.2.3 /a/ Imperatives

Sg.	2	-α
Pl.	2	-ᾶτε

Alternative /a/-endings are used for the aorist active imperative of prefixed derivatives of βαίνω and certain other verbs (πίνω, σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω, σηκώνω), and have even been found with certain passive imperatives (of στρέφω and σηκώνω). Note that verbs that allow for the /a/-ending (with the exception of the regionally attested rare /a/-form of πίνω) belong to the same semantic field of verbs of motion: “go!”, “come!”, “run!” “stay!”, “turn around!”, and may therefore have been modelled on common aorist imperatives in -α such as that of ἐλάω (ἐλα) and prefixed forms of βαίνω (ἐμβα, κατάβα), all of which are Ancient (see LSJ s.v. ἐλαύνω and βαίνω). Another verb that belongs to the same semantic field of verbs of motion, namely ὑπάγω, developed a shortened form ὕπα (< ὕπαγε, which had replaced aor. ὑπάγαγε long before the period covered by this Grammar; see 2.4), in the EMedG period.¹³¹

4.5.2.3.1 Active Voice

Forms in -α are used for the aorist active imperative of compounds of the verb βαίνω (e.g. ἐκβα/ἐβγα, ἔμπα, σέβα, ἀνέβα, κατέβα), of ὑπάγω and of ἐρχομαι, whose alternative ἐλα is much more common than the “regular” forms in /e/ (see 4.5.2.4). The form ἐλα originally derived from ἐλαύνω/ελάω, but attached itself to the verb ἐρχομαι before the period covered by this Grammar.¹³² Rare examples of other verbs have been found in a 15th-c. tetralingual method for learning Arabic, which has certain features that can also be found

¹³¹ See e.g. ὕπα, μάθε τὴν κατάστασιν, ὁ Μαυρίκης οὐκ ἀπέθανεν in an early 7th-c. acclamation on Phokas (in Theofylaktos); ὕπα καλῶς, γεράκιν μου in an 11th-c. acclamation on Alexios Komnenos (in Anna Komnene) (see MAAS 1912: 35–6).

¹³² Interesting in this respect is the entry in Hesychius, which illustrates the shift in meaning (at least among the Spartans): ἐλα ... Λάκωνες. βάδιζε. λέγε Hesychius, *Lex.*, E 1835 (5th/6th c.).

in modern Pontic¹³³ and in two magical texts of unknown provenance, of the verbs πίνω, σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω and a shortened form of σηκώνω: σήκα. The form σήκα is likely to be passive in principle, but to have come to be used with transitive (active) meaning, just like other shortened forms of this verb (cf. σήκω and σήκου above):

Singular

κατέβα κύρι σύ<ν>τεκνε (11th c., Mani, DRANDAKIS 1972/73: 2, 666.2–3)

διάβα ὡς τὸ Πουλίσιν *Ptoch.* IV 120

ἐβγα ἀπ' ἐδῶ, λυσσόγερε *Dig.* E 1519

ἔμπα εἰς πόλεμον *Pol. Tr.* 4038

ἐκβα ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην *Diig. tetr.* 353 app. crit. (VCA)

γύρου ἀνέβα, κατέβα *Ptochol.* P 234

εἰς τὴν ἱστιάν ἔμπα γοργό *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 58

ἐβγα, ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Τουρκίας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 158.33–4

ἐβγα ἰδές με *Love poems* V 384

ἀνάβα τῷ δώματι, κατάβα (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 102.3d)

σέβα εἰς τὴν ἱερουσαλήμ *Diig. Alex.* K 347.21–2

Λάζαρε, ἐβγα ἔξω *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 5, ε8v.19 (1561)

διάβα *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 276

ἀνήβα *GERMANO, Vocab.* s.v. *ascendere*; κατήβα vel κατέβα *ibid.* s.v. *discendere*

ἐβγα καὶ σύρα (16th/17th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 65.7; and *ibid.* 65.15–16)

σέβα εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν σου *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §7.106

ἐλα ἀπόψε κοντά μου *SULT. WALAD, Poem* IV 1β

ἐλα καλέ μου *RUMI, Poem* II 5; ἔμπα ἔσω, ἐλα ἔδω *ibid.* 6

ἐλα ἔμπρός *Pol. Tr.* 511

ἐλα πρὸς ἐμέ [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1831

ἐλα, ψυχὴ μου, στράφου *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 130

θέλεις ἄμε, θέλεις ἐλα *Fior* 102.35

ἐλα καὶ σέβα *Diig. Alex.* F 126.6 (Lolos)

ἐλα καὶ ἐπαρέ με *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 18.3

ἐλα μοῦ τ' ἀγοράσης! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.92

ἐλα, γίνου Τοῦρκος *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §4.10

ἐλα νὰ πᾶμε στοῦ παπαῖ (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 518, 745.2)

ὕπα, ἄς ἀνασάνωμεν *Liv.* V 2377

ὕπα καλῶς *Liv.* α 3202

ὕπα, σηκώσου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 377

φάγε, πία (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 101.4d); σήκα τοῦτο τὸ
καλαμάριν (*ibid.* 190.1d)

σήκα τὸν λαόν σου (app. crit.) (16th c., Unknown, VASSILIEV 1893: 334.5)

Plural

ἅπαντες εἰς τὰ τεχνία τῆς πόρτας ἀνέβατε *Chron. Mor.* H 8310

ἐβγατε εἰς τὰ φουσάτα μου *Dig.* E 63

ἐβγατε ἀπὸ τὸ ὁσπίτιν μου *Spaneas* Z 505

ἐκβατε ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην μας *Diig. tetr.* 572 app. crit. (CA)

καὶ ἀφότου γνωρισθῆτε, ἴσεβατε με τὴν κόρην *Liv.* α 3108 app. crit. (P)

¹³³ For Pontic elements in this text see HENRICH 1998a; for these forms in modern Pontic, e.g. πία and σκότα (< σκοτώνω), see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 264–5.

διαβάτε οὖν καὶ σεις μ' αὐτὸν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* V.81
κατεβάτε *Pent. Gen.* 42.2
ἐβγάτε *Diig. Alex.* E 35.5 (Konstantinopulos)
ἐβγάτε νὰ ἰδῆτε SKORD. MARAF. G., *Evang.* 426.8
κι ἀπέκει ἔξω ἐβγάτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 165.13
σεβάτε εἰς τὴν ντέντα μου [VLASTOS], *Dig. P II* 324.19
ἐσεῖς ἀνεβάτε εἰς τὴν εορτὴν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Ioann.* 7.8

ἐλάτε μετ' ἐμένα *Log. parig.* L 14
ἐλάτε *Pol. Tr.* 3527
ἐλάτε ὡς παραστικόμενοι (1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 169.11)
ἐλάτε νὰ μοῦ τὸ εἰπέτε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.8–9
ἐλάτε, μὴν ἀργεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 238
ἐλάτε καὶ σεις ξύλα, πέτρες PAPASYNAD., *Chron. I* §36.67
ὕπατε εἰς τὴν τέντα μου *Dig.* E 169
ἀδελφία μου, ὕπατε εἰς τοὺς γονιούς σας *Achil.* O 588
ὕπατε καὶ σφαλίσετε DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 497
ὕπατε, θάψετε τὴν SACHLIKIS, *Katalogi* 97

Addition of final /n/ occurs in texts from Chios and the Heptanese: ἐξεβγάτεν *Diig. Alex.* F 34.8 (Konstantinopulos); ἐλάτεν νὰ γενῆτεν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 12; κατηβάτεν ἀφ' τῶλογα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2567; ἀ θέλετεν ἐλάτεν *ibid.* 2568.

A proparoxytone form has been found in a theatrical play from Chios: ἤβγατεν ὅλοι δξω KONDAR., *Paidēs* 8.

For the alternative plural form ἐλάστε/ἐλάστεν(ε) see 2.4.

4.5.2.3.2 Passive Voice

For the aorist passive the ending -α occurs in a shortened form of σηκώνω (cf. σήκω and σήκου above) in one ms of *Florios*. This ending -α has also been found with the verb στρέφομαι, attached to the aorist passive stem, in two mss of the *War of Troy* and in Trivolis: στράφα, μηδὲν αἰσχύνου *Pol. Tr.* 3528 app. crit. (AX); πάλε στράφα εἰς ἐμένα *ibid.* 7839 app. crit. (X); Φλώριε, σήκα, φίλησε τὰ κόκκινά μας χεῖλη *Florios* 839 app. crit. (V); καὶ παραμπρὸ στράφα δεξιὰ TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 221.

A plural in -ατε has been found only of the verb στρέφω: στραφάτε ὀπίσω in *Chron. Mor.* H 5179; στραφάτε, εἰπέτε του ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς *ibid.* 5189; κατὰ Λατίνους στραφάτε ms Vat. gr. 977, f.52v, marginal note.¹³⁴

An extreme case of analogical formation can be observed where the deictic particle νὰ ('here is ...', 'look ...') is concerned, of which a plural form νάτε (see THUMB 1912: 155; DAWKINS 1932: II 256) can be found in several texts.¹³⁵ It has even been found with final /n/, in a text from Chios:

¹³⁴ Ms Vat. gr. 977 is an 11th/12th-c. ms of Theophylaktos Simokattes's *Historiae*. A facsimile of f.52v is offered by NASTUREL 1956, pl. I. Násturel read "στραφεῦτε", but has been corrected by V. Laurent in a bibliographical note in *BZ* 50 (1957), 208 ("Sur la pl. I, en marge, lire: κατὰ Λατίνους στραφάτε et non κατὰ λατίνον στραφεῦτε (p. 183)"). According to NASTUREL 1956: 183, the marginal note dates to the 14th/15th c.

¹³⁵ Νάτε forms a striking parallel to the AG 2 pl. imperative δεῦτε, formed from the adverb δεῦρο. The exact reverse seems to have occurred with the adverb ἐδάρε (< ἔδε ἄρτι) ('now', 'look!'), which developed a singular form ἐδάρε.

καὶ νάτε τοῦτα τὰ ὅλογα, καβαλικεύσετέ τα *Liv.* E 2974
ἀνέν καὶ μὲν δὲν μοῦ πιστεύετε, νάτε τὸ χαρτὶν τοῦτον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.11
νάτε τὴν θυγατέρα μου KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 224.39
νάτεν τοὺς KONDAR., *Paidēs* 222
καὶ λέγει ντων: νάτε! ἐτούτη εἶναι ἡ σεργαγία μας (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.12–13)

4.5.2.4 Verbs with Barytone and Oxytone Forms

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, verbs with thematic aorists (e.g. βόλλω, εὐρίσκω, λέγω, μανθάνω/μαθαίνω, ὁράω/βλέπω, πίνω, φεύγω) had 2 sg. in -ε and 2 pl. in -ετε since Antiquity, and they continue to do so throughout the period under review. Some of these verbs, and notably βλέπω, εὐρίσκω and λέγω, show variation in the position of the stress (e.g. ἴδε and ἰδέ), the emergence of monosyllabic forms through the loss of the first unstressed /i/ (e.g. εἰπέ > πέ), and innovation in the endings themselves, namely an added 2 sg. marker /s/ to oxytone forms (e.g. ἰδές), as well as the adoption of the indicative/subjunctive ending εἴτε/-ῆτε for the plural. By analogy with these verbs βαίνω, which in AG had had an athematic aorist (βῆθι, βῆτε) as well as alternative forms in -α (2 sg.) and -ατε (2 pl.) in prefixed forms (for which see 4.5.2.3), developed a 2 sg. imperative in /e/ towards the very end of the EMG period or perhaps shortly after. For these imperatives and an overview of bibliography see also KATSOU DA 2002.

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	2	-ε -έ	-ές	
Pl.	2	-ετε -έτε -εἴτε/-ῆτε	-ετέν -έτενε -εἴτεν/-ῆτεν -εἴτενε/-ῆτενε	-ατε -έτεν

Distribution of Allomorphs

Singular

Sg.	2	-ε
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The inherited ending -ε of thematic aorists remains in use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Since most verbs in this category have monosyllabic stems, the imperative forms are paroxytone, unless the verb is prefixed with a preposition, in which case the stress may shift to the antepenultimate. Most of these verbs also have oxytone forms (see below), which are usually more common than the paroxytone forms. An exception are the verbs λαμβάνω/λαβαίνω and μανθάνω/μαθαίνω, for which paroxytone forms (μάθε, λάβε) are far more common than oxytone ones. The verb φεύγω seems to avoid oxytone forms

altogether. For *ἔρχομαι* the imperative *ἔλα* (see 4.5.2.3) is much more common than the thematic one (*ἔλθε*).

- ἴδε ἔμνοστον νέον *Dig. G IV.282*
 ἀλλ' ἴδε τὴν ἀσύγκριτον τοῦ θεανθρώπου κρίσιν *Ptoch. III 258*
 ἔλθε μετὰ μέ *Chron. Mor. H 5426*
 ἐσὺ δὲ φύγε ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Diig. tetr. 825*
 καὶ τοιοῦτον εὔρε *Liv. α 2019*
 φάγε, πῖε *Spanos A 262*
 ἔπαρε τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἴδε τόπον ἔρημον *Paroim. K 107*
 ὕπαγε πρὸς τὴν πόρτα καὶ ἴδε *Vios Aisop. K 182.13*
 πῖε ἀπ' αὐτόνο *MOREZINOS, Klini 19.26*
 ἴδε κεφάλια ὅπου κρέμονται *Diig. Alex. Sem. B 138*
 πῖε *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. berevere; ξανάπαρε* *ibid. s.v. rihavere*
 εὔρε μεγάλα ροδάκινα *LANDOS, Geopon. 151.24*
 ἄγωμε στῆθε κέρα-Μηλιᾶς, εὔρε τη *FOSKOLOS, Fort. V.204*
 κ' ἔλα τὴν νύκτα, εὔρε μας *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 647*
 γύρεψε κ' εὔρε γιατρικὸ *KORNAPOS, Erot. I.1274*
 ἔδάρτε, μάθε γράμματα καὶ θάρρει νὰ προκόψης *GLYKAS, Stichoī 204*
 δέξου καὶ λάβε *Dig. E 118*
 καὶ μάθε τὰ λυποῦμαι *Achil. L 603*
 καὶ τοιοῦτον εὔρε καὶ τὸν νοῦν, μάθε, τὸν ἰδικόν μου *Liv. α 2019*
 λάβε, κύριε *Assizes A 61.25*
 μάθε τὸ τί μ' ἐποίκε *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis 79*
 εἶμαι, μάθε, δαίμων *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 2101*

In verbs deriving from simple or prefixed forms of AG βάλλω deletion of the final /e/ may occur, typically before clitic pronouns:

- ἐβγαρ' μου τὴν κούρασάν μου *VOUSTR., Chron. A 220.14¹³⁶*
 βάρ' τῆς βλεπατόρους *Fior 149.12*
 βάρ' το εἰς τὸ λαμπρόν καὶ εὐθύς ἐβγαρ' το καὶ βάρ' ὅς τὸ κατώφλιον (16th/17th c. [ms],
 Cyprus, DELATTE 1927: [1], 82.17-18)
 ὦ θάνατε, ἐβγαλ' με, παρακαλῶ σε, ἀπὸ τόσα βάσανα *Bertoldin. 142.14-15*
 ἔπειτα βάλ' τα καὶ τηγάνισέ τα με λάδι *LANDOS, Geopon. 235.11*
 ἀπόβγαλ' τον νὰ πηαῖνη *KORNAPOS, Erot. III.936*
 λάβε τα καὶ βάλ' τα ὅλα (1715, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 7, 125.31)

A shift of the stress to the antepenultimate occurs when the disyllabic verb forms are prefixed with a preposition:

- ἀλλὰ τάχιον ἀπελθε *Dig. G VI.434*
 κατάμαθε τὰ κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου *Flor. L 201*
 παράλαβε, ὦ δέσποτα, τὸ πρῶτον σου κοντάρι *Achil. N 1588*
 καὶ ἔμβαλε τὴν κόρην σου εἰς τὰ παλάτια ταῦτα *Dig. A 58*
 καὶ τὸ λαλῶ κατάλαβε *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 1388*
 πρόιδε ἡ βασιλεία σου (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.14)

¹³⁶ The change of /l/ to /r/ in these apocopated forms of βάλλω (before clitic pronouns) is a feature of Cypriot, for which see I, 3.8.6.2.

- πρόβαλε, κορασίδα μου *CHORTATIS, Katz. I.13*
 κατάπτε πρῶτον αὐτὲς τὲς πύρολες *Bertoldin. 150.5*
 ξανάβαλε τὸν σπόγγον μέσα *LANDOS, Geopon. 255.10*

A shift of the stress from the antepenultimate to the penultimate may occur in the apocopated forms of proparoxytone imperatives: *κὶ ἀποκεῖς ἐβγάλ' το δέξω καὶ γιομίσ' το πόλβερη* (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.32-3).

Sg.	2	-έ! -ές
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In the disyllabic forms a shift of the stress to the ultimate can for certain verbs already be found in AG. (VENDRYES (1938: 125) mentions the existence of oxytone forms *εἰπέ*, *ἐλθέ*, *εὔρε*, *ἰδέ* and *λαβέ*. Byzantine grammarians and lexicographers usually prescribe the oxytone forms for at least *ἔρχομαι*, *εὐρίσκω* and *λέγω*. Isolated instances of *βαλέ* for *βάλε* can be found in EMedG texts such as Cyril of Alexandria and the *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon*.)¹³⁷ Oxytone forms of most of these verbs remain in use throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar, and are especially common with the verbs *βλέπω* and *λέγω*, and to a lesser extent *εὐρίσκω*, because the change in stress differentiates the imperatives (*ἴδε*, *εἰπέ*, *εὔρε*) from the homophonous 3 sg. aorist indicative forms (*εἶδε*, *εἶπε*, *εὔρε*):

- ἐλθέ μετ' ἐμέναν* *Dig. G III.225*; *εὔρε τοὺς ἀπελάτας* *ibid. VI.434*
 τοῦτον εὔρε κάκεῖνον ἐρώτα *GLYKAS, Eis tas aporias I 136.13*
εἰπέ, ἀδελφέ *Log. parig. L 613*
ἐλθέ εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν τῶν δεομένων *Dig. E 1841*
ἐλθέ εἰς τοῦ Πόθου τὸν δεσμόν *Liv. α 258 app. crit. (P)*
ἰδέ καὶ μάθε τὰς γραφάς *Liv. E 1512*
ἐλθέ, ἀδελφέ *Spanos A 221*
εὔρε τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἐν τῇ ἀκροστιχίδι *Spanos D 1808*
 σπούδαξε, *ἰδέ* τη, τὴν Γραφὴν *Synax. gyn. 87*
ἰδέ, ἀνεντράνισέ με *Om. Nekt. Vas. 88*
ἐλθέ, ἔπαρ' με, Χάροντα *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua VIII.189*
 ἐσὺ *ἰδέ* τίποτε δια τὴν ζωὴν σου *Diig. Alex. K 373.28*
εἰπέ μου ὅλην τὴν ἀλήθειαν! *Varl. & Ioas. (Lavras) 77.19*
ἰδίονο πέ δ' εἰπέ *GERMANO, Grammar 82.34*; *δέ & εἰδέ* *id., Vocab. s.v. vedere; ξαναεἰδέ & ξαναδέ* *ibid. s.v. risguardare*

Forms such as *ἰδέ*, *εὔρε* and *εἰπέ* may lose their initial unstressed stem vowel and produce imperative forms *δέ*, *βρέ* and *πέ* from the early LMedG period onwards:

- πέ* με τί ἔπαθες, *πέ* με τί ἔχασες! *RUMI, Poem II 2*
 καὶ *πέ* με τί νὰ φάγω *Ptoch. IV 248.32 app. crit. (P)*; *πῖε* τὸν πυρετόν *ibid. 473 app. crit. (HPK)*
ἔπειτα *πέ* τον (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4-5)
πέ μου τίποτε *FALIEROS, Ist. On. 67*
ἔδε τοὺς ἀρχόντες *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 46.37*; *πέ* το φανερά *ibid. 478.35-6*
πέ μου ἄλλος ἂν βρισκεται ὡς ἂν ἐμὲν ὁμοίως *VENDRAMOS, Istos. Filarg. 16*

¹³⁷ *βαλέ* ἀγκιστρον Cyril of Alexandria, *Dialogues* 515.35 (ed. De Durant); καὶ *βαλέ* τὸ εὔρεθ' ἐν καινῷ πινακίῳ George of Sykeon, *Life of St Theod.* 104. 12-13 (ed. Festugière).

και βρε άλλη κορασίδα CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.331; και πιε καμπόσο id., *Erof. Interm.* I.176
 για 'πέ μας PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 205
 'διέ μας και ομολόγησε KONDA., *Paidēs* 872 (= δέ; see I, 3.8.2.3)
 δέ, χωρίς κανέναν κόπικα *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.33
 πέ τ' ανδρός σου *Leilasia Par.* 375

Addition of final /s/ to the oxytone variants as a general marker for 2 sg. occurs from at least the 14th c. in various areas, though notably not in texts from eastern areas such as Chios, Cyprus and certain Cycladic islands (e.g. Paros, Naxos).¹³⁸ The form μαθές in *Katzourbos* and ms A of *Panoria* has adverbial use ("indeed").

ιδες το τί έδιαφόρησαν *Chron. Mor.* H 5124
 αλλά ιδες και θαύμασε *Liv.* α 174; ιδες το τί με έγινετον *ibid.* 652
 ιδες την αποτύφλωσιν την είχαν οι Άλβανίται! *Chron. Toc.* 1251
 ιδες το τίς με τρώγει *Poulol.* 263
 είπες, είπες, αφέντη μου *Katal.* 14
 ιδες με, γυναίκα, τίναν ομοιάζω; *Spanos A* 251-2
 καλοϊδες την την γυναίκα *Ptochol.* α 535
 σύρε είπες του βασιλέα σας *Diig. Alex.* F 264.12 (Lolos); ιδες της Έντίας τὰ φουσάτα *ibid.* 270.8
 έπειτα είπες την ευχήν (1514, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1963b: 165.58)
 τρώσι μαθές κι' εκείνα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.49; μαθές εγώ θαμάζομαι *ibid.* V.301 app. crit. (A)
 είπες του *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.2
 για ιδες τί λογής πέτρες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 13.1
 ιδες τί κάμουν οι ψευδομάρτυρες PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.41-2
 ιδες πόσοι άνθρωποι είναι *Alex. Fyll.* 105.2
 ιδες εκεί, ω φίλε Σάντσο *Don Kis.* 44.30; αμή είπες με *ibid.* 198.29

These forms are the precursors to the monosyllabic SMG imperatives βρες, δες, πες (and πίες), which make their first appearances in EMG:

πές μου τίποτις FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 67 app. crit. (V) (16th-c. ms)
 για δλους πές και λέγε μου TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 315
 υπαγε, βρες την Σιωπήν ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 1324
 μά πές μου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.63; και δες να μου βοηθήσης *ibid.* III.111
 πές του το πώς την έστειλα MONTSEL., *Evgena* 360

By analogy with this group of verbs, certain prefixed forms of the verb βαίνω (έμβαίνω, καταβαίνω and possibly εκβαίνω, but not αναβαίνω and εισβαίνω) may occasionally acquire the ending -ε (instead of -α, see 4.5.2.3); no oxytone examples have been found, but note that in SMG the imperatives of μπαίνω (< έμβαίνω) and βγαίνω (< εκβαίνω) have lost their

¹³⁸ A paroxytone form in -ες found in Machairas, και ιδες έσου! MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 246.12 (same in O and R), is problematic, and its meaning in the context not quite clear. Since other imperatives of this type (always without the final /s/) are oxytone in Machairas, this is very likely to be either a writing mistake or an aorist indicative (είδες). One more example of a paroxytone imperative form in Machairas, with an added final /n/ is probably a mistake as well: είπεν του κοντοσταύλη, αν θέλετε να πάμεν άππώδε, να μδς πέψη ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 476.13 app. crit. The editor corrects to είπεν on the grounds that Machairas normally has oxytone forms. A single paroxytone form ιδες in *Chron. Mor.* H 5534, ιδες το που σε ήφερεν ο φτόνος κ' ή άμαρτία σου, is likely to be either a writing mistake (ιδες) or an indicative (είδες) as well. The ms has an unfortunate stain that partly covers the first letter, but the text otherwise offers ιδε (805) and ιδες (5124).

initial vowel, resulting in monosyllabic (oxytone) forms with an added final /s/ (μπες and βγες): κατάβε, δέσποτα (15th c., Trebizond region, TSAKALOF 1910: [3], 212.3); έμπε μέσα εις τον κύκλον (16th/18th c. [ms], Unknown, DELATTE 1927: [1], 33.6).

The inherited AG 2 sg. imperative δός, which can be found alongside δώσε, may lose its final /s/ by analogy with the thematic aorist imperative (for more information on δίδω 2.4): δό με νερό (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2438); δό μου την Μακεδονίαν *Diig. Alex.* V 83.6; δό μου *Diig. Alex.* F 104.6 and 174.4 (Konstantinopulos).

The irregular aorist imperative form of τρώγω (φάγε) may lose its intervocalic /y/, after which the weaker vowel /e/ may be deleted (φά), in the later part of the period covered by this Grammar. For details and examples see 2.2.2.3.

Plural

Pl.	2	-ΕΤΕ ! -ΕΤΕΝ
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Inherited proparoxytone 2 pl. forms in -ετε can be found in texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

ΙΔΕΤΕ τὰ φουσάτα *Dig.* G I.210; και μάθετε το βέβαιον *ibid.* I.307
 ΙΔΕΤΕ πώς έχασαμεν τὰ πεζικά *Chron. Mor.* H 9182
 βγάλετε τον Άρμούρην *Arm.* 186
 παραλάβετε άμόλυντον κοράσιον *Dig.* E 174
 ΙΔΕΤΕ ... τί έγινε *Pol. Tr.* 1082
 λάβετε το νίκος *Alosis* 810
 εύρετε και αγοράσετε (1493-4, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ 1968: 36, 179.3)
 λάβετε άρχοντες, τουτον το γράφος *Assizes A* 103.28
 είπετε την βουλήν σας [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 965
 εκστήθου μάθετέ το *Kakop.* 12
 μάθετε, άνθρωποι της Αιγύπτου *Diig. Alex.* F 232.17-18 (Lolos)
 ΙΔΕΤΕ με πόσην πονηρίαν έπροσδιάβασεν *Diig. Alex.* E 287.14-15 (Lolos)
 μάθετε και καταλάβετε DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 10, κ3ν.31 (1561)
 έβγάλετέ τον γλήγορα άπομπρός μου *Vios Aisop.* D 218.25
 άκούετε και καταλάβετε KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.10; έλάτε και ΙΔΕΤΕ *ibid.* Ioann. 1.39
 ΙΔΕΤΕ, συντρόφοι μου *Alex. Fyll.* 16.25

Addition of final /n/ has been found in texts from Chios: βάλετεν κ' εις το χέρι του VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 411; βάλετεν την καθέδραν μου, να κάτσω να μιλήσω KONDA., *Paidēs* 87.

Syncopated forms of βάλλω and its compounds can occasionally be found:

βάλτε τον εις την μέσην *Pol. Tr.* 9612 (reading of mss AX)
 βάρτε τας πλώρας της άπάνω τους MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 554.27-8 (for this form see also I, 3.8.6.2)
 βάρτε το σκοπόν *Cypr. Canz.* 2.7
 βάλτε καλά 'ς τον νοϋν σας *Theseid* I.4,5 (Follieri)
 τούς δνυχας έβγάλτε *Dig.* A 988
 έβγάλτε τον καμπόσον δξω άπό το σακκλον *Bertoldos* 66.5
 βάλτε εις όρδινιάν MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1038
 εβγάρτε με απέδω ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 3655

The imperative φάγετε of the verb τρώω may lose its intervocalic /y/ and produce a form φᾶτε, for which see 2.2.2.3.

Pl.	2	-έτε -έτεν -έτενε
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For the verbs βλέπω and λέγω, and to a lesser degree εύρισκω, forms with a shift of the stress to the penultimate, in line with the singular (see above), are more common, because this differentiates the imperative from the homophonous 2 pl. aorist indicative forms (e.g. imp. ἴδετε, aor. ind. εἶδετε):

- καὶ παῖζουσιν τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ παῖδες «εἶπα εἰπέτε» *Ptoch.* IV 369; καὶ ἴδετε θαῦμα μέγα *ibid.* 416
 ἴδετε τὸν *Assizes* A 92.16
 ἴδετε τὸν σπανὸν *Spanos* A 143
 καὶ εἰπέτε τοῦ βασιλέα σας *Diig. Alex.* V 77.11
 ἀμέτε καὶ εύρέτε τὸν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.8
 κι ἴδετε τι 'χε πάθει ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 60.2
 ἴδετε ὀλλίγον *Pist. kekoim.* 71
 ἴδετε καὶ προσέχετε ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist Vlach.* 425
 εἰπέτε με *Don Kis.* 142.6; ἴδετε με πόσῃν υπερηφάνειαν περιπατεῖ ἡ σκρόφα *ibid.* 176.22–3

These verbs may lose their unstressed stem vowel, giving imperative forms δέτε, πέτε and βρέτε:

- δέτε, ἀπαντήξετέ μας *Rim. than.* 130
 ὄδετε τὸν σταυρὸν τὸν κυρίου ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 64.19–20; καὶ πέτε τοῦ *ibid.* 350.3
 δέτε ποῦ 'μ' ἄχ τὸν πόθον πεσωμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 25.1; πέτε | ξεῖς *ibid.* 40.5–6
 πέτε με *Erain. gyn.* 111
 ὅλοι με πέτε 'κτῆμα' *Kakop.* 14; καὶ βρέτε νέους σαν εσάς *ibid.* 186
 πέτε μου *Pist. kekoim.* 182
 πέτε τὰ καλορίζικα *Stathis* III.505
 δέτε ποῦ 'θελε μέ βάλει *Fallidos* 194
 γιὰ 'πέτε μου PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 175
 πέτε τοὺς τὴν αἰτία *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 929
 πέτε τῶν νὰ πᾶνε SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.26

Addition of final /n/ has been found in a text from Chios: ἰδέτεν τὴν ἀσέβειαν KONDAR., *Paidēs* 536; νὰ 'ρτουν ἐδῶ τοὺς 'πέτεν *ibid.* 648.

A form with addition of -(v)ε has been found in a text from Chios, but is likely to have had a wider distribution (see I, 2.6.3 for details): τὰ δάκρυά μου δέτενε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 866.

Pl.	2	-εἶτε/-ῆτε -εἶτεν/-ῆτεν -εἶτενε/-ῆτενε
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As with the aorist middle/passive imperative (for discussion see above), certain verbs with a thematic aorist formation, such as λέγω, βλέπω and εύρισκω/βρίσκω, started to adopt 2 pl. subjunctive forms instead of the imperative. The subjunctive, which originally had been proparoxytone (e.g. εἴπητε) had developed paroxytone forms in the EMedG period (for details see 4.2.3), and these are the ones that are adopted for the imperative. In modern editions the imperative is spelled with <ει> or <η>, just like the subjunctive:

- λόγους καλοὺς εἶπῃτε *Liv.* V 374
 διὰ τοῦτο ἰδῇτε τοὺς αὐτοῦ τοπικῶς (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.6)
 δλα εἶπῃτε τῶν τα *Achil.* L 1071; ἰδῇτε καὶ θαυμάσατε *ibid.* 1314
 γοργὸν τὴν πῆτε νάλθη *Flor.* L 961
 θρηνήσατε καὶ πεῖτε τῆς ὁκάτι καταλόγι LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 36
 καὶ πάλιν ὄδῃτε κάμωμα SACHLIKIS, *Peri filon* 118
 εἰπέτε τοὺς καλεσμένους KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 22.4
 πεῖτε τοῦ γέροντα (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.24)

Addition of final /n/ when the form is followed by a clitic pronoun starting in a stop has been found in a document from Mykonos (see also I, 3.8.3.2): πῆτεν τοῦ (1670, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 4, 15.7).

In AG prefixed forms of the verb βαίνω had proparoxytone 2 pl. in -τε (e.g. διάβητε), alongside forms in -ᾶτε (for which see 4.5.2.3). Just like the thematic aorists (above) and the passive aorist (see 4.5.2.2 for discussion), these verbs, too, adopt the 2 pl. subjunctive ending -ῆτε/-εἶτε for the imperative:

- ἐμπῆτε σήμερον *Log. parig.* L 6650 (Lambros); ἀνεβῆτε *ibid.* 736
 καὶ ἐμπῆτε εἰς τὴν βουλὴν μου *Dig.* E 1340
 ἐμβῆτε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *Alosis* 891
 καὶ διαβῆτε ἐκεῖθεν *Achil.* N 1216
 συγκατεβῆτε, ἐπτά οὐρανοί DELLAP., *Epit. Thrinos* 380
 εβγείτε! *Apoll. Rim.* V 1476
 ὁθ' ἦρθετε διαβῆτε CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* IV.428
 ἐμπεῖτε ἀπὸ τὴν στενὴν τὴν πόρταν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 7.13
 στοὺς λάκκους κατεβῆτε BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 165.10

Addition of final /n/ occurs in a text from Chios: ὅς τὸ δάσος μέσα μπῆτεν PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 345.

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a text from Chios, but is likely to have had a wider distribution (see I, 2.6.3): κι ἀμέτεν ὄδα, διαβῆτενε KONDAR., *Paidēs* 1112.

MG alternative forms in -εστε (βρέστε, δέστε, πέστε, πῖεστε, μπέστε and βγέστε), probably modelled on the singular forms in -ές (see above), have not been found in the texts examined. Therefore their emergence should probably be dated to the period after 1700.

Pl.	2	-ατε
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Sometimes innovative plural forms with the residual ending -ατε can be found, by analogy with verbs with a sigmatic perfective stem (see 4.5.2.1), and possibly with influence from λέγω, which had 2 pl. εἶπατε in AG (cf. PSALTES 1913: 211 for the EMedG period): ἀνοίξατε καὶ ἴδατε *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 399; ἀπέλθατε SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 140.14; ἔλθατε *ibid.* 160.6; ἴδατε καὶ θαυμάσατε *Achil.* N 1741.

4.6 The Infinitive

In the LMedG and EMG periods, infinitives were in use of the present and the aorist, active and passive, in specific, and progressively fewer, syntactical environments (JOSEPH 1980b; JOSEPH 1983; MACKRIDGE 1997; JOSEPH 2000a; see also IV, 2.2 and 2.4), but

routinely in periphrastic verb forms (see Chapter 5). Most other uses of infinitives had died out long before the period covered by this Grammar and can only be found residually in higher-register texts. From Hellenistic times onwards all aorist infinitives had gradually adopted the active infinitive ending /in/ of the present and the future, which as a result became the ending *par excellence* for the present and aorist active infinitive of all verbs, with the notable exception of oxytone A-stems, which in the present retained the ending -ᾶν.¹³⁹ Shortly before the LMedG period the passive infinitive in -ῆναι lost its final /e/, and thereby effectively adopted the by now universal infinitive ending /in/ as well (HESSELING 1892b: 27–8; JOSEPH 1983: 56).

When written without final /n/, infinitives in /i/ are sometimes spelled with <η> for <ει>, as if it were a 3 sg. aorist subjunctive, in accordance with the view of JANNARIS 1897: 558 and 575–6, who claimed that the infinitive had died out before the LMedG period. However, the fact that the infinitive is homophonous with the 3 sg. aorist subjunctive does not necessarily mean that it is, in fact, a subjunctive. It is simply an invariable form that remained in (limited) use. Surely, its homophony with the 3 sg. aorist subjunctive made the form sound familiar, and it is clear that there is influence from the subjunctive in the alternating (oxytone and paroxytone) stress patterns encountered in the aorist infinitive of thematic and athematic verbs (see 4.6.2.3). However, the idea that a fully inflected language such as Greek would have an insurmountable problem with invariable forms is contradicted by the emergence of the gerund (see 4.7), and in fact the theory that a fully inflected language would use a 3 sg. form for all persons singular and plural is perhaps unlikely.

The present infinitive has disappeared completely in SMG, whereas the use of the aorist infinitive (without final /n/) is limited to the perfect and pluperfect periphrases with ἔχω.¹⁴⁰ For the use of the infinitives πιεῖν, φαγεῖν and φιλεῖν as inflected nouns (πίν, φαγίν and φιλίν), see II, 2.20.1.2.

4.6.1 The Present Infinitive

4.6.1.1 Active Voice

As the syntactic environments in which the infinitive was used diminished (see IV, 2.2 and 2.4), and especially when periphrastic constructions with finite verbs became more and more established for expressing futurity (see 5.1), the present infinitive gradually fell into disuse. However, since present active and passive infinitives can be found in the domain of loanwords (e.g. of verbs in -ᾶρω, -ῖρω and -ῑρω in areas under Italian rule and -ᾶζω in areas under Frankish rule; see also 2.2.4) and of innovative verb stems (see e.g. the present passive infinitives συνηβάζεσθαι, σπέρνεσθαι and δίδεσθαι, and passive infinitives in -(ε)ιέσθαι), and since examples of present infinitives have been found until into the 18th c., its final demise is to be dated to the MG period.

¹³⁹ For various hybrid formations that appear only in S. Italian documents, see MINAS 2003: 121.

¹⁴⁰ In peripheral dialects such as Pontic and S. Italian, the infinitive is preserved in more syntactical environments than in SMG; see MACKRIDGE 1997; HORROCKS 2010: 389–91; for the Pontic variety of Of see also SITARIDOU 2014.

4.6.1.1.1 Barytone Verbs

-ει(ν) | -εινε

Throughout its existence, the present infinitive of barytone verbs ends in -ει(ν):

οὐκ ἤπορῶ ... γράφειν σε *Spaneas* V 26
 γαμβρόν <γάρ> ἔχειν θέλομεν *Dig. G* II.11
 νὰ ἡρξάμην ρουκανίζειν *Ptoch.* IV 221
 (ἔχει ... τὸ ἀμπέλιον) τόπον τοῦ ἀνιβαίνειν εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ κατιβαίνειν εἰς τὸ αἰγιαλὸν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.28–30)
 (ἀρχάσαν ...) λέγειν πρὸς τὸν πρίγκιπα *Chron. Mor.* H 5262
 δὲν ἤμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν *Peri xen.* 356
 ὅσοι τὸ θέλουν σηκώνειν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.8)
 πολὺν καιρὸν θέλουσι μανθάνειν (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 339–40)
 καὶ νὰ ᾿χαν κάμνειν αἵματα *Alosis* 731
 ἀκούειν τὰ θεῶν ἔχει ἀπὸ ἄλλους (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.4–5)
 (ἦθελεν) ἰχνεύειν καὶ γυρεύειν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 346; ἡρξάτο τρώγειν *ibid.* 1894
 θέλουν ἔχειν βοήθειαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 20.11; θέλει φυλάγειν *ibid.*, *Chron.* O 88.31–2 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)
 τοῦ τρέχειν ἡρξισα *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 11; ἐξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν *ibid.* 14
 θέλω σου δίδειν χαράτζιν *Vios Aisop.* I 275.30
 χρη αἰέποτε δοξάζειν ... | τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θαυμάζειν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 4679–80

Written evidence for the deletion of final /n/ has been found from at least the 11th c. onwards and occurs in texts from all areas:

μὴ ἔχων ... ἀγγεῖον βάλλει τὸν σῖτον *Vios Philaret.* 303–4 app. crit. (G) (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
 νὰ ὑπᾶμεν ... τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει *Chron. Mor.* H 837; βαρειῶμαι γράφει τὰ *ibid.* 7803
 ἀποσπάζει θέλει *Assizes* B 340.11
 ἐὰν εἴχε λείπει ὁ Ἐκτορας *Pol. Tr.* 3779 (reading of ms X); ὁποῦ τὸ θέλει κλαίει *ibid.* 4202
 τὸ θέλουν ἡξεύρει (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.4–5)
 θέλει μένει *ERMONT., Ilias* 9.240; θέλει παγαίνει *ibid.* 13.40
 θέλει λαχαίνει (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 21, 161.15)
 ἐξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 14
 ἐθέλαν γερανίσκει οἱ ἄνθρωποι *Fior* 84.11
 ἐθέλαν ρεπρεζεντάρει (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 26, 31.19) (< Ven. *rapresentār*)
 εἶχα στέκει *Pist. voskos* II 1.417
 δὲν εἶχανε ἡξέρει ἀκόμη τὸ κακὸ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.26
 θέλει πλερώνει καθημερινὸ (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 4, 67.27); καὶ ἃ δὲν ἠθελά ᾿χει (1625, *ibid.* 6, 79.29)
 θεῶς τρώγει *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.131
 δὲν θέλω τὸ κάμνει αὐτὸ πλέον *Don Kis.* 19.3; θέλεις κλαίγει παντοτινά *ibid.* 104.31

Addition of -(ν)ε occurs only sporadically: ποῦ δὲν τὸν ἠθελ' ἔχεινε ποτέ τοῦ γνωρισμένον *Theseid* ms Par. gr. 2898 f.39v.

Vowel deletion in forms of barytone vowel stems may occasionally occur (see also 2.1.1.2): ἠθέλαν κλαῖν *Cypr. Canz.* 55.5 (< κλαῖω); οἱ βουλόμενοι πλεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 80, 150.2–3) (< πλέω).

4.6.1.1.2 Oxytone Verbs

-ᾶ(ν) | -ᾷ(ν)

The oxytone A-stem ending, stressed -ᾶν (from -ᾷειν, which is why the ending is sometimes spelled -ᾶν) is used for both A-stem and E-stem verbs (see also 2.1.2.1). A-stem verbs are the only verbs that show no tendency to adopt the "universal" infinitive ending /in/.¹⁴¹

A-stems

ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὑπήκοον *Dig.* G IV.1033; νικᾶν καὶ μὴ ὑπερνικᾶν *ibid.* VI.642
 ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν *Ptoch.* I 103; παραπεινᾶν ἀρξάμενος *ibid.* 202
 εἰς τὰ σὲ θέλω ἐρωτᾶν *Liv.* V 2874
 καὶ ἐσὺ τολμᾷς περιγελᾶν *Poulol.* 50
 σκιρτᾶν χορεύειν ἔπρεπεν *Flor.* L 824
 θέλουσιν βαστᾶν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.11)
 (ἤθελεν ...) διερευνᾶν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 347; μισῶ ... ὄρᾶν τὸ πτώμα τούτου *ibid.* 634
 σοῦ θέλει βαστᾶν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.50)
 θέλω ἔχειν καὶ διακυβερνᾶν (1507, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 4, 8.9)

E-stems

διεκδικᾶν (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 122, 163.27)
 εὐεργετᾶν (1143, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 6, 559.9); ὅστις εὐρεθῇ ἐμποδίζειν καὶ
 νοχλᾶν (1146, *ibid.* Coll. XIV: 5, 619.5–6)
 θέλω κυνηγᾶν *Dig.* E 744
 οὐδὲν ἔμπορεῖ μαρτυρᾶν *Assizes* B 308.2
 ὦ Θεέ, νὰ τὸ ᾶν πολεμᾶν *Alosis* 730
 θέλειν τὸ ζητᾶν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 208.33; ἵντα θέλομεν πολομᾶν *ibid.* 406.15
 (ἐξουσία ...) ζητᾶν τοὺς λογαριασμοὺς (1530, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 144, 261.22–3)
 ὅπου ᾶν λειτουργᾶν (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.18)

Deletion of final /n/ has not been found before the 14th c.:

τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ *Chron. Mor.* H 8185
 θῆς περνᾶ *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 317
 πάντα θέλω σ' ἀγαπᾶ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.392
 καὶ ἂν τὸν θέλῃς ἀγαπᾶ *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2015
 ἡ ψυχὴ μου θέλει γρικᾶ μεγάλον κοντέντο (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 53.189)
 καὶ θέλουσι σ' ἀνεγελᾶ *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.783

Uncontracted forms of this infinitive appear in 16th-c. Heptanesian texts, among which Sofianos's grammar, and once in Ioakeim of Cyprus's *Struggle* (to accommodate the rhyme). They are probably formed by analogy with the 3 sg. present indicative and possibly perfective barytone vowel-stem infinitives such as πᾶει(ν) and φᾶει(ν),¹⁴² though the clear dominance of the infinitive ending -ει(ν) may also have played a role:

¹⁴¹ With the exception of one isolated instance of τολμῆν in S. Italy (1121, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 88, 116.11–12).

¹⁴² Neither version of the Alexander tale uses the θέλω/θέλει + subjunctive construction, therefore there can be little doubt that these forms are infinitives.

ἤθελε πολεμᾶει *Alex. Rim.* 1454
 θέλει ζητᾶειν *Diig. Alex.* F 148.15 (Lolos)
 εἶχα γελᾶει *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 52.24; θέλω γελᾶει *ibid.* 52.25
 να του γυρεύσει ἤθελεν την Σούδα αγαπάει *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1562 (rhymes with πᾶει)

-εῖ(ν) | -οῖν | -εῖνε

The stressed ending -εῖν (<εῖν) is common with oxytone E-stem verbs before and throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

λαλεῖν σε ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχω *Spaneas* V 36; ἂν ἡπορῇς εὐεργετεῖν *ibid.* 193
 ἔλεειν πενομένους *Dig.* G IV.1033; φιλεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους *ibid.* VI.642
 καὶ τί φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω *Ptoch.* III 231
 θέλει ποιεῖν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 21, 160.13)
 τὰ θέλω κρατεῖν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.5)
 ἀναζητεῖν γὰρ ἤθελεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 346
 μετὰ τοῦ λογισμουμαχεῖν *Byz. Il.* 38
 θέλω παρακαλεῖν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.18)
 πουλεῖν, χαρίζειν, προικίζειν, ποιεῖν (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18)
 ἀφησαν πᾶσα ὑπόθεσιν του πολεμεῖν *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 1843 tit.; (χρη αἰέποτε ...) ἀνυμνεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν *ibid.* 4680; καιρόν αἰ που ἔταξεν ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην *ibid.* 9276

This group includes residual infinitives of oxytone O-stems, which originally had ended in -οῦν (<οῖν>), but had started to develop infinitives in -οῖν, then pronounced [yn], as early as the first century AD (see HATZIDAKIS 1892: 193; JANNARIS 1897: 217; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 430; PSALTES 1913: 234–5, who also offers further bibliography).¹⁴³ From the moment the pronunciation of <οῖ> changed from [y] to [i] (from the 10th c. AD onwards; see I, 2.4.6.1), the forms of oxytone E- and O-stems became homophonous, which is why these infinitives are usually spelled with <ει> rather than <οῖ>:

τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἔχουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν βεβαοῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν *NIKON, Logos* 4 208.17–18; (ἀγαπῶ ...) τὰς θέας γραφᾶς φανεροῖν *id., Logos* 31 814.2
 εἶδα αὐτὰ ἀπαράκτως δηλεῖν (1269, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 34, 459.21)
 εἰς εὐαγούς οἴκους ἀφιερεῖν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.17)
 οὐδὲν ὀφείλουσιν ἐκπληρεῖν *Chron. Mor.* H 2006
 τὰ μέλλουν ἀφιερεῖν (1437, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXXI, 297.13–14)

This group also includes the verb ζῶ, which by the beginning of the LMedG period had long been adapted to the oxytone E-stem paradigm. The ending of the infinitive is homophonous with those of oxytone E-stem verbs, but traditionally spelled with <η> rather than <ει>:

τοὺς θέλοντας μετὰ πλείονας συ<ζῆν> *NIKON, Logos* 1 84.5–6
 καὶ ἀπῆλπισα τοῦ ζεῖν με *Liv.* α 229 app. crit. (P)
 καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν *Pol. Tr.* 13518
 ἂν δὲν ἤθελεν ζῆν (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.53)

¹⁴³ Since in the period in which this ending developed the pronunciation of <οῖ> and <ει> was still very much distinct, O-stem verbs did not simply adopt the E-stem ending /in/ (maintaining a "scholastic" spelling with <οῖ>); the ending -οῖν was probably formed by analogy with oxytone E-stems, as follows: ποιῶ: 3 sg. pres. ind. ποιεῖ, pres. inf. ποιεῖν: δηλῶ 3 sg. pres. ind. δηλοῖ> pres. inf. δηλοῖν (BLASS et al. 1961: 46).

Deletion of final /n/ has not been found in writing before the 14th c.:

ὁ ρήγας ἀρξέτον λαλεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 7118
 θέλει ζῆ *ERMON., Ilias* 13.244
 οὐδὲν ὀφείλουν ἐκπληρεῖ *Chron. Mor.* P 2006
 καὶ ἤρξατο παρακαλεῖ *Diig. Apoll.* 561
 ἤθελα ζεῖ *Diig. Alex.* F 48.20 (Konstantinopolos)
 εἶχα κρατεῖ *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 52.5; ὥσάν νά ἤθελεν ἀσθενεῖ κανεῖς *id., Paidag.* 102.8–9;
 θέλεις τὸ ποιεῖ συχνά *ibid.* 114.12–13
 θέλει ἱερουργεῖ (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.39)
 κί' ἂν εἶναι κί' ἤθελε μπορεῖ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* I.41; θέλω παρακαλεῖ γὰρ σέ *ibid.* III.405; ἂν
 εἶχε ζῆ ὁ Πλάτωνας *ibid.* III.489
 γιατί σέ θέλουνσι κρατεῖ μεγάλον ἀφορμάρη *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.781
 θέλει κρατεῖ του λόγου της διὰ διστραμμένην γυναῖκα *Don Kis.* 107.10–11

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) is very rare with the infinitive: θέλουν βοηθεῖνε *Theseid* I.35,3 app. crit. (Follieri).

-οῦν

Residual infinitives in -οῦν of O-stem verbs can sporadically be found: θέλομεν τὸ ἐκπληροῦν (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 103.10).

4.6.1.2 Passive Voice

The present passive infinitive appears to be the first of the infinitives to fall into disuse for all verbs but εἶμαι (see 4.8.4). Since examples can still be found in written texts until well into the 17th c., it is difficult to put a date to its final obsolescence, though from EMG grammars, especially the descriptive grammar of Germano, we may conclude that by the early 17th c. present passive infinitives had disappeared: there are no present passive infinitives of any kind in the grammars of Germano, Portius, Kritopoulos and Spanos. In the mid-16th c. Sofianos does list them in his paradigms of barytone and oxytone verbs, as μέλλων δεύτερος (θέλω γράφεσθαι) and ὀρίστος δεύτερος (εἶχα γράφεσθαι), but he tellingly avoids them in his *Paidagogos* (see below for the only example, ὑβρίζεσθαι),¹⁴⁴ preferring constructions with μέλλω νά + subjunctive instead: μέλλει νά ὠφελεῖται *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 110.11; μέλλουσι νά ἐξετάζονται *ibid.* 113.24–5 (for details see 5.1.2). Romanos Nikiforou (early 17th c.), too, lists θέλω and εἶχα + present passive infinitive in his paradigms (as passive future and imperfect respectively), but he omits them in his list of irregular verbs, nor does he ever use them in his examples.

4.6.1.2.1 Barytone Verbs

-εσται(ν) ! -εσθαι(ν)

¹⁴⁴ As noted by HESSELING 1892b: 37.

Throughout its existence the present passive infinitive ends in -εσται, having a more formal variant -εσθαι:

ἀπλοῖκῶς τοὺς θεῖους ὑποδέχεσθαι λόγους *NIKON, Logos* 4 208.5–6; πολλὰ ἡγάπουν συνδιαλέγεσθαι *id., Logos* 31 810.9–10
 ὁ τὴν χώραν μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43)
 ἄφες τὰ πάντα φέρεσθαι *GLYKAS, Stichoí* 380
 ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 83.95)
 εἰς τὸ κρούειν καὶ εἰς τὸ δέχεσθαι *Dig.* E 1259
 ἤρξαμην κατακόπτεσθαι *Liv.* V 2351, *Liv.* S 1414 (Lambert-van der Kolf) and *Liv.* α 2694
 τὸ θέλει θλίβεσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 3681; καὶ πάντα θέλει αὐξάνεσθαι *ibid.* 5307
 ἤθελε τ' ἀποδέχεσθαι *FALIEROS, Rim. Par.* 284 (reading of A)
 θέλουν ἀλεγριάζεσθαι τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίας *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 3.20 (<Occit. *alegrar*)
 οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ μου ἤθελαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 370.38 and *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 18.36 (translation of NT ἡγωνίζοντο)
 δὲν ἤθελες συνηβάζεσθαι (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 175, 174.33 and 297, 295.43–4)
 θέλουν ἔρχεσθαι (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.15)
 ἔθελα βρίσκεσθαι *CHORTATIS, Erot. Intern.* III.17
 (τὸ τρίτο ...) ἀπ' ὅ, τι ἤθελεν σπέρνεσθαι (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 10, 32.18)
 θέλει εὐφραίνεσθαι *MOREZINOS, Klini* 8.24–5; ὥσάν νά εἶχασιν τηγανίζεσθαι *ibid.* 235.16
 μαγάρι ἄς εἶχε κείτεσθαι *Thysia Avr.* 303
 τὰ ψωμνιά ὅπου θέλουσιν δίδεσθαι (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 54.207)

Addition of final /n/ can be found occasionally throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, but may have been more widespread than the sources reveal (cf. the infinitive of εἶμαι, 4.8.4):

ὥς βούλεται <ἐξέρ>χεσθαι καὶ ἀπέρχεσθαι *NIKON, Logos* 1 64.5; (χρὴ ...) ἐνδύεσθαι *ibid.* 110.5
 ἐκεῖ ὅπου θέλω κείτεσθαι (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 ἤρξατο εὐχεσθαι του *Dig.* E 810
 δὲν ἤθελεν κάθεσθαι ἡ Θεοτόκος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 340.3–4
 θέλει εὐφραίνεσθαι *MOREZINOS, Klini* 8.24–5 app. crit. (K)
 θέλει κάθεσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 22.69

A shift of the stress to the penultimate as the result of synizesis appears once in Machairas, with the verb λύω (for this phenomenon affecting barytone vowel stems see also 2.1.1.2; for the broader phenomenon of synizesis see I, 2.9.4): ἤθελαν καταλυέσθαι γλήγορα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.19. A shift of the stress to the penultimate also occurs in one ms of *Ptochoprodromos*, in which the position of the infinitive in the verse, at the verse end, is likely to have played a decisive role: ἤρξαμην μπουκωνέσθαι *Ptoch. III* 255 app. crit. (K).

4.6.1.2.2 Oxytone Verbs

-ᾶσται(ν) ! -ᾶσθαι(ν)

The passive oxytone A-stem ending -ᾶσται and its more formal variant -ᾶσθαι have been found with both A- and E-stem verbs throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, with

various verbs in mixed-register texts, but in other texts mainly with the common deponent verbs θυμούμαι, κοιμούμαι and λυπούμαι:

A-stems

ἀλλὰ χαμαὶ πετᾶσθαι *Dig. G I.170*; ἐφαίνετο ἐν ὄνειρῳ θεᾶσθαι *ibid. IV.385*
καὶ τὸ μὴ κτᾶσθαι *Ptoch. IV 408*
πάντα καυχᾶσθαι θέλουν *Arm. 69*
(ἔπρεπεν) ἐρωτοαγαλλιᾶσθαι *Flor. L 824*
Ἄξιόν ἐστι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι σε *Spanos D 1258-9*
εἶχα γελᾶσθαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar 53.8*; θέλω γελᾶσθαι *ibid. 53.9*
κοιμᾶσθαι θέλει ἀληθινὰ *CHORTATIS, Katz. I.19*; θέλει γροικάσθαι ... τ' ὄνομά σου *id., Panor. III.621* (reading of ms D)
τοσαῦτα πάντα ὕψωσεν, ὅπως καλῶς ὀρᾶσθαι *Dig. T 2766* and *A 3969*
ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσθαι *Vios Aisop. I 269.37*
εἶχα ἀγαπᾶσθαι *ROMANOS, Grammar 38.21*

E-stems

ἀφίνω ἐδῶ λέγειν καὶ ἀφηγᾶσθαι *Chron. Mor. H 5922*; νὰ θέλουν ἀφηγᾶσθαι *ibid. 6448*
καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας ... προστάξας ζωογονᾶσθαι *Dig. E 1811 app. crit.*
εἶχα φοβᾶσθαι *Pol. Tr. 10067 app. crit. (V)*
δὲν ἠθελες φοβᾶσθαι *FALIEROS, Ist. On. 590*
ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἠθελα λυπᾶσθαι *Diig. Alex. F 48.17* and *E 49.6-17*
καὶ πάντοτε θυμᾶσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς μου (1525, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 106, 197.19*)
σὰ θὲς θυμᾶσθαι *TROILOS, Rodol. I.105*

-εἴσται(ν) ! -εἴσθαι(ν)

The passive oxytone E-stem ending -εἴσται and its more formal variant -εἴσθαι occur, with E-stem verbs only, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

φοβεῖσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἠθελον *GLYKAS, Stichoi 49*
ἐρωτικήν ἀφήγησιν τὴν θέλω ἀφηγεῖσθαι *Liv. α 9*
εἶχα φοβεῖσθαι *Pol. Tr. 10067*; τὸ θέλουν ἐξηγεῖσθαι *ibid. 14010*
θέλεις ἀπηλογεῖσθαι *Flor. L 652 ms* (ἀπηλογᾶσθαι in the ed.)
μετὰ τοῦ λογιζομαχεῖν καὶ τοῦ στενοχωρεῖσθαι *Byz. II. 38*
εἶχα κρατεῖσθαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar 52.14*; θέλω κρατεῖσθαι *ibid. 52.15*
τοῦ Ξάνθου ἀρχομένου φοβεῖσθαι *Vios Aisop. D 228.35*
ἀρχισεν δηγεῖσθαι τὴν πτωχείαν αὐτοῦ *Vios Filaret. 241.42-3*

Addition of final /n/ can be found occasionally: γράφειν καὶ ἀσχολεῖσθαι *NIKON, Logos 9 316.13*; θέλω, Μυρτάνη δέσποινα, σήμερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι *Liv. V 23*; τὸ θέλουν διηγείσθαι *Pol. Tr. 14010 app. crit. (C)*.

-(ε)ἴσται ! -(ε)ἴσθαι ! -εἴεσθαι

From the 16th c. onwards the ending -σται/-σθαι can also occasionally be found with the innovative stem of E-stem verbs that has /j/ inserted after the stem consonant (for details see 2.1.2.2.4):

θέλει πουλιέσθαι μὲ μετρητὰ (1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 200, 200.14*)
εἶχα κρατειέσθαι *SOFIANOS, Grammar 67.2*; θέλω κρατειέσθαι *ibid. 67.5*

ἠθελε κρατιέσται *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Ioann. 5.4*
εἶχα κρατεῖσθαι *ROMANOS, Grammar 48.9*

-οὔσται

Residual -οὔσται of O-stem verbs can sporadically be found in LMedG mixed-register texts: ὁμολογοῦμεν ζημιοῦσται εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν τίμημα (1123, Sicily, *GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.19*); ζημιοῦσται διὰ ποινὴν εἰς τὸ δεμόσιον (1304, Sicily, *GUILLOU 1963: 23, 174.39*).

4.6.2 The Aorist Infinitive

4.6.2.1 Active Voice

-ει(ν) ! -εἶνε

The sigmatic and liquid/nasal-stem aorist active infinitive, which originally ended in -αι (λῦσαι, κρῖναι, ποιῆσαι, see below), had developed an innovative form in -ειν in the Koine through confusion with the future infinitive and by analogy with the present infinitive (*HATZIDAKIS 1892: 190-2*; *DIETERICH 1898: 245*; *CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 593-5*). This aorist infinitive is widely in use throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Some representative examples are:

οὐκ ἐτόλμησα ... θῆσειν *NIKON, Logos 4 214.23-4*; ἔχεις ... νοήσειν πάντα *id., Logos 9 310.5-6*
χαλάσειν ἔχει ὁψέποτε *GLYKAS, Stichoi 359*
εἰ δὲ κομπῶσειν ἠθελες *Ptoch. I 106*
τίς τῆς καρδίας τοῦ τὴν χαρὰν | νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν *Eisit. f.7v.3-4*
καὶ τῷ ἀκούσειν τὸ ὄνομα *Log. parig. L 93*
κι ἂν δράμουν τὰ φουσσᾶτα μας, τὸν τόπον σας κουρσέψειν *Chron. Mor. H 1622*
γλυκὺν τὸ φαγεῖν, πικρὸν δὲ τὸ χέσειν *Paroim. H 34*
ἂν εἶχαν ποίσειν τὰ καρτζὰ ἀσημένια *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 76.18*
κ' ἐκεῖνος θέλει βάλειν ρεμέδα *VOUSTR., Chron. A 12.1*
τὰ θέλει ἐξοικονομήσειν *SFRANTZIS, Chron. 32.26*
καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν *BERGADIS, Apok. V 20*
γνωρίσειν ἠθελες *SOFIANOS, Paidag. 97.26*
δὲν εἶχας πρωτύτερα γνωρίσειν *CHORTATIS, Erof. II.174*; διαλέξειν ἠθελα *ibid. IV.475*;
μπορέσειν ἠθελε *ibid. V.629*
μὲ δ, τι μόδου θέλεις πορέσειν κάμειν (1697, Thessaloniki, *KATSANIS 2012: 3, 57.34*)

This infinitive can be found without final /n/ from the very beginning and throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar:

καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονόμους ποιήσει *Vios Philaret. 172-3 app. crit. (G)* (9th c.; 11th-c. ms)
τὸ ποίσει *Jonas 216.88*
τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἶχαςιν *Chron. Mor. H 4084*; τὰ οὐκ ἔμπορῶ σᾶς γράψει *ibid. 7802*
δὲν ἔμπορεῖ τὰ κλείσει *Peri xen. 26*
τίνος λογισμὸς ... ἐξαριθμήσει | ... δυνήθη *[ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 280-1*
καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς *Diig. Alex. K 349.23*

θέλει υγιάνει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.20; τοῦτος θέλει ζήσει *ibid.* 335.12
 ἤθελε δώσει (1555, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 177, 228.28)
 ἐτότες τοῦ ἤθελα ρεσποντάρει (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.32) (< Ven.
responder)
 θέλομε μιλῆσει πάλι ἀλλότες CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.512; νά 'θελος μοῦ γρικῆσει *id.*, Katz. II.319
 δὲν εἶχαν τί κάμη *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.13
 δὲν εἶχαμεν ἴντα σιμάρει (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27) (< Ven.
stimar)
 θέλω το σοτοσκριβέρει καὶ με τὸ χέρι μου (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 57.301) (< Ven.
sotoscriver)
 ἄν ἤθελα τὸ τελειώσει (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.8)
 θέλω σε κάμει νὰ γνωρίσεις *Don Kis.* 19.11; θέλει με γδείρει ζωντανόν *ibid.* 20.22–3 (for γδάρει
 by analogy with δέρνω)

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) is not very common with infinitives, but some examples have been found in texts from south-western areas: εἶχεν ἐρωτήσινει *Chron. Mor.* P 5770; θέλει κερδίσειν *Theseid* VI.22,8 (Olsen) (not uncommon in this text); θέλεις μου πιάσειν σιγουριτὰ (1715, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 6, 123.14).

The infinitive (ὀ)πά(γ)ει(ν), originally the present infinitive of ὑπάγω (see also 2.4), serves as an aorist infinitive throughout the LMedG and EMG periods:

βούλομαι δὲ ὑπάγειν *Dig.* G II.128
 καὶ θέλουσιν ὑπάγειν *Ptoch.* IV 581
 ἀφότου ὀφείλω ὑπάει *Chron. Mor.* H 1873
 ἔς τὴν στράταν τὴν ἐπέραςες καὶ τὴν ἠθέλεις πάγειν *Liv.* V 3417
 θέλω ὑπάγει νὰ πάρω τὸ ἀμάχιν *Assizes A* 60.27
 εἶχαν πάγειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 272.20; οἱ ξένοι θέλουν πάγειν, καὶ οἱ τοπικοὶ θέλουν
 μείνειν *ibid.* 478.21–2
 ὅσαν νὰ 'χε 'πάγει *Apoll. Rim.* V 956
 θέλεις ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν παράδεισον *Diig. Alex.* K 348.33
 θέλεις ὑπάγει ἀπέσω *Diig. Alex.* E 125.20 (Konstantinopulos)
 κι' ἄς ἤθελα πάγει CHORTATIS, Katz. IV.85
 ἐμετανόησεν πῶς εἶχε ὑπάγει *Bertoldos* 68.32
 θέλουν σε ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν βασιλέα μας *Alex. Fyll.* 75.29

“Contracted” forms of ὑπά(γ)ειν and φά(γ)ειν are probably formed by analogy with the present infinitive of oxytone A-stems (ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγαπᾶ, see above; see also 2.2.2.3). Final /n/ is sometimes deleted (for the substantivized use of φᾶ(ν) and other infinitives see II, 2.24.4).

ἄν θέλης πᾶν *Dig.* E 440
 θέλει φᾶ τὴν πίτταν *Vulgärorakel* I.97
 εἰς φᾶν καὶ πγεῖν *Assizes B* 414.27
 οἷος ἤθελεν ὑπᾶ *Pol. Tr.* 6430 app. crit. (B)
 νὰ με εἶχασιν ὑπᾶ κανίσκιν εἰς τὸν Χάρον SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 35
 πρὸς τὸ φᾶν CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 495
 καὶ ἐθέλαν πᾶν εἰς τὸ καλόν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 436.24
 εἰς τὸ φᾶ BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 42

-αι

Although this AG aorist active infinitive ending is residual by the beginning of the LMedG period, it can occasionally be found; in mixed-register texts it has even been found with innovative verb stems: βλεπῆσαι in an early Cypriot law text and κρατῆσαι in Grigoropoulos, dependent on an optative. Some representative examples are:

ἀρμόζει ξενοδοχῆσαι αὐτόν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 142.24
 τίς φράσαι ὅλως δυνηθῆ *Dig.* G II.33; εἰς τὸ καβαλικεῦσαι *ibid.* VI.231
 στενεύεται τοῦ στρέψαι τὴν προῖκα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.173)
 ὕστερον οὐδὲν ἠθέλησεν πληρῶσαι τὸν γάμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 229.97);
 ὁμνούντες οἱ κουράτορες τοῦ βλεπῆσαι καὶ διοικῆσαι τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς *ibid.* 229.107)
 θέλω δεῖξαι *Ptoch.* I 26
 ὀφείλουν ἐγκρεμνίσαι *Chron. Mor.* H 890; τὸ δύνομαι ν' ἀποκριθῶ καὶ δύνομαι ποιῆσαι *ibid.* 4266
 καὶ ὡς λύκοι ἐπεσέβησαν, σπαρᾶσαι καὶ ταρᾶσαι *Flor.* L 53
 εἴτις δὲ βουληθῆ κατελύσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος (14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15)
 καὶ τὸν Ἀφράτην ποταμὸν οὐκ ἔμπορουν περάσαι *Arm.* 39
 πόσους δύνασαι, Βασίλη, ἀπαντῆσαι; *Dig.* E 686
 οὐκ εἶχε ποῦ καθίσει *Paroim.* F 78
 μέλλει θρύψαι τὸ λιθάριν *Ptochol.* α 394
 τίς δυνηθῆ καταλεπτὸν λεπτομερῶς ἐκφράσαι; *Achil.* O 145
 μηδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰσχύσαι κρατῆσαι (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 6, 12.16)

4.6.2.2 Passive Voice

-εῖ(ν) | -ῆ(ν)

When the aorist passive infinitive -ῆναι (see below) becomes -ῆν (a form already found in early Christian papyri, see KAPSOMENAKIS 1938: 129), the ending in fact becomes indistinguishable from the dominant infinitive ending -εῖ(ν) (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 192; HESSELING 1892b: 27–8), which is why both spellings, with <ει> and with <η>, can be found:

βούλοντες τοῦτο στερχθεῖν (1100, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 15, 89.48–9)
 ἔχει ... κατακλιθῆν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 359; τὰ βόλια γυρισθῆν ἔχουν *ibid.* 368 (read ἔχουν)
 ὅταν ἤθελες δοξασθῆν *Dig.* G II.81 and *Dig.* E 252; μετὰ δὲ τὸ συντελεσθῆν *Dig.* G IV.933
 ὅπου σὲ θέλει ἀφηγηθῆν *Liv.* E 2116
 ἐκδικηθῆν ἠθέλαμεν *Pol. Tr.* 11199
 καὶ θέλομεν χαθῆν καὶ ἡμεῖς *Velis.* χ 46
 θέλεις ἀναπαυτεῖν (1497?, Rome, MAVROEIDI-POUMIDI 1971: 4, 136.8)
 τὸ πρᾶγμα θέλει κρυβηθῆν *Diig. Apoll.* 29
 τί ἀποκριθῆν οὐκ εἶχα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 76
 νᾶχαν κουντεντιαστεῖν οἱ Γενουβίσοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 434.36 (< Occit. *countentar*);
 θέλομεν στραφεῖν *ibid.* 654.38
 ὁ φλύαρος δὲν θέλει ἀγαπηθῆν ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν γῆν *Fior Suppl.* 275.23
 ἄν ἴσως καὶ ἤθελεν εὐρεθῆν τινὰς (1517, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 48, 84.51);
 θέλω θαπτεῖν εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Ἰωάννην Θεολόγον (1523, *ibid.* 83, 155.8–9)
 ἤθελαν διαφεντευθῆν *Diig. Alex.* F 176.5 (Lolos); οὕτως θέλομε φανῆν *ibid.* 216.7

ἐγὼ θέλω λυπηθεῖν ποτὲ DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 4, 85v.19 (1561)
 ἴσως καὶ θέλουν εντραπεῖν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 6838; ἐπειτα θέλουσιν γραφεῖν *ibid.* 7384

Deletion of final /n/ can be found from the 14th c. (ms date of *Jonas*), though there is also an isolated example a few centuries earlier in S. Italy:

δοτις ἂν ἔχει εὐρεθεῖ (1050, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 37, 46.39–40)
 τὸ συθριβεῖ *Jonas* 213.10
 ὁποῦ σὲ θέλει ἀφηγηθεῖ *Liv.* E 492
 νᾶχα πνιγῇ *Byz. Il.* 439
 θέλει σὲ ἀπιλογηθεῖ DELLAP., *Peri antapod.* 157
 ἂν ἤθελε ἡύρηθεῖ (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 32, 44.13)
 ἤθελα σηκωθεῖ (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.11)
 θέλω καμωθῇ ὅτι κοιμῶμαι ZYGOM., *Stef. Ichn.* 190.1
 θέλομεν κολασθῇ (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.25)
 θέλω λωλαθεῖ ἐδῶ κάτω *Bertoldin.* 109.34
 ἤθελε τοῦ κακοφανεῖ (1614, Tipos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.26)
 ντόπο ἀποῦ θέλει πουμπλικαριστεῖ (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.203) (< Ven. *publicar*)
 ἡ παρθένος θέλει ἐγκαστρωθεῖ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 1.23; θέλεις βαλθεῖ *ibid.* Matth. 5.25
 (νὰ μὴν λάχη ...) καὶ δὲν θέλη λυπηθῇ τὴν ζωὴν σου [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P II 325.30
 νὰ μὴν εἶχα γεννηθεῖ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §3.24
 ἤθελε μοῦ εὐρεθεῖ (1653, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 3, 144.16)

-ῆναι

This ending, clearly residual by the beginning of the LMedG period, can sometimes be found, mainly in mixed-register texts and more formal contexts:

ὅταν κοιμηθῆναι ὑπάγῃ NIKON, *Logos* 3 164.9
 θέλοντα τοῦ γευθῆναι *Dig.* G IV.381; εἰ ἐγερθῆναι ἔχει *ibid.* VI.507
 τίς θέλει σωθῆναι *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 276
 μέλλεις καταδικασθῆναι καὶ εὐθυνθῆναι (1316, Constantinople, HUNGER/KRESTEN 1981: 39, 292.15)
 κανένα οὐ μὴ ἐδυνήθηκε ποσῶς ἀντισταθῆναι *Pol. Tr.* 664; θέλουν διαφεντευθῆναι *ibid.* 2487
 μήτε δέιπνου φροντίσαντες μήτε τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι *Velis.* χ 304
 μέλλει κριθῆναι *Assizes A* 25.26
 ὑπᾶν τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι *Byz. Il.* 406
 (θέλει ...) ὁ λίθος τεφρωθῆναι *Ptochol.* α 396
 μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.21
 ἐν ᾧ μέλλω θαφῆναι (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 2, 22.6)
 (ἂν ἴσως καὶ ... ἤθελεν) ὑπανδρευθῆναι (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 44, 76.18)
 δσα ἤθελεν γεννηθῆναι (1642, Patmos, MICHAILARIS 1998: 1, 193.6)

The verb ἔρχομαι had developed an aorist passive infinitive ἐλθῆναι in the EMedG period (e.g. in Romanos the Melode and Leontios of Naples, see MITSAKIS 1967: 68), which appears occasionally in later mixed- to higher-register texts, relatively frequently in documents from S. Italy (for more examples see MINAS 2003: 121–2). Of other verbs that have

thematic aorists, such as ἄγω, πανθάνω/παθαίνω and φεύγω, morphologically passive infinitives also occasionally occur.

εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀποτροπὴν ἐλθῆναι δοκιμάσω (1135, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 5, 65.8)
 πάσας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον (1145, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. I: 9, 26.3–4)
 εἰς τόπον ἀπελθῆναι *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 49
 μέλλεις φυγῆναι *ERMION., Ilias* 19.207
 αὐριον ἐκδεχόμεθα ἐδῶ πάντες ἐλθῆναι *Achil.* N 1470
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἡγνοηκῶς, ὅπερ παθῆναι μέλει *Dig.* T 2397
 ὅπερ παθῆναι θέλει *Dig.* A 3564

4.6.2.3 Infinitives with Barytone and Oxytone Forms

-εῖ(ν) | -εῖνε | -ει(ν)

Thematic aorists historically had active oxytone infinitives in -εῖν (e.g. ἰδεῖν, λαβεῖν, πιεῖν, φαγεῖν) and continue to do so throughout the period under investigation, though certain oxytone forms, such as ἀποθανεῖν, λαβεῖν and πεσεῖν, clearly belong to a higher stylistic register:

εἰς τὸ ἐκ παντὸς ἐλθεῖν θέλει GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 299 (read: θελεῖ); ὑποπεσεῖν *ibid.* 569
 πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν *Dig.* G I.114; τοῦ λαβεῖν σε γυναῖκα *ibid.* IV.317
 μετὰ χαρμονῆς | πόσης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω *Eisit.* f.5r.7–8
 τοῦ εἰπεῖν *Jonas* 213.1 app. crit. (O)
 ὁμῶς ἂν βούλεται ἀπελθεῖν *Dig.* E 410; καὶ εὐθύς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ Διγενῆς *ibid.* 934; φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν
 ἔχεις *ibid.* 1779
 θέλεις τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὴν ὁλότην (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 13, 22.1–2); λαβεῖν
 θέλεις (*ibid.* 12, 22.8)
 γλυκὺν τὸ φαγεῖν, πικρὸν δὲ τὸ χέσειν *Paroim.* H 34
 καὶ ἀφκράσου τὰ σὲ θέλω εἰπεῖν DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 884
 ἤθελεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀγάπης *Anthos Ch.* E 271.50
 εἰπεῖν ἤθελα SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 97.12
 γέννησιν, ἡ μάλλον εἰπεῖν ἀναγέννησιν DAM. STOUD., *This.*, *Logos* 3, β7r.28 (1561)

Deletion of final /n/ has been found in writing from the 14th c. onwards:

τὸ ἰδεῖ τον *Chron. Mor.* H 257; νὰ σὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖ *ibid.* 532; ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν εἶχε ἐλθεῖ *ibid.* 4901
 τοῦ εἰπεῖ *Jonas* 213.1 (reading of ms B)
 πάντες ὑπᾶν παραλαβεῖ *Byz. Il.* 405 app. crit.
 ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖ τὴν εαυτῆς μητέρα *Diig. Apoll.* 6
 ὁποῦ εἶχεν εἰπεῖ KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.36
 θέλεις ἰδεῖ MOREZINOS, *Klini* 235.10
 μὰ τοῦτο θέλομεν εἰπεῖ CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.108
 ἡ φωτιά θέλει ἐρθεῖ ὀπίσω *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 62.3–4
 καλὰ το θέλω εἰπεῖ VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 35.33

In the EMG period vowel-initial oxytone forms may lose their first unstressed vowel, resulting in monosyllabic forms (e.g. ἰδεῖ(ν) > δεῖ(ν), εἰπεῖ(ν) > πεῖ(ν), εὐρεῖ(ν) > βρεῖ(ν)):

κι ἐγὼ τὸ δεῖν ἐτρόμαξα BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 53
 θέλομεν δεῖν VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 75.18
 ὡς θέλετε δεῖ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* Prol. 101; βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον ὁμοιοῦ ibid. II.19; πεῖν ἤθελε
 ibid. II.215
 εἶχασιν δεῖν ὁμοιοῦ τῶς FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 34; ἀληθινὰ πεῖν ἤθελα ibid. II.59

Addition of -(ν)ε (see I, 2.6.3.3) is generally rare with infinitives: ὡς θέλεις ἰδεῖνε (1715, Nauplion, LIATA 1975: 6, 123.6); ὡς θέλεις τὸ ἰδεῖνε (ibid. 123.22).

These aorists develop paroxytone variants around the beginning of the LMedG period,¹⁴⁵ probably by analogy with the aorist subjunctive, which with most verbs also displayed both stress patterns (see 4.2.3).

τοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτὰ (1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.22)
 χαλάσειν ἔχει ... καὶ πέσειν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 359
 ὀφείλεις δὲ λάβειν (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 472.32)
 εἰ δὲ κομπῶσειν ἤθελες καὶ λάβειν καὶ πλανήσειν *Ptoch.* I 106
 τὸ ἴντα θέλεις πάθειν *Liv.* E 492
 τὸ νὰ τὸ θέλεις μάθειν *Liv.* V 80
 οὐκ ἔμπορουν τὴν εὐρεῖν *Dig.* E 124; οὐ μὴ σὰς ἔχει λάθειν ibid. 1213
 θέλει τὸ λάβειν *Assizes* B 289.26
 ἔμελλον καταλάβειν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 999
 τοῦ πέσειν *Spanos* D 1167
 τὸ εἶχαν βάλειν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 436.33
 δὲν εἶχεν τί συντύχειν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 863
 Νὰ ἔχεν ἐππέσειν κέρανος KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 171

Here, too, deletion of final /n/ does not appear in writing before the 14th c.:

καθὼς τὸ θέλεις μάθει *Chron. Mor.* H 1197; τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατορίσσα ibid. 7703
 ἂν ἤθελεν ἔρθει (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.13)
 ἂν εἶχεν ἔλθει *Assizes* B 338.23
 ἄμα τὸ πέσει εἰς τὴν γῆν *Liv.* V 143
 κάμε νὰ θέλουν ἔλθει *Pol. Tr.* 5639
 ὅτι τοῦ θέλουν ἔρθει *Chron. Toc.* 575
 θέλεις ἔλθει κάτου *Diig. Alex.* F 154.11 (Lolos)
 ἤθελεν ἀποθάνει (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.16–17)
 θέλομεν πέσει DAM. STOUD., *Dial.* 104.6
 θέλει ἔρθει VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 144
 ἐγὼ θέλω σου μάθει τὴν γραμματικὴν GERMANO, *Grammar* 104.8–9
 θέλετε το πῆει KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 20.23
 τί ἤθελα πάθει PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §6.23
 ἂν ἤθελεν συνέλθει ὁμοῦ (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.16)

The verb γίνομαι, which originally had an aorist middle infinitive γενέσθαι, first developed an oxytone active infinitive in -εῖν (γενεῖν, sporadically γινεῖν) by analogy with thematic aorists, and then, along with the thematic aorists, a paroxytone infinitive in -εἰ(ν) (γένειν/γίνει, the second not found with final /n/) (cf. the aorist subjunctive, 4.2.4; for stem variation in this verb see 2.4):

¹⁴⁵E.g. λάβειν in Niketas of Ankyra (11th c.; 13th-c. ms; see the online TLG).

ἦν μέλλει γινεῖ (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.9–10)
 νὰ καταδέξεται γενεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 236
 θέλουν δὲ τῆντα θέλουν γενεῖ *Assizes* A 90.29
 καὶ θέλομεν γινεῖν ἔρημοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 158.7
 θέλει γενεῖν ἀνήμερος δράκος *Alosis* 477; θέλει γινεῖν ἀπέραντο ποτάμι ibid. 626
 ἤθελα γενεῖν καλλιότερος παρὰ σένα *Fior* 98.35
 γενεῖ θέλει τώρα χρονῶν τριάντα *Diig. Alex.* K 345.33
 θέλεις γενεῖν μέγας καὶ φοβερός *Diig. Alex.* F 164.9–10 (Lolos); εἶχεν γενεῖ ibid. 230.12
 ὅσοι ἐθέλασιν γενεῖν ἱερεῖς (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.26–7)
 θέλετε γενεῖν θεοὶ DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 24, ω7r.34 (1561)
 (χίλια κομμάτια ...) νὰ ἔχεν γενεῖ πᾶσα καρδιά CHORTATSI, *Erof.* IV.202
 θέλει ἀπογενεῖ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 105.22
 ὥσαν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν εἶχεν γενεῖ (1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7)
 ποῦ ἤθελε γενεῖ ἱερέας (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.3)

The paroxytone variants γένει(ν) and γίνει have not been found before the 15th c. (ms dates of the *War of Troy* and *Ermoniakos*) and the 16th c. (*Tale of Alexander*) respectively:

ἄλλον δὲν θέλει γένει *Pol. Tr.* 1613 app. crit. (A)
 ἡ βουλή σου νὰ ἔχει γένει ERMON., *Ilias* 8.54; μέλλει γένειν ibid. 12.338
 πόσας ἡμέρας ἤθελεν γένει (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 59, 48.5)
 σύναξις θέλει γένει *Chron. Toc.* 1350
 θέλει γένει κίρσις (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.18–19) (= κρίσις)
 τὰ μέλλουν θέλουν γένη *Byz. Il.* 773
 ἀπὸ βαμπάκι δὲν ἤθελεν γένει μέσα (1538, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 35, 36.6–7)
 ὑψηλότατος θέλεις γίνει *Diig. Alex.* E 113.17 (Lolos); ἤθελα γένει ibid. 205.19
 θέλει γένει πάλιν ἀρτζι MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 220.16
 ἐχθροὶ σου θέλουν γένει *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 581
 καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἤθελε γένει *Bertoldos* 61.24–5
 καὶ ἔτσι ἤθελεν γίνει τακτικός *Bertoldin.* 136.8
 θέλω γένει καὶ ἄρχοντας MONTSEL., *Evgena* 430
 θέλει γένει ἱατρὸς μόνον ὁ θάνατος (1665, Vraniana, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 58, 172.14–15)

-εἶ(ν) | -ῆ(ν) | -ει(ν) | -η(ν)

The verb βαίνω and its prefixed forms originally had athematic infinitives in -ναι (βῆναι, ἀναβῆναι), and in the same manner as the aorist passive infinitives in -ῆναι (see 4.6.2.2) they had developed aorist active infinitives in /ιν/, which continue to be in use in our period, with deletion of final /n/ from the 15th c. onwards:

ἂν ἔχη εἰς ὅρος ἀναβῆν GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 358
 κἂν εἴ τι θέλῃ με συμβῆν *Eisit.* f.5v.13
 εἰ δὲ εἶχεν παραδιαβεῖν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18)
 εἰς πόσας ἡμέρας θέλει ἀνεβεῖ ὁ ὄφις (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 4, 694.3)
 θέλουν σεβεῖ *Diig. Alex.* F 156.12 (Lolos)
 θέλει ἐμπεῖ *Diig. Alex.* E 157.9 (Lolos)
 ἤθελεν ἀνεβεῖ SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 102.18
 δὲν ἤθελες κατεβεῖ NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 2.12
 ἤθελεν ἐβγεῖ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.30); ἂν ἤθελεν μπεῖ (1565, ibid. 150, 239.5–6)
 δὲν εἶχε μπεῖ CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.311
 εἶχε συνεβεῖ (1638, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2004: 107.8)

These aorists develop paroxytone variants, probably by analogy with the thematic aorist infinitive (see above, and cf. the aorist subjunctive, which also displays both stress patterns, 4.2.3):

- κατέβην ἔχω *Dig. E 288*
 μέλλεις ἀνέβην *Pol. Tr. 62* (reading of ms X); ἀνέβη *ibid. app. crit. (V)*; ἀνάβη *ibid. app. crit. (A)*
 ἀνέβειν ἡδυνήθηκεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim. 1269*
 ὁ σκώληξ ἔβγει θέλει *Ptochol. α 395*
 εὐθύς τ' ἀνέβην ὠρμησα *BERGADIS, Apok. A 35*
 θέλεις ἔμπει νοικοκύρης *Bertoldos 61.27*
 θέλουσιν ἀπόβγειν *RODINOS, Vios Ign. 84.5*
 θέλει ἔβγει *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 2.6*
 ἤθελε ἔβγει (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.30–1)
 ἤθελεν παρέβειν τὴν ὑπόσχασίν του (1696, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 8, 199.1)
 ἀκόμη δεν εἶχε καλοέμπει εἰς τὸ δάσος *Don Kis. 18.30–1*

4.7 The Gerund

The gerund as a separate morphological and syntactic category (an invariable form in adverbial use) evolved from the active participle (see II, 3.7.1) during a lengthy and gradual process, starting from the adverbial use of the masculine nominative form (in -ων/-ῶν for the present and -ας for the aorist) with feminine referents as early as the 5th/4th c. BC (MANOLESSOU 2005: 243). With the loss of vowel length (HORROCKS 2010: 163–5), the masculine nominative in -ων and the neuter nominative and accusative in -ον became indistinguishable. The next step in the development was the spread of the masculine accusative ending /onda/ to the neuter nominative and accusative in the 4th c. AD (HATZIDAKIS 1892:144; KAPSOMENAKIS 1938: 40; MANOLESSOU 2005: 246), the subsequent spread of this form to masculine nominatives and feminine forms in EMedG inscriptions (MANOLESSOU 2005: 250–1) and its eventual establishment as a fully-fledged gerund from about the 10th/11th c. onwards (see below).

From the 11th c. onwards an added final /s/ can be found, sporadically at first, but becoming more common after the 15th c. (forms in -ντας are the SMG form).¹⁴⁶ The most plausible explanation for this development is that of CHATZIDAKIS (1928: 637) and SCHWYZER/DEBRUNNER (1950: 410–11), namely that, since the gerund is used in apposition to the subject, final /s/ came to be added by analogy with masculine nominatives in /s/, first and foremost in -ας, but also in -ος and -ης, final /s/ having become a clear marker for the nominative of masculine nouns and adjectives.¹⁴⁷ Former third-declension nouns in -ων and

¹⁴⁶ The fact that certain MG dialects still present the form in -όντα without addition of final /s/ (among which S. Italy, Cyprus, Mani, and other areas of the Peloponnese and Euboea; see MIRAMBEL 1961: 70–1) is an indication of a relatively late breakthrough for the phenomenon.

¹⁴⁷ A different explanation, namely that final /s/ was added because of the gerund's adverbial function and thus by analogy with adverbs with an added -ς, such as ποτέ > ποτές, τότε > τότες (HORROCKS 2010: 298; MANOLESSOU 2005: 251; GORTON 2013), seems less plausible given the fact that the adverbial ending -ας for -α does not occur across the board, but is limited to a relatively small group of lexical items (see II, 4.2.3 for details).

-ών had already undergone a parallel morphological development, e.g. nom. γέρων, acc. γέροντα > nom. γέροντας; nom. χειμών, acc. χειμῶνα > nom. χειμώνας; see II, 2.2.

In the period covered by this Grammar present active participles were still in use in mixed- and higher-register texts (for their uses see IV, 3.4.4.2; for their morphology see II, 3.7.1), especially in adverbial use, with the subject as referent e.g. περιπατοῦντες ἔρχονται *Achil. N 1323*, and in absolute constructions, e.g. πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, ἀνασταίνεται ἕνας βασιλέας *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 31.27–8*, while their attributive use and use as verbal complements was rapidly diminishing (MANOLESSOU 2005: 252). Of course, when used adverbially, participles closely resemble the gerund. The fact that inflected endings are used is the only thing that differentiates them from the gerund, and clearly the difference between the following two examples is minimal: θερίζουν τὲς Κυριακὲς φλυαροῦντες *LANDOS, Geopon. 145.16–17*; νὰ μὴν γυρίσουν ὀπίσω, εὐρίσκοντας καμπόσες γούνες ἀπὸ τὲς νιφίτσες *Bertoldin. 114.9–10*.

In LMedG and EMG the gerund could be formed from the imperfective stem (present gerund), from the active perfective stem (aorist gerund; regional) and rarely even from the passive perfective stem (for the use of these gerunds see IV, 3.4.4.2). In present gerunds of barytone verbs the thematic vowel /o/ is unstressed (although stress shifts may occur regionally, see below). The thematic vowel /o/ of athematic aorist gerunds is stressed (although, again, stress shifts may occur regionally, see below). In those of oxytone A-stems the thematic vowel /o/ is stressed, as are the /o/ or /o/ of oxytone E-stems. For oxytone E-stem verbs /o/ is much more common than /o/, clearly making /onda/ the dominant ending for gerunds. Since the endings are the same for barytone and oxytone verbs, a single table is provided to cover both classes of verbs. For the gerund of εἶμαι, see 4.8.5. For “contracted” forms of barytone vowel stem verbs, e.g. ἀκοῦντα(ς), see also 2.1.1.2. For the use of gerunds in periphrastic constructions see 5.3.1.5 and 5.4.1.5. For the use of the gerund in general, see IV, 3.4.4.2 and 4.4.6.

	General	Restricted	Rare
Present	γράφοντα γράφοντας γρικῶντα/-όντα γρικῶντας/-όντας βαρῶντα βαρῶντας	γράφων γράφοντες γρικῶντες/-όντες -ας	γράφονταν γράφοντα γραφόντα γραφόντας γράφουντας γράφота(ς) γράφαντας
Aorist	ἀποθανόντα ἀποθανόντας	ἀποθανών ἀποθάνοντας γράφοντα	ἀποθανότα(ς) ἀποθάνονταν ἀποθάνοντες γράφας

	General	Restricted	Rare
		γράφοντας	γράφαντα(ς) ἐλθοντος ἢ ἐλθόντος σταθόντα σταθέντα

4.7.1 Present

-οντα ἢ -ονταν ἢ -οτα ἢ -ουντα ἢ -ώντα ἢ -ούντα ἢ -όντα

As noted in the introduction, gerunds in -ντα, derived from the present active participles in -ων/-ών (see II, 3.7.1), start to appear in texts from at least the 10th/11th c., by which time they must have been well-established, given that they also appear in mixed- and higher-register texts such as the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain and *Digenis G.*¹⁴⁸ The form gradually falls into disuse after the 16th c., by which time forms in -ντας have become firmly established (see below).

Barytone Verbs

ἡμεῖς βλέποντά σοι τοιοῦτον εἶναι ἱκανόν (999, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 10, 9.12)
(ὁ πρεσβύτερος ...) λέγοντα ... (1094, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 13, 129.16–17)
καὶ ὅσαι μὲν εὐρηται ... ἐορτὲς ἔχοντα ἀναγνώσματα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 214.27–8; ἐκεῖ οὐκ
ἦμουν προσέχοντα ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους id., *Logos* 19 566.36
... οὐ μετέσχε βρωμάτων, | οὐ πόσεως τὸ σύνολον θέλοντα τοῦ γευθῆναι *Dig.* G IV.380–1
ἐκεῖνοι πάλι φεύγοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 1144
κλαίοντα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος *Dig.* E 393; συντυχαίνοντα ὁ θεῖος του καὶ ὁ πατήρ του ibid. 785
(ἐγκάριζεν ...) φωνάζοντα καὶ τρέχοντα *Diig. tetr.* 711
τὸν σταυρὸν βαστάζοντα ἦλθαν ... ΔΕΛΛΑΡ., *Epit. Thrinos* 257
διδοντά του (1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 47.11) (first accent omitted)
βλέποντά τον ἢ κόρη *Velth.* 1004 (Cupane)
πρεζεντιάζοντά τα, λαλεῖ του VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 88.19; καβαλλικεύγοντα ο ἀποστολές id.,
Chron. M 9.17
βασιλεύοντα ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μεχμέτης (16th c., northern Aegean?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 70.II,
544.9.1)
ἀπὸ ἄλλον μέρος στέκοντα ἐβλεπεν ὁ Θησεὺς *Theseid* I.58,1 (Follieri)
ἐπανηγύριζαν ψάλλοντα καὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζοντα *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 290
ἀρχιερετεύοντα κυρ-Νικταρίου (1593, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 1, 13.3)

Oxytone Verbs

(ὁ πρεσβύτερος ...) παρακαλόντα αὐτὸν (1094, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2004: 13, 129.16–17)
ἦλθες παρακαλῶντα με (1173, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 51, 88.21)
ἀναβάλλομαι, ἐρευνῶντα ... ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 4 211.21
ἦλθαν παρακαλῶντα μας *Chron. Mor.* H 349; ὁ καστελλᾶνος ..., οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον ibid.
8237

¹⁴⁸ The following example appears in what is probably a 9th-c. text: *δταν ἐξέρχεται ἡ ψυχὴ ... βοᾷ λέγοντα Apocal. Mar.* 124.43 app. crit. (ed. James 1893, repr. 1967), which, however, has been transmitted in a 11th/12th-c. ms.

(ἐγκάριζεν ...) τσιλοπορδοκοπῶντα *Diig. tetr.* 711
γρικῶντα ταῦτα ... ἐδέχθημεν (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.7)
ἐστράφηκε γελῶντα *Velth.* 861 (Cupane)
φιλῶντα τὰ ματάκια τῆς FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 469
γροικῶντα ἐκεῖνος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.18–19; ἐκλαῖαν ... λαλοῦντα ibid. 588.16
ἐγὼ θωρῶντα σε LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 211
ἢ κρατῶντα αὐτὰ ἢ πωλῶντα (1513, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 38, 67.36)
ὀμιλόντα δὲ ὁ Πατριάρχης *Chron. Ps.-Dorothe.* (1572) 163
ζῶντα μου, φρονῶντα μου (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.2)
μισῶντα καὶ ἀγαπῶντα (1668, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 39, 40.5)

Present active gerunds in -ντα of deponent verbs (verbs with passive morphology but active meaning, see IV, 4.2) can be found in texts from Cyprus and Crete, but they are much more common and widespread with final /s/ (see below).

Barytone Verbs

ἐρχοντα ὁ καιρὸς δὲν ἔχει νὰ πληρώσῃ *Assizes A* 44.13
στρέφοντα ἡ ρήγαινα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 56.7
ντρέποντα ἐκρυβήθησαν ΡΙΚΑΤ., *Rima thrin.* 490
ἐρκοντα τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ Βουτουμήτη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.21; καὶ στρέφοντά
του ὁ κουβερνούρης ibid. 296.13
πέτοντα πότε ἐδῶ πότε ἐκεῖ *Anthos Ch.* A 189.6
ἔγδεχοντά τους *Pist. kekoim.* 674
θέλω ὁκαί, πανδρεύοντα ἢ λεγομένη Μαρίνα, νὰ ἔχει ἐπαρμένα (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/
LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.60)

Oxytone Verbs

ὁ νοῦς μου ... νὰ ἔν φοβῶντα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 11; φοβοῦντα ibid. app. crit. (V)
φοβῶντα μὲν φύγη MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 542.17–18
κοιμοῦντα εἰς τὸ κρεβάτιν μου BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 425
καὶ κοιμῶντα τους ἐμπαίνει ἀπάνω στὸ καράβιν *Fior* 108.12
θυμῶντα τὴν ἀγάπη μου *Imb. Rim.* 941

Addition of final /n/ can occasionally be found (cf. the aorist gerund, 4.7.2):

εἶχε κρατῶνταν (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 97.17)
ἀπεμπολῶνταν τὸ ἡμῶν μοιράδιον (1154–5, S. Italy, ROGNONI 2011: 5, 79.5)
προστάσσοντάν με (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.7)
καὶ γυρίζονταν εὐρίσκει ERMON., *Ilias* 19.363; βλέπονταν αὐτὸς αὐτίκα ibid. 22.326
παρακαλῶνταν τον (1682, Venice, MANOUSAKAS/SKOULAS 1993: 527a, 133.7)

Gerunds of barytone verbs with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found in one manuscript of the *War of Troy* and certain texts from Cyprus:

ταῦτα λεγόντα ἐφθασαν *Pol. Tr.* 8366 app. crit. (C)
στρεφόντα τους οἱ μαντατοφόροι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάπα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 94.36
ερκόντα τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 57.7; ἐρκόντα τὸ μαντάτον id., *Chron.* M 73.17
νὰ ἔχη πόνον ... διδόντα ... περὶ του παρὰ ποῦ ἐμπόρεν *Fior* 102.30–1¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ In Cypriot the verb *δίδω* has an oxytone variant *διδῶ*, see 2.1.3.1.

Barytone vowel-stem verbs can have paroxytone gerunds through vowel deletion (see also 2.1.1.2) or synizesis: ξενίζομαι άκόντα τέτοιαν τάξη FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 116 (< άκούω); άκόντα τά γενόμενα BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 151 (< άκούω); κλιόντα *Cypr. Canz.* 34.7 (< κλαίω).

Gerunds of barytone verbs can undergo raising of unstressed /o/ to /u/ in the thematic vowel (for details see I, 2.8.3). Examples have been found in texts from Cyprus, and in one manuscript of the *War of Troy*: άσκονδίζοντα γυρίζουν *Pol. Tr.* 12044 app. crit. (C); κλέπτουντα πράγματα *Assizes A* 19.30 app. crit. (L); άγοράζοντα ούδε πουλουόντα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 354.30–1 (hapax).

Forms in -τα instead of -ντα are phonetic rather than morphological variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): φυλάττοτα τά γεροθρόφια (1606, Chios, VISVIZIS 1948: 4, 82.10).

-οντας ! -ουντας ! -ώντας ! -ούντας ! -όντας

Addition of /s/ is securely attested in the 14th c.,¹⁵⁰ becoming more frequent from about the 15th c. onwards (e.g. ms H of *Chronicle of the Morea* (14th c.) has only three gerunds in -ντας against over a hundred in -ντα, whereas the *Chronicle of Tocco* (15th c.) has only one gerund in -ντα against about thirty in -ντας). The majority of Cypriot texts (ms V of the chronicle of Machairas, all versions of that of Voustronios, the John of Damascus paraphrase *Pist. kekoim.* and *Fior di Virtù*), only have forms in -ντα. In the 15th and 16th c., forms with and without final /s/ often appear side by side in the same text.

Barytone Verbs

έβλέποντας *Chron. Mor.* H 2917 and 3968

έπιδίδοντας τήν ειρηνέμενην άποκοπήν μέλλεις έσθαι ... (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 291.17)

θελοντας να τότε εύκαριστήσωμεν (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 467.5)

παραδίδοντας τά ρηθέντα δουκάτα κε' (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 57, 88.19–20)

άνέφερεν ταπεινά, λέγοντας πώς ... (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 68.3)

στασιφάροντας τó Μόρα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.52)

θελοντας μιās πού φεύγει ν' ακολουθήση *Cypr. Canz.* 13.2

έχοντας νόμιμον άνδρα (1506, Trebizond, PRINZING 2000: 2, 304.4)

ó Άδάμ άκούοντας έχαιρετον DAM. STOD., *This., Logos* 7, η5r.33 (1561)

¹⁵⁰ An 11th-c. example from S. Italy with a plural referent: οί πνευματικοί νόμοι, ακολουθώντας στάσιν άτάραχον (1034, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 29, 34.5–6) could be the result of a misreading or even printing mistake (for ακολουθώντες), given the unfortunate unreliability of the edition. A 12th-c. example from the same area is equally dubious: και τούς δύο άδελφούς ούς ήμον δώσοντας τού Δαυίδ (1106–7, S. Italy, MÉNAGER 1957: 4, 326.40). The context does not justify a pluperfect reading for ήμον δώσοντας ('I had given'), as it would be unlikely somebody could give to a monastery two slaves whom he had already given to somebody else. It is perhaps a very awkward participial construction, in which for ήμον we should read ήμων. A third example from the same area could also be a misreading, as Cusa's edition, too, is known to be unreliable: εάν φανή ... τις ... παρεμποδίζοντας (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.5–7). The fact that the modern dialects of S. Italy do not present forms in -ντας at all (MIRAMBEL 1961: 71) is a valid reason to doubt the validity of these examples. However, see the 11th/12th-c. example from Nikon of the Black Mountain under oxytone verbs.

νά τó σπέρνουν πληρώνοντας τó γαίμουρο (1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 11, 134.7)
φαμπρικάροντας εις αυτό εύμορφα όσπίτια VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.32–3
έφημερεύοντας ό κυρ-παπα-Κυραζής (1651, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 19, 36.2)
ό ... κυρ-Άκάκιος ... έξωδιάζοντας το (1657, Macedonia, ODORICO 1998: 75, 192.20)

Oxytone Verbs¹⁵¹

ό παπᾶς Θεόδουλος δέ εκείνος θαρρώντας (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.7)

κρατώντας τó κλειδί ό εύρισκόμενος βικάριος (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 33, 67.26)

έγροικώντας (1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 233.6)

είχεν μέγαν φόβον εις τήν καρδίαν της, λαλώντας ότι ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 94.49–50 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari)

απερνούντας λοιπόν ολίγος καιρός *Syndipas* 113.21

(έπίστρεψαν ...) ύμνούντας τόν Θεόν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.29

φοβώντας τόν θάνατον (1573, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 1, 75.5)

ζώντας τού παπα-κυρ-Σπύρου (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 42, 103.17)

και εκείνος βαστώντας με PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.24–5

(έγκάριξεν ...) τσιλοπορδοκοπούντας *Diig. tetra.* 711 app. crit (L)

θαρρώντας ή άνωθεν κερα-Έργίνα (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 38, 58.6–7)

άρχινώντας έκ τόν κόμη TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 134

ζώντας να παρακαλῆς τούς φίλους σου *Vios Aisop.* I 276.34–5

ή επιθυμία, ενεργώντας εις τού λόγου σας VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11

άκολουθα σιωπώντας, θαρρούντας πώς ... *Vios Aisop.* D 223.14

θαρρώντας με τα ψεύματα (... να κυριεύσει) IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5492

Active present gerunds in -ντας of deponent verbs can be found in texts from most areas from the 16th c. onwards:¹⁵²

Barytone Verbs

φαίνοντας τους δίκαιαν ... ή αυτή σούπλικα (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.7–8)

κάθοντάς μου (1574, Cyprus, CONSTANTINIDES 1996: 61.7–8)

και μη έρχοντάς τους (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 135, 89.2)

προσεύχοντας MOREZINOS, *Klini* 53.18

τόν άφέντη θές εύρεϊ κάθοντας TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 267

δέχοντας GERMANO, *Grammar* 102.6

ύπόσχοντας (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 42, 60.18–19)

μήν δέχοντας έμένα (1653–5, Venice, FONKİÇ 2000: 240, f.1v.9)

συλλογίζοντας (1665, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 2, 13.21)

προφασίζοντας (1677, Prokonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 6, 198.3)

έρχοντας ό καιρός (1693, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 65.22)

μάχοντας EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.13

έρχοντας έδω (1715, Smyrna, LIATA 1975: 21, 135.16)

¹⁵¹ One might argue that the following example represents confusion of participles (masc. for fem.) rather than a gerund: ήυρα τās θέας γραφάς μαρτυρούντας ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.5–7; but Nikon does not usually confuse masculine and feminine participial forms in his writings. Though its use is not quite that of a gerund (referring to the object, not the subject), it is likely to be an invariable participial form.

¹⁵² An unusual form in -οντας/-ονα found in the documents of Miniatis is sometimes interpreted as a participle/gerund: και βάζειν τόν άφέντη τόν Γερμανάκην διαλέγονα (1682, Naxos, ΣΙΦΟΝΤΙΟΥ-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 208, 386.11–12); να είναι διαλέγονας ό Μανώλης (ibid. 257, 449.22); να είναι διαλέοντας (1687, ibid. 656, 898.4). However, it is a noun rather than a participle/gerund; see ILNE s.v. διαλεγώνας for full details.

Oxytone Verbs

- κοιμώντας *Cypr. Canz.* 12.3
 φοβώντας *Theseid* I.57,6 (Follieri)
 φοβώντας (1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 22, 69.4)
 ἀπιλογούντας (1540, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 8, 21.8)
 θυμώντας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.29)
 ἐνθυμώντας (1583, Athens?, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.17–8)
 φοβώντας (1585, Constantinople, PATRINELIS 1967/68: 28, 108.6)
 ἀρνώντας τὸ βάπτισμά σου MOREZINOS, *Klini* 73.16
 λυπώντας τον ὁποῦ ἦτονε εἰς τὴν φυλακὴ (1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652.5)
 κοιμώντας GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.29
 διηγώντας RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.27
 μεγάλα καυκώντας λόγια προφέρνεις *Irodis* I.9
 ἀρνώντας (1685, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [2], 12.8)
 θυμώντας σου KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.997
 συλλογώντας (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1998b: 232.3)

Barytone vowel-stem verbs (see 2.1.1.2) can develop paroxytone gerunds through vowel deletion: ἀκώντας *Theseid* I.5,2 (Follieri) (< ἀκούοντας).

Barytone gerunds with a shift of the stress to the penultimate have been found in texts from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese):

- ἐμένα ἐβλεπόντας ζωντανή *Diig. Alex.* F 128.2–3 (Lolos); ἀρχόντας νὰ ποιήσου<ν> τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ αὐθεντὸς *ibid.* 172.15–16 (Konstantinopolos)¹⁵³
 σποῦ τὴν ῥίξαν στο γιάλον, ἐρχόντας εἰς τὴ στράτα! *Apoll. Rim.* N 1164
 ἐρχόντας εἰς τὸν καρπὸν (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 448.42)

Barytone gerunds with raising of /o/ to /u/ in the thematic vowel (for details see I, 2.8.3) can occasionally be found, alongside forms with /o/, in texts from northern areas. It has also been found in *Irodis*, a text of Cycladic provenance (Syros? Naxos?) (cf. gerunds in -ουντα, above, which have also been found in certain Cypriot texts that generally do not, however, have forms in -ντας):¹⁵⁴ καὶ υπήγεν τρέχουντας *Diig. Alex.* K 361.35; κόφτουντας *ibid.* 353.1; τζακίζουντας ἐργαστήρια ἐδιαγούμιζαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §23.13 (hapax); ὀνοματίζουντας *Irodis* III.273; στρεβλώνουντας τὸ στόμα *ibid.* V.288.

-οτας | -ώτας | (-ούτας)

Forms in -τας instead of -ντας are phonetic rather than morphological variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/, as the examples in the Latin script illustrate (for details see I, 3.6.2.1):

- missodas CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.587 transcr. X (Legrand) (< μισῶ); thimodastos *ibid.* II.350 (< θυμοῦμαι); uanodas *ibid.* IV.479 (< βάνω)
 eghodas *P&N Diath.* 319 app. crit. (< ἔχω)

¹⁵³ One should perhaps read ἐρχόντας (< ἐρχομαι) rather than ἀρχόντας (< ἀρχομαι), cf. the reading of version E: ἐρχάμενοι *Diig. Alex.* E 173.14.

¹⁵⁴ The following participial form is comparable: τοὺς πράττουντα(ς) (1027, Sparta, FEISSEL/PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT 1985: 43, 301.19) (inscription now lost).

erghodas (1653, Crete, PANOPOULOU 1991: 2, 429.15) (< ἐρχομαι)

- ὑπόσχοτας καὶ ὀπλιγάροτας (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 42, 60.18–19); φοβώτας (1640, *ibid.* 189, 159.8)
 βγάζοτας (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.5)
 μὴν ἔχοτας ἄλλο ... μένω ... ἀκαρτερώτας τὸ τίμιόν της γράμμα (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 10, 127.10)

-οντες | -ώντες | (-ούντες) | -οντις

In texts from certain Heptanesian islands gerunds in -ντες occur with singular (and plural) referents, as noted by the editors of the Kapianos archive (VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: I 28) (cf. εἶμαι, which has variants στάντες and ἔσ(τ)οντες, see 4.8.5):¹⁵⁵

- ἐφάνισθη ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν ἡ δεκαρχία τῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν παραπονώντες ὅτι ... (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 167.3)
 στιμάροντες τὸ δαμάλι ... δύο καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 25, 83.9); κἀνοντες τὴν δεφέζα του ὁ ρηθεὶς κυρ-Ἀντώνης (*ibid.* 32, 91.6–7); (τὸ πακτῶνει ...) σαλβίζοντες τὰ δέντρη (*ibid.* 35, 94.8); γυρεῦοντες ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Θωμάς νὰ πληρωθεῖ (*ibid.* 21, 77.11); ἡ ρηθεῖσα κυρ-Αλεξάνδρα, γυρεῦοντες νὰ λάμβει τὸ ἀδελφομοῖρι της (*ibid.* 21, 77.15–16); ὀμπλιγάροντες ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Μαρτῆς ὅτι ... νὰ κάμει (1576, *ibid.* 48, 111.19–20) ἦλθεν ἡ ἀνοιξίς, κἀμνοντες πάντα σεισμόν IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 337.12–13 (author from Kefalonia)
 νὰ στέκει πᾶσα εἰς ... δουλεύοντες καὶ κοιμώντες πᾶσα εἰς τὸ μερτικό του (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.2); δουλεύοντες καὶ κοιμώντες ὁ κάθε εἰς τὴν πάρτη του (1673, *ibid.* 43.7); ἀρχινώντες ὁ καιρὸς (1675, *ibid.* 87, 50.2)

The following form in -οντις could be the result of a writing mistake, or it may reflect raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4): φέρνοντις λοιπόν ἐδῶ ὁποῦ ἦλθε GAVRIILOP., *Diig. panouklas* 94.28.

The translator of *Bertoldos* uses forms in -ες only with plural referents (both masculine and feminine): ἀρχισε νὰ κοιτάζει μία τὴν ἄλλην λέγοντες *Bertoldos* 24.27–8; οἱ αὐθέντρες ... μὴν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ φόρεμα *ibid.* 65.9; οἱ ἱατροὶ μὴν ἐγνωρίζοντες τὴν κράσιν του, ἔκανάν του τὰ γιαιτρικά *ibid.* 76.3–4.

-ων

The present active participle in -ων/-ῶν (see II, 3.7.1) can sometimes be found in its “old” masculine singular form, irrespective of the gender or number of its referent, i.e. as a gerund:

- ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀντέφη λέγων ... (1093, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 56, 73.8)
 ἐθήκη ξύλινος ..., ἔχων τὴν σταύρωσιν, ἔχων μέσον τίμιον ξύλον (1142, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 7, 75.44–6) (ἐθήκη = θήκη, see I, 2.6.1.3)

¹⁵⁵ For some of the examples given, it cannot be excluded that these are participles and that a plural subject is implied; note, however, the singular ἐφάνισθη in the example from Corfu, and νὰ στέκει, μερτικό του and πάρτη του in the examples from Paxoi. The number of examples with singular referents from Kefalonia justifies regarding the example with a plural referent as a gerund as well.

θέλων καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι *Pol. Tr.* 160; θρηνῶντα, κλαίων ἐφώναζαν *ibid.* 1853
 ἐμβλέπων ὡς κατάσκοπος *Velth.* 338 (Cupane); βαστάζων εἰς τὰς χεῖράς της *ibid.* 661; ταῦτα
 εἰπὼν ἐξέβηκε *ibid.* 924
 καὶ ἡ κόρη κλαίων ἔστεκεν, κλαίων ἐμοιρολογάτον *Achil.* O 418; ἡ κόρη δὲ χαμογελῶν κάτου
 στή γῆν ἐθώρειν *ibid.* 628
 ἂν τρώγων θέλω νὰ διψῶ *Krasop.* AO 63
 ξενίζομαι ἀκὼν τέτοιαν τάξιν *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 116 app. crit. (A) (< ἀκούω with vowel
 deletion)
 ἀρχισαν τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ κλαίουσαν ... λέγων συναλλήλως των *Vios Filaret.* 241.11–12

-ας

At the beginning of the LMedG period a present participle λέγας exists of the verb λέγω, which combines the present active stem λεγ- with the aorist active participle ending -ας (MINAS 2003: 123).¹⁵⁶ The number of occurrences, the broad geographical spread and the kinds of texts in which this participle occurs indicate that this form existed before the period covered by this Grammar. In almost all examples it is used adverbially with a masc. nom. sg. referent (and could thus also be viewed as a gerund), while the *Chronicle of Morea* clearly uses it as a gerund, with four examples with a plural referent and six with a singular.¹⁵⁷ In the 1066 example from Athos the form appears to be invariable (referring to the direct object τινὰ τῶν μοναχῶν). The form λέγας disappeared after the 14th c.

καὶ ἂν ποτὲ καιρῷ ἀναφῇ λέγας ... ὁ Ζελιάνος (1033–4, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1982: 2, 35.41–2)
 οὐχ εὖρον οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ... τινὰ τῶν μοναχῶν λέγας ὅτι ... (1066, Athos, BOMPAIRE et al. 2001: 8, 101.31)
 (ἦλθεν πρὸς με ὁ καθηγούμενος ...) λέγας: ... (1123, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 92, 120.10)
 ἀπεκρίθη λέγας (1128, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 13, 97.10 facs.)¹⁵⁸
 καὶ ὁ μὲν κυρὸς ἀμῖρᾶς ἔφη μοι λέγας οὕτως (1136? 1151?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 418.15)
 (τὸ στέμμα ... οὐδὲν τὸ ἐπαραδέχτη, ...) λέγας ... *Chron. Mor.* H 109; κι ὅλοι τὸν
 ἀνασκόψασιν, συνεμποδίσανέ τον, | λέγας, ὅτι ... *ibid.* 5085–6; οὐδὲν τὸ ἐστεργήθησαν νὰ
 τὸ ποιήσουν οὕτως, | λέγας ... *ibid.* 6686–7; λέγας καὶ λογιζόμενος *ibid.* 6005; (ἐδιὰβηκεν
 ... εἰς τὴν Θήβαν) λέγας νὰ ἰδῇ τὴν δούκισσαν *ibid.* 8021

A similar participial form of the verb θρύβω can, again, be found in Glykas, in his prison poem: οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ παθὼν, οἶδεν ὁ θρύβας μόνος *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 231. Cf. also the

¹⁵⁶ The use of the aorist ending with the present participle may have been more widespread in the EMedG period; see e.g. ὑπ[ο]γράφας (SB.1.4504, l. 28) (7th-c., accessible at: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;4504>). Another interesting parallel can be found in the form φέρας from φέρω: [τὸ μέλι ...] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὸ λείπον χαρίζεται, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἀμετρίαν φέραν πολέμιον αὐτοῖς καθίσταται Severos Iatrosoph., *De clysteribus* 8.8 (ed. Dietz) (Late Antique text of uncertain date, 12th-c. ms); ὁ δὲ φιλόθεος καὶ φιλάρετος ἀληθῶς ἀνὴρ εὐθέως ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη καὶ φέρας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βοῦν τὸν μεμονωμένον, ἔδωκε τὸν γεωργόν, *Vios Philaret.* 186–8 (9th-c. text, 11th-c. ms).

¹⁵⁷ There is one example in Glykas of an unambivalent declined participial form: παράγει τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγαντα *GLYKAS, Eis tas aporias* II 294.15–16. However, as this is a one-off and the normal form in this text is λέγοντα, it cannot be excluded that this is a typographical error in the modern edition.

¹⁵⁸ The editors incorrectly print λέγ(ον)τας.

substantivized form τὸ ἔχας: πλατὺς ἐκ τὸ ἔχας του *Pol. Tr.* 2081 (τοῦ ἔχοντος in ms V); τὸ ἔχας του νὰ φυλαχθῇ *ibid.* 11445.

-αντας; -άντας

This ending, borrowed from the aorist gerund (see below), has been found in a document from Corfu, with a barytone and an oxytone verb: ἀπερνάντας ... ὑπαγαίναντας (1473, Corfu, PENDOGALOS 1974a: 3, 137.9–10).¹⁵⁹

4.7.2 Aorist

-όντα; -όντας; -οντα(ν); -οντας; -ότα(ς)

Aorist gerunds formed from the thematic aorist active participle in -ών (e.g. ἰδών), have been found from at least the 14th c. onwards in texts from various regions:¹⁶⁰

ἰδόντα γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες (... οὐκ εἶχασιν τὸ ποιήσει ἀλλῶς) *Chron. Mor.* H 3021
 Πρωτεσίλαος ἰδόντα *ERMON., Ilias* 5.68
 ἰδόντα τοὺς υἱοὺς του *Pol. Tr.* 1954 app. crit. (X)
 ἰδόντα ὁ δολερὸς κριτῆς *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1072
 ἐλθόντα τοὺς εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 238.8
 ἀποθανόντα του (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 82, 154.14)
 ἀποθανόντα σου *Pist. kekoim.* 592

Addition of final /n/ has been found in Ermoniakos's *Iliad* (cf. the present gerund, above, 4.7.1): μάθονταν ἐκ θεραπαίνης (... τὴν θεράπαιναν προσέφη) *ERMON., Ilias* 23.280.

With an added final /s/ these aorist gerunds have been found from the 14th c. onwards, mainly in texts from south-western areas and the Aegean:

ἰδόντας γὰρ οἱ προεστοὶ *Chron. Mor.* H 3305
 κ' ἐσεῖς δειντρά, ἔχ τὴν λύπην μαραθῆτε | ἰδόντας τὴν ἐδικὴν τῆς κακοσύνης *Cypr. Canz.* 77.12
 ἰδόντας οἱ μουσουλμάνοι ὅτι χάνονται (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.12)
 ἀποθανόντας τῶνε (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 6, 16.44)
 ἀποτυχόντας τῆς παρουσίας τῆς ζωῆς (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 82, 272.20)
 ὁ Νεκτεναβὸν ἰδόντας τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα *Diig. Alex.* F 100.5 (Lolos); ἐλθόντας ἡ γέννησις τοῦ παιδίου *ibid.* 102.23–4; ὁ Τάρειος εἰπόντας τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν *ibid.* 304.14; ἰδόντας τῆς Ἰνδίας τὰ φουσαῖτα ἔφυγαν *ibid.* 292.19
 ἰδόντας ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον ἔδραμαν *Diig. Alex.* V 81.28
 λαβόντας αὐτὰ (1560, Ancona, MARKOS 1977: III, 29.7)
 ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης, ἰδόντας τὴν θρησκεία τὴν νέα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 129.23

¹⁵⁹ The readings are not entirely secure, as the new edition of this document (KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996, doc. 27) has ἀπερνώντας and ὑπαγαίνοντας. However, the editors state in their introduction (p. 146) that "spelling mistakes have been corrected", and they may have considered these forms in -αντας/-άντας to be just that.

¹⁶⁰ One single instance can also be found in Kekaumenos's *Strategikon*, an 11th-c. text that is, however, transmitted in a sole 14th-c. manuscript: δς καὶ ἐλθόντα πρὸς τὸν ρηθέντα βασιλέα κύρ Ρωμανὸν ἐφιλοτιμήθη *Kekaumenos, Strategikon* 302.14 app. crit. (M) (ed. Litavrin).

καὶ ἀποθανόντας τῆς δλο ἐδικό τῆς (1573 [copy of 1650], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 71.9–10)
 ἀποτυχόντας του (1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.16)
 ἀποθανόντας μου (1590, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 6, 30.17)
 ἀπεθανόντας τῆς (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 55.25)
 ἀποθανόντας τως (1604, Santorini, STEFANIDOU 2004: 10, 166.53)
 κάλλια ἀποθανόντας νὰ ἀφήσης νὰ τὰ εὔρουν οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου *Vios Aisop.* I 276.34 (scribe probably of southern provenance)
 ἀπεθανόντας τῆς (1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 313.65)
 ἀποτυχόντας τῆς (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 4, 5.5; and 1659, *ibid.* 9, 8.9)
 ζώντας μου κι ἀποθανόντας κατάρρα θέλω ἀφήσει KORNAROS, *Erot.* III 108

Forms with a shift of the stress from the penultimate to the antepenultimate, modelled on the present gerund in -οντα(ς), have been found in the same area, again from the 14th c. onwards:

διατὸ ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 1274
 οὐκ ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα *Pol. Tr.* 8409
 ἀποθάνοντα τῶν παιδιῶν του (1511, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 25, 44.47)
 καὶ ἀποτύχοντάς μου (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 45, 55.15)
 ἀποθάνοντάς μου (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 7, 35.26); ἀποθάνοντά τῆς (1530, *ibid.* 17, 57.24)
 λάβοντας τὴν Ἀγίαν Κοινωνία (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 8, 86.8); ἀποθάνοντα τῆς αὐτῆς Γληγορίας (1565, *ibid.* 253, 349.15)
 ἀπετύχοντάς του (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 42, 103.18)
 ὅτι, ποθάνοντάς του, νὰ πάρῃ νὰ ὀρίξῃ τὴν Κόρινθο *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 54.24–5
 ἀφήνου, ἀποθάνοντάς τως (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.15)

Forms in -τας instead of -ντας are phonetic variants, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (for details see I, 3.6.2.1): ἰδοτάς ἡ αὐθεντία σας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.13).

The ending -οντα(ς) can also be found with barytone and oxytone verbs that have sigmatic or liquid/nasal perfective stems (see also -αντα(ς), below),¹⁶¹ especially in texts from the Peloponnese.¹⁶² It is often used not as a true gerund, but in periphrastic perfect and pluperfect constructions, for which see 5.4.1.5 and 5.3.3.1.

ἦτον καταρπάσοντα αὐτὸ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος Καρβούνης (1156, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 28, 160.19); τὰ ἡμίσια ἀπερ ὑπῆρχε προαγοράσοντα ἡ ἀγία ἐκκλησία ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων (1165–6, *ibid.* 33, 181.11–12)
 ὅπου ἦσαν καταπιάσοντα *Chron. Mor.* H 187; ἀκούσοντά το οἱ ἄρχοντες *ibid.* 351; ἦτον ποιήσοντα ... ὁ κόντος τῆς Τσαμπάνιας *ibid.* 2421; τὰ ἦτον ἐπάροντα ἐκεῖνος *ibid.* 2613; ἦτον ἀφήκοντα εἰς Μορέαν *ibid.* 4689; ἦσαν ροβολέφοντα *ibid.* 6654

¹⁶¹ Note that aorist participles in -ων instead of -ας can already be found in much earlier inscriptions, e.g. τὸν προθύσοντα in IG VII–IX, Syll.³ 548 (Delphi, 3rd c. BC); τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας in IG V,2 265 (Peloponnese, 1st c. BC); τοὺς γράφοντας in SEG 6:444 (Konya, 4th c. AD).

¹⁶² Mazaris, the author of a satirical text in learned Greek entitled *Διάλογος νεκρικός. Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν Ἀδου* (1414–15) makes fun of the Peloponnesians and their “barbarous” language, mentioning among other things πιάσοντα, σφίξοντα and δώσοντα. (Its first editor BOISSONADE (1831: 164) prints πιάσοντα, etc., against the manuscript evidence. This was rightly corrected by JANNARIS (1897: 207), but BARRY et al. (1975: 64.14) follow Boissonade rather than the mss/Jannaris.)

ἐκλέξοντα εὐγενικοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 7644 app. crit. (C)

αὐτὸς τὸν εἶχε σφάζοντα, στο χώμαν ἀποκάτω *Apoll. Rim.* A 1604 and *Apoll. Rim.* E 1604

After the 16th c. the form only appears with final /s/, in texts from the Peloponnese, Crete, Cythera and certain Aegean islands, especially of the verb περνῶ:

αὐτὸς τὸν εἶχε σφάζοντας, στο χώμαν ἀποκάτω *Apoll. Rim.* N 1604
 δώσοντάς του ἐγὼ (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 194, 287.4)
 περάσοντας οἱ δέκα χρόνοι (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.9)
 περάσοντας ὀλίγος καιρὸς *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.11; ἀπεράσοντας ὀλίγες ἡμέρες *ibid.* 41.10
 γροικῆσοντας τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη (1624, Cythera, SEREMETIS 1962: 1, 131.15)
 περάσοντας οἱ πέντε (1649, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1924a: [5], 20.1)
 περάσοντας καμπόσες μέρες (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.17)
 περάσοντας τὸ μεσημέρι *Diig. Sant.* 56.6–7
 ἀστοχῆσοντας (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.11)
 περάσοντας πέντε χρόνους (1683, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 95, 322.9–10)
 περάσοντας ἓνα δύο μῆνες (1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.16)
 καὶ περάσοντας οἱ 10 ἡμέραι (1695, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.16)
 περάσοντας ἔξι χρόνοι (1720, Folegandros, GAVALAS 1887: 513.3)

In the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy* innovative gerunds in -όντα(ς) can also be found of prefixed forms of βαίνω (instead of forming aorist gerunds from their old participles in -ας (e.g. διαβάς > *διαβάντα(ς)): διαβόντα γὰρ ἡμέρες δύο *Chron. Mor.* H 7398, 8181; διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς *ibid.* 8001; εἶδες τὸ τί ἐκέρδισες ἐβγῶντα ἀπὸ τὸν ὄρκον *Pol. Tr.* 9347; διαβόντα ὁ χειμῶνας *Chron. Mor.* P 3515; διαβόντας δὲ ἡμέρες δύο *ibid.* 7398.

The present ending -οντα is found sporadically with the passive perfective stem, once even in the innovative/experimental form ἀρχιστώντα,¹⁶³ transmitted in all major manuscripts of the *War of Troy*: εἶχαν ἄλογα ἔρημα, τὰ ἦσαν ἀποσταθόντα *Chron. Mor.* H 9090;¹⁶⁴ σταθόντα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀνάγνωσε ... *Pol. Tr.* 561 (reading of ms X); ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπου ἦτον ἀρχιστώντα *ibid.* 9204.

-ας | -ών | -ώ

Sometimes the old masculine nominative singular participle (sigmatic in -ας and thematic in -ών) can be found used as a gerund:

ἠκούσας ταῦτα οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ *Chron. Mor.* P 701
 πάλι ἡ προφήτις Μαριάμ, τὸ τύμπανον κρατήσας DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1920
 καὶ ἀκούσας σπουδαίως ἔδωσαν γνωστὸν τοῦ ἀφεντός (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 260.85.6–7)
 ἡμεῖς οἱ πιστοὶ δοῦλοι τῆς σῆς βασιλείας ἄνωθε γράψας (1611, Cyprus, CHASIOITIS 1972: 49, 82.37)

¹⁶³ For passive forms of the verb ἀρχίζω cf. e.g. επαῖξαν καὶ γελάσασαι καὶ ὁ Ποντικός ἐρχίστη *Katis* 9; ἀρχίστηκεν ὁ πόλεμος BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 373.17.

¹⁶⁴ Because of the neut. pl. antecedent it could be argued that this form is a participle rather than a gerund, but given the other two examples from the same period and region and given the fact that ἡμουν + participle has not been found as a pluperfect periphrasis, ἀποσταθόντα is more likely to be a gerund. For the construction ἡμουν + aorist gerund see 5.3.3.1.

διαβών τὰς ἡμέρας (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 49.165)¹⁶⁵
 τότε ἰδὼν ὁ Βέλθανδρος *Velth.* 642 (Cyprian); τοῦτο μαθὼν ἡ δέσποινα *ibid.* 880; ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 ἐξέβηκε καὶ πάγει στήν κεράν της *ibid.* 924
 ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡ γέννησις τοῦ παιδίου ἔκραξε τὸν Κτεναβῶ *Diig. Alex.* E 103 (Lolos)
 καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ νοῦν βαλὼν ἐγὼ Θεοδώρης Ρουτζέρης (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS
 2003: 80, 150.3)
 ἐν ἀστενεῖα δεινῇ περιπεσὼν κειτόμενη ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ μου (1553, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al.
 2001: 99, 145.4)
 ἐλθὼν ἡ Ἀληθινή ἡ Χαλικού (1678, Icaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 64, 54.2)

-οντος ἰ -όντος

This ending clearly is a remnant of the participle used in genitive absolute constructions. However, forms in -οντος also occur used as gerunds, mainly of the verb ἔρχομαι, and also in texts that do not otherwise make use of the genitive absolute, such as the *Chronicle* of Voustronios:¹⁶⁶

ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἀπέβη τοῦ ἡμιόνου ΚΑΝΑΝΟΣ, *Diig.* 247
 ἐλθόντος γοῦν εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ παιδίου, ἔστειλεν ... *Diig. Alex.* V 26.21
 ἐλθόντος τὸ μαντάτον ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΣ, *Chron.* V 652.19; ἐλθόντος τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστον *id.*,
Chron. O 172.18
 ἐλθόντος τοῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 127.2–3; ἐλθόντος τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐξιππάστην το
 ἄλογον *id.*, *Chron.* M 57.7; ἐλθόντος τοῦ εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν *ibid.* 73.5–6; ἐλθόντος τοῦ ἀπὸ
 τὴν Σίβουρην *ibid.* 99.4; ἐλθόντος τοῦ εἰς τὴν Κύπρον *ibid.* 243.5
 ἐλθόντος τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἐσηκώθη το φουσάτον *Vios Filaret.* 241.38
 ὁ δὲ Ξάνθος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν *Vios Aisop.* K 155.19

-οντες

In texts from certain south-western areas, present gerunds in -ντες can be found (see above). The following aorist gerund has most probably been modelled on those present gerunds, which are rather more common: ἀποτύχοντές μου (1503, Corfu, PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI et al. 1997: 3, 23.5).

-αντα ἰ -αντας

Aorist gerunds in -αντα(ς), formed from the sigmatic aorist active participle in -ας (see II, 3.7.1), can occasionally be found:

καὶ ἐφημήσαντα τὸν βασιλέαν | εἶπον *Poulol.* 667–8 app. crit. (E)
 τὸν πώγωνα κρύψαντα | ὁ σπανὸς (...) εἰσῆλθε *Spanos* D 1565–6
 ἐκλέξαντα εὐγενικοὺς *Pol. Tr.* 7644 app. crit. (V)
 ἀκούσαντα δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τὴν ἀναφορὰν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 253
 κλίναντας μοναχὸς τοῦ τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ κεφαλὴν ΑΓΑΡ., *Mart. Ag. Deka* 529

-έντα

¹⁶⁵ This form should perhaps be read as διαβόντας.

¹⁶⁶ Where genitives absolute are concerned, Machairas only has the occasional stock phrase such as θεοῦ θέλοντος/βοηθώντος.

Even aorist gerunds in -έντα, formed from the aorist passive participle in -είς (see II, 3.7.1), can sometimes be found: σταθέντα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀνάγνωσε ... *Pol. Tr.* 561 (reading of ms B); Μενέλαος στραφέντα *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 18.201; καὶ εὐφρανθέντα καὶ ἐγερθέντα ... εἶπον *Poulol.* 667–8 app. crit. (E).

4.8 The Verb εἶμι

The verb εἶμι had undergone major morphological developments in Hellenistic times, when it gradually started to move over from the μι-paradigm to a mediopassive paradigm. The remodelling of εἶμι started with the imperfect (AG ἦν, ἦσθα/ῆς, ἦ(ν), ἦμεν, ἦτε/ῆστε, ἦσαν/ῆν), which morphologically resembled the aorist passive endings. They were re-formed on the basis of the dominant imperfect inflection (not to mention the added complication of having identical forms for 1 sg., 3 sg. and 3 pl.). Hence from Hellenistic times onwards, the paradigm developed as follows: ἦμην (3rd c. BC), ἦσο, ἦτο (4th c. AD),¹⁶⁷ ἦμεθα (2nd/3rd c. AD), ἦτε, ἦσαν. By the beginning of the LMedG period, after further modifications, the following paradigm had emerged for the imperfect: ἦμουν, ἦσουν, ἦτον, ἦμεθα, ἦτε, ἦσαν. The present soon started to follow suit, retaining the root /i/ of εἶμι while adding mediopassive endings for all persons but 3 sg. and 3 pl., which preserved ἐνι, the (already AG) shortened form of ἐνεσσι, which had come to be used instead of simple ἐσσι. At the beginning of the LMedG period the present paradigm looked like this: εἶμαι, εἶσαι, ἐνι, εἶμεθα, ἐστέ/ἐστε, ἐνι. For the development of εἶμι in post-classical times, see HATZIDAKIS 1892:188; PERNOT 1896; JANNARIS 1897: 250; DIETERICH 1898: 223–8; PSALTES 1913: 239–40; GIGNAC 1981: 400–8; HORROCKS 2010: 154 and 303–4; and KAPSOMENOS 1953a, which describes the development of εἶμι in Ancient, Hellenistic and Modern Greek.

In the following the 3rd persons singular and plural will be treated together, after the 2nd person plural, on account of the great overlap in forms.

4.8.1 Present Indicative and Subjunctive

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	εἶμαι	εἶμι εἶμι	εἶμαιν
	2	εἶσαι	εἶ	
	3	ἐνι ἐν ἐνε/ἐναι εἶν/ῆν εἶνε/εἶναι	ἐ ἐνεν/ἐναιν εἶ εἶνι(ν) ἐσσι(ν) ἰ ἐσσι(ν)	ἐνιν εἶνεν/εἶναιν ἰσσι(ν)

¹⁶⁷ ἄρα ποτε ὦδε πόλις ἦτο; *Oracula Tiburtina* 200 (see the online TLG).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Pl.	1	εἴμεσθε(ν)/εἴμεσθε(ν) εἴμεστα(ν)/εἴμεσθα(ν)	εἴμεθα εἴμεθεν εἴμεστένε εἴμιστι(ν) εἴμεστανε εἴμαστε(ν)(ε)/εἴμασθε(ν)	εἴμεθε εἴμαστανε
	2	εἴστε(ν)/εἴσθε(ν)	ἔστέ ! ἔστε εἴστι(ν) εἴστενε	εἴσαστε ἦτε
	3	ἔνι ἔν ἔνε/ἔναι εἴν/ἦν εἴνε/εἴναι	ἔνευ/ἔναιν εἴ εἴνιε/εἴνιαι εἴνι(ν) εἴσι(ν)	εἴνευ/εἴναιν

In older editions the root /i/ of the present subjunctive is sometimes spelled with <ῆ> or <ῑ> instead of <εῖ> to distinguish it from the present indicative: ῆμαι, ῆσαι, ῆναι, ῆμεσθεν, ῆσθε, ῆναι. Because this distinction is purely graphematic, here the subjunctive is not treated separately. Residual forms of the subjunctive can sporadically be found in texts that aim for a higher register: ἐάν ῆς στρατιώτης *Dig. G VI.515*; εἰ μέντοι ῆς ὁ Διγενῆς *Dig. T 1177*. Similarly, residual forms of the monolectic future can also sporadically be found, sometimes as futures and sometimes instead of the subjunctive. Again, these forms appear only in high- and mixed-register texts, e.g. ἔσομαι *GLYKAS, Stichoi 508* (fut. 1 sg.); ἔσται *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 10194* (fut. 3 sg.); ἔσεσθαι *GLYKAS, Stichoi 562*, [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim. 53* and *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 4669* (fut. inf.).

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	εἶμαι εἶμαιν εἶμι
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The oldest attestation so far of 1 sg. εἶμαι (spelled ἱμε) appears in an inscription of AD 314 (DIETERICH 1898: 227), and with the compound συμπάρεμι in a papyrus as early as the 3rd c. AD (GIGNAC 1981: 400). The form is also treated as quite normal by Byzantine grammarians such as Choïroboskos.¹⁶⁸ In and beyond our period it is the normal form. Some illustrative examples are:

ἐγὼ ἔλεεινὸς εἶμαι ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos 9 314.3*
εἶμαι στέργων (1199, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 247, 336.23)

¹⁶⁸ [εἶμι] κατὰ τὸν παθητικὸν ἐνεστώτα ... γίνεται εἶμαι Choïroboskos, *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini* 351.19–20. Theognostos is rather amusing: καὶ τὸ ἐω, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ὑπάρχω· ἐξ οὗ τὸ εἶμι, καὶ τὸ ἐω τὸ πορεύομαι, ἐξ οὗ τὸ εἶμαι τὸ προπερισπώμενον Theognostos, *De orthografia* 881.19–20 (see the online TLG).

οὐκ εἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν λέγεις *GLYKAS, Stichoi 541*
εἶμαι ἀπ<ε> τὴν ἀστενεῖα (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.3–4)
πὼς εἶμαι τσασίτης (1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 14, 79.7)
νὰ εἶμαι σκλάβος<ς> σου (1484, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 3, 45.18)
εἶμαι διὰ ν' ἀποθάνω *LIMEN., Than. Rod. 211*
εἶμαι ἀδύνατος *Byz. II. 562*
ὅτι εἶμαι πόρνη *Poulol. 187*
οὐκ εἶμαι αὐθεντὸς υἱὸς *Diig. Alex. Sem. B 311*
εἶμαι πεπάρμενος *Charon III 14*
εἶμαι παλληκάρι *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 1316*
με το να εἶμαι εὐμορφη *Don Kis. 91.25*

Addition of final /n/ to this form can be found but is not very common: ἐγὼ εἶμαιν σκοτωμένος *Diig. Alex. F 264.3* (Lolos); οὐδὲν εἶμαιν ἀνελεήμονος *ibid. 276.5*; ὡς νοικοκύρης ὁποῦ εἶμαιν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1590, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 42, 63.2).

The paroxytone form εἶμι is a phonetic variant of εἶμαι, showing evidence of mid-vowel raising, whereby unstressed [e] becomes [i] (for details see I, 2.5.4): δὲν εἶμι ἔτοιμος νὰ κριθῶ (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 17, f.45v.6); τοῦ δικαπενταύγουστου εἶμι ὄξου (1696, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 1, 50.16–17) (= τὸ Δεκαπενταύγουστο; see I, 2.8.3).

Sg.	1	εἶμι
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The residual form εἶμι can be found throughout the period covered by this grammar, especially in texts that display archaizing tendencies and in mixed-register texts. Some representative examples are:¹⁶⁹

οὐ γὰρ εἶμι τῶν ἀγενῶν *Dig. G IV.679*
καὶ γὰρ ἀγράμματός εἶμι *Ptoch. IV 25*
παράδειγμα εἶμι τῶν φαινομένων [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim. 1757*
ὦ! εἶμι πολυόμματος *Cypr. Canz. 27.9*
μη με φάγεις ὅτι εἶμι πολλὰ μικρὸν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth. 4.3*
ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ Δάρειος *Diig. Alex. K 365.23*
ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 22.32*
ιδιώτης γὰρ εἶμι *Ioakeim Kypr., Pali 10063*

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	εἶσαι
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The 2 sg. form εἶσαι can first be found in a papyrus dating from the 5th c. or later (GIGNAC 1981: 400) and is also attested in various Byzantine texts (HATZIDAKIS 1892:188;

¹⁶⁹ In texts from areas that display the feature of raising of unstressed [e] to [i] (for which see I, 2.5.4), such as *Diig. Alex. K*, it cannot be excluded that it is actually εἶμαι /ime/, which becomes εἶμι ['imi], rather than an instance of morphological conservatism (see above). The example from *Cypr. Canz.* is a one-off in the collection, appearing in a poem that satirizes the figure of the pedant (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 128 fn.).

DIETERICH 1898: 228; PSALTES 1913: 239–40).¹⁷⁰ By the beginning of the LMedG period it was already the normal form, appearing even in works that aim for a higher stylistic register such as *Dig. G*. A few representative examples are:

πολλά εἶσαι βαρεμένη GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304
τὸ ποῦ εἶσαι *Dig. G* IV.441
ὄς εἶσαι σιγηρὸς *Ptoch. I* 66
ἔνοχος εἶσαι πειρασμῶν *Spaneas P* 23
εἶσαι βασιλέας *Chron. Mor. H* 664
ὄς εἶσαι θαρροῦμενος (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 18, 97.22)
νὰ εἶσαι ἀνιμούζης καὶ ἀπότομος *Fior* 127.20
θέλεις εἶσαι (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 173.40)
δεν εἶσαι τόσα γρε *CHORTATSI, Panor. III*.297
πόσων χρόνων εἶσαι; (17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.29)
εἶσαι ἀπ' ὅλους βαρεμένος (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26)
θάμνος ἐκ ρίζης ἀγαθῆς εἶσαι PETRITSIS, *Dig. O Prol.* 3
καὶ νὰ εἶσαι μάρτυρας *Don Kis*. 47.4

Sg.	2	εἶ
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Residual εἶ is quite rare and can only be found in high- and mixed-register texts:

πόθεν εἶσαι καὶ τίς εἶ; *Metaphr. Alexiad* 306.5
ὦ θαυμαστός εἶ, Κύριε *Chron. Toc.* 3037
οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν σὺ εἶ *Spanos D* 602
ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁμοῖος εἶ τῷ ἡλίῳ *Vios Aisop.* E 289.5

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	εἴμεθα
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The 1 pl. ending -μεθα is attested in the *Septuagint* and *New Testament* with the imperfect, but not with the present. The earliest examples of this ending with the present can be found in Ephraem the Syrian, a 4th-c. author with, however, a problematic text tradition, and in Malalas (6th c., single 12th-c. ms).¹⁷¹ Although at the beginning of the LMedG period there does not appear to be an alternative form for 1 pl., εἴμεθα is not attested very frequently, and by the 14th/15th c. (slightly earlier in S. Italy) it appears to have been largely superseded by other endings:

¹⁷⁰ There are several instances in the *Book of Ceremonies* (10th c.), interestingly all from the mouths of the Demes and the people, as noted by PERNOT 1896: 171, e.g. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ κράκται· «εἶσε ὁ δεῖνα, εἶσε ὁ δεῖνα, εἶσε ὁ δεῖνα.» Καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐκ γ'· «εἶσε πατρίκιος, εἶσε.» *De Ceremoniis* II 58.16 (ed. Vogt).

¹⁷¹ In the edition these forms are spelled with <η>, as if they were imperfects, which they are clearly not: e.g. ὡδε ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, ὅσον ἤμεθα ἡμεῖς, δυνάμεθα πάντοτε δυσωπῆσαι τὸν Θεόν Ephraem Syr., *De Penitentia* 366.14; πάντες φιλοδοξοῦμεν ... πάντες ἤμεθα χαῖνοι id., *Sermo in patres defunctos*, 13.1. Another example that looks a lot like a present indicative can be found in Malalas (6th c.): καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ δύο ἡμεῖς φίλοι ἤμεθα· καὶ μὴ συμβῇ τινα ἀποτυχίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπονοηθῶμεν ὡς προδότηι Malalas, *Chronogr.* 404.6. The form ἤμεθα in Moschos, regarded as a present by DIETERICH (1898: 228), is actually an imperfect: εἰ ἤκουσά σου, καὶ ἐπεισθην σοι, ἤδη ἤμεθα ἀπαλλαγέντες, τέλεσαντες τὴν ἀμαρτίαν (PG 87.3, 3096D).

ἵνα εἴμεθα ξένοι (1085, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 43, 148.47)
εἰ μὲν ἀνάξιοι εἴμεθα NIKON, *Logos* 2 140.21
ἵνα εἴμεθα κατηράμενοι (1134, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 33, 18.28)
τρεῖςκαίδεκα γὰρ εἴμεθα ἡ πᾶσα φαμίλια *Ptoch. II* 25.1 app. crit. (H)
τίνες εἴμεθα *Liv. α* 2910 app. crit. (P)

Pl.	1	εἴμεθε(ν)
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The ending -μεθεν is considered to derive from -μεθα: the final /a/ changed to /e/ to match the 2 pl. and 3 pl. endings in the paradigm (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). Final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197 regarding the similar ending -μεσθεν). It can be found in texts from northern and south-western areas, especially the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, from the 14th to the 16th c., after which it largely falls into disuse. The latest attestations occur in the theatrical play *Irodis*, which is of uncertain dating (1650–1750 or perhaps earlier, PUCHNER 1998: 17; cf. barytone verbs, 4.1.1.2):

ὑποσχόμεθα νὰ ἤμεθεν δοῦλοι (1348?, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 101, 229.5)
ὅπου εἴμεθεν στρατιῶτες *Chron. Mor. H* 2698; πρέπει νὰ εἴμεθεν ἐννομοῦ ibid. 2706 ms (the ed. corrects to εἴμεθε ἐννομοῦ for metrical reasons)
εἴμεθεν πληρωμένοι (1395, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 5, 181.17)
ἀλλ' εἴμεθεν (...) (1399, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 8, 92.6; and 1402, ibid. 9, 93.6)
νὰ εἴμεθεν ἀμέριμνοι *Pol. Tr.* 857; ὅλοι εἴμεθεν χαϊμένοι ibid. 9885
νὰ εἴμεθεν ἀντάμα *Dig. E* 1304
νὰ εἴμεθεν ἐντάμα *Liv. V* 3311
ὅπου εἴμεθεν πιστοὶ σου *Velis. χ* 46
χατημένες εἴμεθεν ὅλες *Theseid* I.78,5 (Follieri)
παρθένες κόρες εἴμεθεν *Flor. L* 835
νὰ εἴμεθεν (1457, Arcadia, MANOUSSACAS 1981: 319.14)
᾿ς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον νὰ ᾿μεθεν KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VII.15
εἴμεθεν SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.8
εἴμεθεν ἀποκάτου *Diig. Alex. F* 222.6–7 (Lolos); εἴμεθεν τοῦ Σῆθ υἱοὶ ibid. 42.22 (Konstantinopolos)
ἀλλὰ τί λέμεν καὶ ποῦ εἴμεθεν; *Irodis* I.85; ἔτοιμοι εἴμεθεν ibid. IV.167

Deletion of final /n/ is not very common: καὶ οὐδὲν βολεῖ νὰ εἴμεθε χώρια ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄρταν *Chron. Toc.* 2716; ὅλοι ᾿μεθε χατημένοι KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* V.40; εἴμεθε ὡσάν τὸν λιθάριν τὸν ἀδαμαντῖνον *Diig. Alex. F* 216.6 (Lolos).

Pl.	1	εἴμεστε(ν) ἢ εἴμεσθε(ν) ἢ εἴμεστενε ἢ εἴμιστι(ν)
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The ending -μεστε(ν) is held to have been formed from -μεθα, with a change from /a/ to /e/ by analogy with 2 pl. and 3 pl., which also end in /e/ (MEYER 1889: 197), although vowel assimilation may also have played a role (MINAS 1987a: 25). The added /s/ is usually explained as being analogical from 2 pl. (MEYER 1889: 197), and the cluster /sθ/ will have automatically dissimilated to /st/ in everyday speech (see I, 3.8.1). Its variant -μεσθε(ν) reflects the written practice. Final /n/ was added by analogy with 1 pl. active -μεν (MEYER 1889: 197). These endings are found in the 13th c. in S. Italy and from at least the 15th c.

onward (ms date of *Assizes B* and *Dig. E*) in texts from most regions, though not usually in texts from Crete:

- καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ πράτες τοῦ εἵμεσθεν ἔτοιμοι (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.9)
 ἐὰν εἵμεσθεν ἀποφγαλμένοι *Assizes B* 274.24–5
 εἵμεσθεν γειτόνοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.17; εἵμεσθεν κρατούμενοι *ibid.* 44.34
 ἡμεῖς ροῖνες εἵμεσθεν *Chron. Mor.* P 6036
 εἵμεσθεν εὐχαριστημένοι (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.22)
 εἵμεσθεν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκόνταμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων DAM. STOD., *Dial.* 96.38
 εἵμεσθεν ὡσὰν τὸ λιθάριν *Diig. Alex.* F 216.6 (Lolos); τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἵμεσθεν ἐγγόνια *ibid.* 42.20
 νὰ εἵμεσθεν (1571, Mani, CHASIOIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2)
 εἵμεσθεν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.20
 ἀχρηστοὶ δουλευτάδες εἵμεσθεν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 17.10
 νὰ ἡμεσθεν κρατημένοι (1642, Patmos, MICHAILARIS 1998: 1, 193.16)
 δὲν εἵμεσθεν ἐλεύθεροι (1654, Karpenisi, STEFANIS/PAPATRIANDAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI 1992: 7, 83.2)
 εἵμεσθεν καλὰ (1656, Amorgos, TSELIKAS 1988/1992: 3, 49.7)
 εἵμεσθεν (1666, Naxos, ZERLENDIS 1922: p. 131.19)
 εἵμεσθεν κρατημένοι (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.15–16)
 ἡμεῖς δὲν εἵμεσθεν δαιμονισμένοι *Don Kis.* 50.7

The form without final /n/ is less common:

- νὰ εἵμεσθε εἰς τὸν κόσμον *Dig. E* 95
 ἐμεῖς εἵμεσθε ἀδελφοί σου (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 178)
 νὰ εἵμεσθε *Theseid* I.27,2 (Follieri)
 εἵμεσθε λυτρωμένοι *Synax. gyn.* 67
 εἵμεσθε εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν βουλὴν (1585, Constantinople, PATRINELIS 1967/68: 28, 108.14)
 νὰ εἵμεσθε ἐμεῖς ἐδῶ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.4
 ποὺ ἔμεστ' ἐνοὺς πατέρος VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1303
 δὲτ' εἵμεσθε δικοί σου MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2481

The following form is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant of εἵμεσθε, in which unstressed /e/ has become [i] through mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4 for details): νὰ μὴν εἵμιστιν χαμένοι (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 9, 74.1).

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in a document from the Mani and a theatrical play from Chios (both 17th c.), but is likely to appear in other areas as well (for details see I, 2.6.3): ἐμεῖς, ὁποῦ ἔμεστανε νιοὶ VEST., *Paides* 1024; εἵμεστανε (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.17).

Pl.	1	εἵμεσθα(v) εἵμεστα(v) εἵμεστανε
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The ending -μεσθα(v) and its written variant -μεσθα(v) are attested with εἶμαι in the 13th c. in S. Italy and from the 14th c. onwards elsewhere (for the identical ending of the imperfect see 4.3.1.2; for a discussion see 4.1.1.2). It is likely to be the result of a conflation of inherited -μεθα and the innovative ending -μεσθε(v) (see above). It can be found throughout the EMG period in texts from various areas but is especially frequent in Cretan texts:

- εἵμεσθα (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.11)
 εἵμεσθα θαρρετοί (1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 6, 310.15)

- ὁρεκτικοὶ εἵμεστα εἰς δ,τι ἤθελεν κάμειν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.11–12)
 ἔδεν εἵμεστα στο μόδο σου *Apoll. Rim.* N 1691
 δ,τι ἡμεστα κοτέντες (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 19, 60.4)
 νὰ εἵμεστα πάντα μαζί BAROZZI, *Letter* 358.7
 κατὰ πῶς εἵμεστα κρατημένοι CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.557
 ἐδῶ εἵμεστα *Thysia Avr.* 241 app. crit. (M)
 εἵμεστα ἐρθωμένοι TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.1 (ἡμεστα ed.)
 δὲν εἵμεστα κοπέλια FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.328
 πῶς εἵμεστα πρόντοι δ,τι ὦρα μᾶσε κράξη (1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 5, 34.3)
 εἵμεστα εἰς ἓνα κίνδυνο ἀνεπίστευτο (1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.12)
 εἵμεστα πάντα ὁμάδι KORNAROS, *Erot.* 235.24 (Stevanoni) (= IV.551)

Addition of final /n/ makes a first appearance in writings of the 14th c. and can be found throughout the rest of the period, mostly in texts from southern areas:

- ὁπου εἵμεσταν ροῖνες *Chron. Mor.* H 6035; εἵμεσταν *ibid.* 6036 and 6968 ms (usually εἵμεθεν)
 ὠρισμένοι εἵμεσταν ἀπὸ τὸν ρήγα τῆς Κύπρου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.21
 εἵμεσταν καλὰ (1501, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 5, 26.6)
 εἵμεσταν καὶ ἡμεῖς μοναχὲς (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.48)
 εἵμεσταν τυφλοὶ DAM. STOD., *Dial.* 103.38
 εἵμεσταν πάντοτε ἐτοιμότατοι (1574, Corfu, ASONITIS 1999/2000: 2, 14)
 εἵμεσταν πτωχοὶ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 86.27 and 92.28
 καλὸν εἶναι νὰ εἵμεσταν ἐμεῖς ἐδῶ KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 9.5 (hapax; normally εἵμεστε(v))
 ἀντύχει τώρα, ὁποῦ ἐμεῖς εἵμεσταν συγχισμένοι RODINOS, *Mart. Ag. Mam.* 216.22
 ἀποῦ ἔμεσταν ὁμάδι (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.13)
 εἵμεσταν (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.14)
 ποὺ ἔμεσταν βαπτισμένοι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2929; δὲν εἵμεσταν *ibid.* 3633;
 καὶ Ρεθεμνιώτες εἵμεσταν BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 230.3
 εἵμεσταν βοηθοὶ σου KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 771
 νὰ ἔμεσταν γλυτωμένοι *Thrinis Kypr.* 389

Addition of -(v)ε, without the need for a second accent, occurs in Morezinos, the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* and a letter by Nikiforos, archbishop of Cyprus, who, however, was almost certainly not of Cypriot but rather of south-western origin (see II, 2.1.2, fn. 8). For -(v)ε see I, 2.6.3: εἵμεστανε MOREZINOS, *Klini* 21.7–8, 123.28, 133.18, 187.29, 205.4 and 205.7; εἵμεστανε πτωχοὶ ἀνθρώποι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 85.21 ms (ed.: εἵμεστανε πτωχοὶ ἀνθρώποι); εἵμεστανε (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 254.5).

Pl.	1	εἵμασθε(v) εἵμασθε(v) εἵμαστανε εἵμαστανε
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The form εἵμασθε(v) and its more formal variant εἵμασθε(v) (in the form εἵμασθε now the SMG form) first appears in texts from south-western areas only, from the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv. E*). It has not been found in texts from other areas before the 17th c. (Ioakeim Kypr., *Don Kis.*). According to MINAS 1987a: 25, following MEYER 1889: 197, it derives from -μεσθα through inversion of the vowels /a/ and /e/. As appears to be the case with other mediopassive endings (e.g. imperf. 1 sg. -μουν, 2 sg. -σουν) the postverbal clitic pronoun μας may have played an associative role.

μάννα, τὸ τίνος εἶμασθεν ἡμεῖς *Liv.* E 2903
 ἂν εἶμασθεν στρατιῶτες *Chron. Mor.* P 3845
 ὅδεν εἶμασθεν στο μόδο σου *Apoll. Rim.* E 1691
 νά 'μασθεν *Theseid* I.122,6 (Follieri)
 εἶμασθεν χορτασμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 899; ἡμεῖς γυναῖκες εἶμασθεν *ibid.* 2507
 καὶ εἶμασθε 'ραμένοι (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 387.3) (author from Corfu)
 εἶμασθε ἀμέραγοι (1585 [later copy], Ithaca, KALLINIKOS 1980: 56.21–2)
 εἶμασθε *Pist. voskos* III 5.99
 σιμά εἶμασθε, καὶ χτύπησε CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.93
 πού 'μασθε κρατημένοι *Pist. voskos* IV 3.284
 εἶμασθε<ν> σόλιτο (1610, Mani, FLORISTÁN 2008: 1, 281.15)
 ὅς εἶμασθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς MAXIMOS, *Synax. Ag. Nik.* 144.301–2
 ὥστε νά εἶμασθε εὐχαριστημένοι (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 73, 81.8)
 εἶμασθεν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2542 and 2996; πού 'μασθεν *ibid.* 10095
 νά εἶμασθεν (1666, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 15, 128.7–8)
 εἶμασθε πλερωμένοι (1666, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 18, 89.10)
 νά εἶμασθεν στενεμένοι (1670, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 4.16)
 εἶμασθεν (1673, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 17B, 129.5)
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐδικοί σου εἶμασθεν *Alex. Fyll.* 17.9–10
 νά εἶμασθε ὀμπλιγάδοι (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 7, 41.22)
 δὲν ἤξεύρω ποῦ εἶμασθεν σιγούροι (1715, Corfu, LIATA 1975: 16, 132.11)
 εἶμασθεν ἔτοιμοι KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* II.347; ὁπού 'μασθε κ' οἱ δυὸ κατοικημένες *id.*, *Klathmos* I.597
 εἶμασθε SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.6
 ποῖοι εἶμασθεν *Don Kis.* 514.12; δὲν εἶμασθε ζῶα *ibid.* 566.12

Addition of -(v)ε has been found in a letter by Nikiforos, archbishop of Cyprus, who, however, was certainly not of Cypriot but probably of south-western origin (see II, 2.1.2, fn. 8), as well as in an early 18th-c. document written in Athens, by an author who was perhaps from Nauplion (see also I, 2.6.3): εἶμασθενε (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.2) (ed. εἶμασθε, but see KYRRIS 1963: 279 for the correction of this and other misreadings); εἶμασθενε (1717, Athens, LIATA 1975: 32, 144.19 and 144.20).

The same letter by Nikiforos, archbishop of Cyprus, also preserves a form εἶμαστανε (reading confirmed by KYRRIS 1963: 279), which is either a very rare variant, or perhaps just a writing mistake for εἶμασθενε: εἶμαστανε ὅλοι εἰς τὸ ρένιο μας τῆς Κύπρου (1664, Cyprus, MERTZIOS 1958b: 255.10).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	ἔστε ἢ ἔστέ
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The inherited form ἔστε (ἔστέ in conservative orthography) remains in use throughout the post-classical period and into the 15th/16th c. Since the ending -στε could easily be interpreted as passive and thus fitted nicely into the reformed paradigm, there was no pressing need to replace it. No new alternative forms have been found before the 14th c., but it must be borne in mind that 2 pl. forms are generally quite rare in written texts:

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠρώτα: "Πόθεν ἔστέ;" NIKON, *Logos* 31 816.18
 πληροφορημένοι οὐκ ἔστε (1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.6)

τίνες ἔστε καὶ πόθεν *Dig.* G I.263
 μήποτε ἔστε ξένοι *Pol. Tr.* 11262 app. crit. (C)
 σύνδουλοι ἔστε τῶν προγόνων σας *Vios Aisop.* E 293.13
 τὸ πῶς ἔστε εἰς τὴν ὑγείαν σας *Diig. Alex.* F 308.16–17 (ἔσταν in *Diig. Alex.* E)

Pl.	2	ἔσθε(ν) ἢ εἴσθε(ν) ἢ εἴστι(ν) ἢ εἴστανε ¹⁷²
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For 2 pl. εἴσθε(ν) and its written variant ἔσθε(ν) (cf. SMG εἴστε) start to appear in written texts from the 14th c. onwards. It has not been possible to establish how long before the 14th c. this form came into being, since most of the early vernacular texts (Glykas, *Spaneas* V, *Log. parig.* L) happen not to have 2 pl. forms of εἶμαι. The present form εἴσθε(ν)/ἔσθε(ν) is most likely to be an adaptation of inherited ἔστε, thus being the last form of the present to adopt the root /i/ of the rest of the paradigm (cf. 3 sg. and 3 pl.).¹⁷³

ἵνα ἦσθε κρατημένοι (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.45)
 καὶ νά ἦσθε πάλε στὸν Μορέα *Chron. Mor.* H 4249; εἴστε γυμνοὶ *ibid.* 5110
 πολλὰ νά εἴστε ἔσεις γεροὶ *Pol. Tr.* 4321
 ὅπου εἴστε μαθημένοι *Dig.* E 1303
 τίνες καὶ πόθεν εἴστε *Liv.* S 1742 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 εἴστε πιστοὶ εἰς ἔμένα *Achil.* L 790
 εἴστε ρίζα τῶν Ρωμαίων *Chron. Toc.* 1390
 ὡς εἴστε ἔσεις *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (V); ἀλλ' οὕτως εἴσθε φρόνιμοι *ibid.* 8716 (mss AB)
 μηδὲν ἦσθε ἀπότορμοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 294.1–2; ἔσεις εἴστε φρενίμοι *ibid.* 330.14–15
 ποιουνοῦ θεοῦ εἴστε ἔσεις *Diig. Alex.* F 226.11–12 (Lolos); ἔσεις εἴσθε λύκοι *ibid.* 246.4
 διὰ νά ἦσθ' ἔσεις κακοὶ MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2677
 δὲν εἴστε CHORTATIS, *Erof.* I.111; σὰν εἴστε μαθημένοι *id.*, *Erof. Intern.* IV.21
 διὰ τὸ σπαθὶ εἴστε PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §4.25
 ὅς εἴστε (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 77, 231.9)
 εἴστε τὸ νησί του (17th c., Syros, ZERLENDIS 1924b: [3], 14.7)

Addition of final /n/ can be found in writing from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Spaneas* Z):

οὐκ εἴσθεν χριστιανοὶ *Spaneas* Z 503
 ὅς εἴσθεν θαρρεμένοι *Liv.* V 3860; μήνα εἴσταν ἀκ τὸν Αἰβιστρον ἀποστερνάμενοι του *ibid.* 2691
 ὡς εἴσθεν ἔσεις *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (X); ὡς εἴσταν ἔσεις *Pol. Tr.* 824 app. crit. (AB);

¹⁷² A 13th-c. example of εἴσταν in poem III of Rumi (ed. Dedes, l. 5) is dubious, because it uses 2 pl. as a mark of politeness, a use that is otherwise unattested in the period under review (see IV, 5). The following two forms are *hapax legomena*. The example from *Bertoldos* is most likely to be a simple printing mistake: ὁπού ἔσεις εἴσταν *Bertoldos* 19.22 (εἴσταν for εἴστανε: εἴσταν(ν)ε being the normal form in this text). The form εἴσταναι in Ioakeim Kyprios's *Struggle*: ὡσάν φίλοι που εἴστανε κάμετε καλοσύνην ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 1509 is either a writing mistake (εἴσταναι for εἴσταναι/εἴσταναι), or a case of confusion with the regionally attested 2 pl. imperfect ἦσταν(ε) found in texts of northern provenance (Ioakeim spent time in Romania and Belgrade), for which see 4.8.2.

¹⁷³ KAPSOMENOS (1953a: 322) considers it to be formed from Koine present subjunctive ἦτε with influence from the imperfect, which next to the identical form ἦτε also had an alternative form ἦστε. The problem with this theory is that the imperfect ἦστε never became a mainstream form and can only be found in a handful of Attic authors; also, there are actually very few examples of ἦτε used as a present indicative in post-classical times. The most common form for the present indicative throughout post-classical times is ἔστε/ἔστέ, also in middle- and lower-register Byzantine texts such as *Chronicon Paschale*, Leontios of Neapolis, Ps.-Methodios, the *Miracles of St Artemios* and Paul of Monemvasia (see the online *TLG*).

εἶσθεν καλά (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 21.2)
 εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἶσθεν λυπημένοι *Alex. Rim.* 1752
 εἶσθεν ἐνοῦ πατρός παιδία *Diig. Alex. F* 206.1 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex. V* 59.21
 ποῦ ἀνδρειωμένοι εἶσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 2878; μὴν εἶσθεν φοβισμένοι *ibid.* 2880

Addition of -(v)ε occurs in texts from south-western areas (Heptanese, Crete and possibly elsewhere)¹⁷⁴ and from Chios from the 16th c. onwards (for details see I, 2.6.3):

εὐλογημένοι δὲ εἶσθεν γνώριμοι τοῦ πατρός μου SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 255
 να εἶσθεν DEFAR., *Sos.* 360 (Holton)
 σκύλες λυσσιασμένες ὅπου εἶσθεν Bertoldos 18.28
 ἄς ἦσθεν γραμμένοι PORTIUS, *Grammar* 36.19
 εἶσθεν τιμημένοι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 520; ὅσες κι ἂν εἶσθεν μητρίες *ibid.* 1536
 γιὰτ' ἀνδρειωμένοι εἶσθεν PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* 185; πῶς εἶσθεν κλιαμένοι *ibid.* 340
 παιδιὰν εἶσθεν *ProL. Epain. Kef.* 45
 καὶ νὰ ὅστεν χαιράμενοι KATSAITIS, *Thyest. Epil.* 39
 ποῦ εἶσθεν SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 56.37

The following example is a phonetic rather than a morphological variant, bearing witness to mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4 for details): εἶστιν γιροί (1698, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 8, 70.6–7).

Pl.	2	εἶσαστε
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The MG colloquial form εἶσαστε has not been found before the early 18th c., in a document whose author was from Nauplion:¹⁷⁵ καὶ ευχαριστία νὰ ἔχει ὁ Κύριος ὅπου δὲν εἶσαστε κανέναν πανδρεμένος (1715, Venice, LIATA 1975: 3, 122.21).

Pl.	2	ἦτε
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The residual Koine form ἦτε (originally the present subjunctive) is found sporadically: νὰ ἦτε δοῦλοι του *Liv. α* 589 app. crit. (P); τίνες καὶ πόθεν ἦτε *Dig. A* 49.

3rd Person Singular and Plural

Sg.	3	ἐνι ἐν ἔ ἐνε(v)/ἐναι(v) ἐνιν
Pl.		ἐνι ἐν ἐνε(v)/ἐναι(v)

The inherited form ἐνι¹⁷⁶ for 3 sg. and 3 pl. is the only form of εἶμαι that resists transferring to the mediopassive paradigm. At the beginning of the LMedG period it was still the most

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Kosmas Aitolos's famous words (18th c., born in Aetolia): δὲν εἶσθεν Ἕλληνες, δὲν εἶσθεν ἀσεβεῖς, αἰρετικοί, ἄθεοι, ἀλλ' εἶσθεν εὐσεβεῖς ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί (MENOUNOS 1979: 115–16).

¹⁷⁵ Also in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: ἂ, χρόνοι καὶ ποῦ ὅσατε Gouzelis, *O Chasis* III.473 (ed. Synodinos).

¹⁷⁶ It is a shortened form of ἐνεστί ("exists"), which can already be found in Homer. The oldest attestation of its meaning "is" appears in an inscription on a Corinthian vase of the 6th c. BC: καλὸ(ν) ἐνι τὸ ποτήριον (see KRETSCHMER 1922).

common form, even though alternative forms (ἐνε/ἐναι and εἶνε/εἶναι) had already begun to appear (see below). By the end of the 16th c. these new forms managed to supplant ἐνι in most areas, with the notable exception of Cyprus, where ἐνι can be found, alongside ἐναι and εἶναι, throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar (BEAUDOIN 1884: 79–80; SYMEONIDIS 2006: 219–20).¹⁷⁷

In the transitional phase alternative forms are often found side by side, e.g. τίς ἐναι καὶ πόθεν ἐνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί ναι τὸ στενάζει *Liv. E* 19 and ἀνίσως καὶ ἐνι πλούσιος SACHLIKIS, *Peri fylakis* 78 transcr. P (Lendari) vs. ἄς ἐναι φυλαμένη *ibid.* 107. Certain LMedG texts, among which *Dig. G*, *Ptoch.* (apart from ms H), *Chron. Mor. H*, *Pol. Tr.* (in which all cases of 3 pl. ἐνι turn out to be editorial), *Diig. tetr.*, *Liv. V* and *N*, *Poulol.*, *Velth.*, use ἐνι only for the singular.

Singular

οὐ χρεῖα ἐνι ἡγουμένου NIKON, *Logos* 2 136.33
 (φοβοῦμαι ...) μὴ οὐκ ἐνι εἰς ἀρεστόν σου *Dig. G* II.115
 ὅπου ἐνι χορτασμένος GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117
 οἶος δ' ἂν καὶ ἐνι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 15.36–7)
 (τὸ ἀμπέλιον ...) ἐνι δὲ φράγγον (1400, Patras, GERLAND 1903: 10, 194.4–5)
 τί ἐνι τὸ γυρεύουν *Pol. Tr.* 266
 καὶ ἐνι ὁ τόπος βαρικός *Chron. Toc.* 3453; νὰ ἐνι ἐδικός του *ibid.* 3721
 ὀρισμός μας ἐνι (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 143, 68.1)
 εὐμορφον ἐνι, ἐξαίρετον *Velth.* 523 (Cupane)
 ὁ λαὸς τῆς Ἀμοχούστου ἐνι χοντροὶ λᾶς MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 388.30–1; ἐνι ἀλήθεια ὅτι ...
ibid. 576.8–9
 ὅταν ἐνι τὸ κάμμα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 367
 αὐτοῦ ἐνι σταυρὸς ἐμπηγμένος (1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 172.21)
 ἐνι ἡγούμενος (1545, Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 2, 100.1)
 ἐνι τοῦ κόσμου χαλασμός *Thrinis Konst.* (Zoras) 130
 ἐνι ἀλήθεια καὶ ἐπουλήσαμεν (1694–1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 3, 78.2–3)

Plural

τοῦτα παιγνίδια οὐκ ἐνι GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 519
 τοῦτα μὲν τὰ συντυχαίνει, ἐνι παλαιοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀποκλάσματα *Paroim. E* 59
 ὅτι ἐνι δαιμονιάρη *Ptoch. II* 93 app. crit. (H)
 ἐνι καὶ τέτοιοι *Arm.* 64 (reading of ms C)
 (τὰς γραφάς), μάθε διὰ τίναν ἐνι *Liv. E* 1512
 ἄφες τα, οὐκ ἐνι πρόσφερα *Liv. α* 2376 app. crit. (P); καὶ τὰ λαλεῖ δι' ἐμὲν ἐνι *ibid.* 1951 (reading of SP)
 εἰ δ' ἴσως ἐνι δράκοντες [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 913
 πολλὰ ἐνι τὰ ἑκακοπάθησεν *Liv. S* 385 (Lambert-van der Kolf); ὀνόματα ἐνι ἀρμένικα *ibid.* 1520
 σὰν ἐνι μαθημένες SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 456 transcr. P (Lendari)
 οἱ Σπιταλλιώτες ἐνι καλοὶ χριστιανοὶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 14.21–2
 αὐτὲς ἐνι οἱ ὑπόληφες LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 606
 ἐνι ἀρμασμένοι *Fior* 147.40; ἀντὰν ἐνι συγγενάδες *ibid.* 148.1

¹⁷⁷ The same is likely to be true for other areas, among which Pontos, Cappadocia and Tsakonia, which still have ἐνι for 3 sg. in modern times (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 207; ANDRIOTIS, *Lex. Arch.* s.v. ἐνι), but unfortunately there is almost no LMedG and EMG textual evidence from these areas.

οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτηνὰ ἐν μιᾷς κονδετισοῦς *Fior* Suppl. 270.12–13
οὕτως ἐν καὶ τὰ φουσάτα μου *Diig. Alex.* E 157.10 (Lolos); αὐτοὶ ἐν πρόβατα *ibid.* 247.3–4

Before the LMedG period two further alternative forms had come into being, namely ἐν/ἐνε (ἐναι) and εἰν/εἶνε (εἶναι). The traditional explanation is that ἐνε/ἐναι is formed from ἐνι either with adoption of /e/ in the final syllable by analogy with 1 sg. εἶμαι and 2 sg. εἶσαι (KORAI 1828/35: I 95; CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 564; ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1936: 9), or with assimilation of /i/ to the /e/ of the first syllable (JANNARIS 1897: 250), and that later on this new form ἐνε/ἐναι adopted the root /i/ of the rest of the paradigm (1 sg. εἶμαι, 2 sg. εἶσαι, 1 pl. εἶμεθα, 2 pl. εἶσθε), resulting in εἶνε/εἶναι (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 564–5; JANNARIS 1897: 250; ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1936).¹⁷⁸

This explanation is valid in principle but needs some minor modifications: in the 7th c. there are several examples of ἐν (not ἐνε/ἐναι), which point to ἐνι losing its final vowel before becoming ἐνε/ἐναι. Significantly, all early examples occur in direct speech, in the phrase “τί ἐν”, often followed by the relative pronoun τό.¹⁷⁹ The fact that the form is found in middle-register texts such as the ones in the following examples indicates that it must already have been an accepted form in civilized speech.

τί ἐν τό ἔχεις, κύριε Μόσχε; Moschos, *Leimon* 3064.23 (ed. Migne PG 87/3) (early 7th c.)
λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ δούξ: «Τί ἐν; λαμβάνεις τό ποσόν;» Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of St John the Almsgiver* 382.30; «Τί ἐν; ἀπέδωκέν σοι ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐψεύσω» *ibid.* 388.4–5; «τί ἐν ἄρτι; ποῦ ὑπάγομεν;» *id.*, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 71.14; καὶ εὐθέως λέγει μοι· τί ἐν, διάκων; *ibid.* 94.13 (eds. Festugière & Rydén 1974) (early 7th c.)
τί ἐν κύρι; πῶς ἦλθες ὧδε; *Miracles of St. Artemios* 68.10 (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus) (AD ca. 680)

This form continues to be in use for 3 sg. throughout the LMedG and EMG periods from Constantinople to the Heptanese and from Crete to Cyprus. For the plural ἐν is not used before the EMG period and it is much less frequent:

Singular

τί ἐν τό σέ χρεωστοῦσιν *Spaneas* V 99
οὐκ ἐνι τοῦτο πλανταμός, οὐκ ἐν μελαγχολία; *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 273
τί ἐν τό κλαίεις *Chron. Mor.* H 6053
ἐκεῖνος ἐν δομέστιχος *Ptoch.* IV 65 app. crit. (P); καὶ τί ἐν τό συντυχαίνει *ibid.* 465
ἄν ἐν τό γιόμα του κακόν *Arm.* 106

¹⁷⁸ A second explanation for the appearance of εἰν/εἶνε/εἶναι, advocated by BESCHEWLEW 1935 and 1938 and KAPSOMENOS 1953a, is that it came about through influence of/confusion with the present subjunctive ἦ. This theory is not unproblematic when one considers that the present subjunctive had been in decline since Hellenistic times, and in fact cases of *indicativus pro coniunctivo* with the verb “to be” are quite common in post-classical times, even in higher-register texts. It seems rather unlikely that a morphological category that had been in a state of gradual decline for centuries would somehow manage to prevail over the indicative with one verb only. Influence from the imperfect on the present subjunctive and indicative seems equally problematic: the examples in KAPSOMENOS 1953a of imperfect for subjunctive are all conditional clauses, and the only conclusion to be drawn from them is that in the Koine the imperfect started to be used instead of the subjunctive in conditional clauses (and surely not only with εἶμι), but that does not mean that this would automatically lead to the morphological convergence of the two.

¹⁷⁹ Here, in fact, one can observe a precursor of the EMG interrogative pronoun (τ)ίνα (“what”), for which see II, 5.7.1.4.

αὐτὸς σκυλί Ρωμαῖος ἐν, μὴ σέ κακοδοικήσῃ! *Dig.* E 29
τί ἐν τό τζαμπουνίζεις; *Diig. tetr.* 199; τί ψῆφος ἐν δικός σας; *ibid.* 410
ἄνθρωπος ἐν καλόγνωμος *Chron. Toc.* 1360
ἀφέντης ἐδικός μας ἐν καὶ υἱὸς ἐδικός σου *Achil.* L 72
τί ἐν τό λές; *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 55; δὲν ἐν καιρός *ibid.* 68; δὲν ἐν δοσμένον *ibid.* 195
πολλὰ ἐν μετανοημένη *Alosis* 263
δὲν ἐν πληγωμένος *Cypr. Canz.* 3.5
ζεββή ἐν χαριτωμένη *Diig. Alex.* K 376.19
κι ἄν ἐν σφαλμένο τίποτες *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil.* 20; καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἄληθινό *id.*, *Vatr.* 80
κι εἶπεν πῶς ἐν δικῇ του *Thrinios Kypr.* 4

Plural

πῶς ἐν τ’ ἀδελφιά μου; *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 258.19–20
πῶς ἐν γλυκιά τὰ πάθη *Cypr. Canz.* 17.2; τ’ ἄστρα δὲν ἐν φταισμένα *ibid.* 90.36
θέλω νὰ ἐν τὰ πέντε *Chron. Mor.* P 7686

In several Cypriot and Rhodian texts syncopation occurs when ἐν is preceded by the negative δὲν, through which the phrases δὲν ἐν /'ðenen/ and δὲν ἐν νὰ /'ðenena/ become δὲν (= δὲ 'ν) and δὲ νὰ (= δὲ 'ν νὰ) respectively (see DAWKINS 1932: II 37; LIOSIS 2012: 413; see also I, 4.2.2). The phenomenon also occurs in the *Pentateuch*, which was printed in Constantinople (though the provenance of the author/scribe is unknown):

καὶ δένα τοὺς ὁμολογοῦν (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.12)
δὲν καλὸ νὰ εἶνε ὁ ἄθρωπος ἀμοναχός του *Pent. Gen.* 2.18
d' ene edi qui mas / δ' ἐνε ἐδικοί μας (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 66, f.IIv.2)
καὶ δὲν καιρός τῆς καύχησης *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 187; καὶ δὲν νὰ σέ κοψήσουν *ibid.* 227
ἄν δὲ νὰ ἐγγλήγορας (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 83.7) (spelled δ' αινε); τὰ καράβια μου
... δὲ νὰ εἰς τις μεριές ἐτούτες (*ibid.* 17, 92.18)
ποτέ μου δὲ νὰ σ' ἔλλαξα *Katal.* 505
δὲ νὰ μέδος νὰ πάρῃ ὁ σῖρ Τιπάτ τὸ Κουρίκος *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 562.17; καὶ δὲ νὰ
φεληθῇς *ibid.* 642.31–2
δὲν νὰ τὸ νικήσῃ *Fior* 130.13
καὶ δ' ἐναι ἀγαπημένος *Cypr. Canz.* 53.7 (Legrand) (read δὲ νὰ)¹⁸⁰
δεναυρέθῃ / δένα βρεθῇ *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 290.9 app. crit. (same in M 291.7)
(τὰ ἐλιούδια ...) δὲν ρόμια, παροῦ ἀμάτισμά του (1527, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 21, 234.9–10)
δὲν ἐνι τινὰς ἴτσου κακότυχος ἄνθρωπος ὅπου δὲν νὰ ἠθέλησεν νὰ εἶχεν καλὰ καρωμένον
ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἔχει κακὰ *Fior Suppl.* 273.15–17

Sometimes in literary texts instances are found of the form ἐν without the final /n/. Omission of final /n/ may generally occur in texts from Crete, but also in texts from areas such as Cyprus, though in the latter case only in specific phonological environments (e.g. before /n/, as in the example below from Machairas, or before stops, as in the plural examples; see I, 3.7.2.2 for details). This form is used mainly for the singular, and only sporadically for the plural.

¹⁸⁰ In the edition by Siapkarakas-Pitsillidès this is interpreted as δὲν ἔ; a second example in the same collection, not edited by Legrand, is: δὲν ἔ στήν τιμήσ σου *Cypr. Canz.* 104.69, which should also be read as δὲ νὰ; and possibly: ποῦ δὲν <ἔ> ὁκνός γιὰ μένα *ibid.* 114.2.

Singular

καὶ ἂν ἔ, νὰ τὸν παιδεύουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 362.16
 και ας ἔ συμπαθημένη *Apoll. Rim.* N 922; ποιος ἔ νὰ μας γυρεύει *Apoll. Rim.* A 1213 and
Apoll. Rim. N 1213
 πῶς ἔ νεκρὴ νὰ δεῖτε *Thysia Avr.* 196; δὲν ἔ καιρὸς νὰ καρτερῶ *ibid.* 277 app. crit. (M)
 καιρὸς δὲν ἔ νὰ καρτεροῦμε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.507
 γνώση δὲν ἔ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.272 app. crit. 272 (X)

Plural

ἂν ἔ πάροικοί μας (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.7); ἂν ἔ πάροικοι
 ἄλους (*ibid.* 3, 5.8) (= ἄλλους, gen.; see II, 1.2)

With an added /e/, either by analogy with 1 sg. εἶμαι and 2 sg. εἶσαι (see above), or simply to preserve final /n/ (see I, 2.6.3), *ἐνε/ἐναι* appears in texts from around the middle of the 11th c. onwards (in S. Italy), and throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. The spelling with <αι> or <ε> shows great fluctuation in manuscripts, which goes to show that it is entirely graphematic. Certain texts from south-western areas, among which most Cretan texts, Heptanesian texts (including Sofianos's grammar) and the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, have *ἐναι* only for the singular, not for the plural. For the plural the form *ἐνε/ἐναι* is found from the early 14th c. onwards in texts from various areas, though only rarely in texts from Crete and the Heptanese.

Singular

τὰ χωράφια οὗρου ἔνε ὁ σταυρὸς (1106–7, S. Italy, MÉNAGER 1957: 3, 325.28)
 οὐκ ἔναι πόνος πούποτε GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 147
 ὡς ἔναι ἐπάνω ἐγράφως (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.16–17); ἔαν ἔναι χρήσις (*ibid.* 21.117–18)
 δι' αἰτίαν τινὰ ἔναι (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 426.18–19)
 ὅτι ἔναι μέγας ποταμὸς *Chron. Toc.* 214; ὅς τὸν Ἅγιον Ἡλία ἔναι *ibid.* 564
 νὰ ἔνε κρατημένος (1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.9)
 ὁ μπάτης, ὁποῦ ἔναι εἰς τὴν Μπόλιν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 275.28)
 νὰ ἔναι εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ἀναζήτησιν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 25, 162.3);
 τὸ ἄλογον ἔναι κόκκινον (*ibid.* 33, 166.2–3)
 ἔνε μεγάλη χώρα (1487, Herzegovina?, LEFORT 1981: 16, 87.6); καὶ ἔνε φίλος μου μεγάλος
 (1487, Rhodes, *ibid.* 16, 87.11–12)
 κι ἔναι πρεπὸν FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 342; κι ἂς ἔναι στὴν ὑπακοή *id.* Log. *did.* 37
 ὁ ὄρκος ἔνε τοῦτος MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.30
 ἔναι πολλὰ καλὸς ἄρχος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.9)
 ὁποῦ ἔναι σκλάβος (1534, Nauplion, MANOUSAKAS 1984: 264.19)
 ἔναι SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.6; ὅσον ἔναι δυνατόν *id.*, *Paidag.* 95.3
 dicunt ἔνε omnes plebei ... litterati vero ἔνε ROMANOS, *Grammar* 57.2–3
 τὸ σπῖτι μου, ὡς καθὼς ἔναι (1663, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: VII, 74.5)

Plural

ἔαν ἔνε ζαριστάδες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 23.173)
 ἔναι καὶ τέτοιοι *Arm.* 64 app. crit. (P)
 τί ἔναι, σκύλε, τὰ λαλεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 199
 ἔνε γοῦν οἱ γέροντες (1474, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 32, 166.5)
 νὰ ἔνε ἐμπροπέτες *Assizes A* 28.9
 ἔναι καλιγωμένα SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 176

καὶ ἂς ἔνε ὁτοιμοὶ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 408.24
 ἔναι καλὰ καμώματα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 202
 ἔναι αἱ ἑσοδεῖς (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 172.28)
 ἐκεῖνα ἔνε ἀδελφομοῖρι μὲ τὰ παιδιὰ μου (1572, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 1, 17.13)
 οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ἔναι αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν ... *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 506

Addition of final /n/ to *ἐνε/ἐναι* can be found in writing from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms dates of *Flor. L* and *Ptoch. IV*) in texts from northern and southern areas, and especially in texts from the Dodecanese:

Singular

νὰ ἔναι διὰ τὴν τιμὴν σου *Flor. L* 105 (usually with final /n/)
 αὐτὸς ἔναι καλόφωνος *Ptoch. IV* 83 app. crit. (P)
 βασιλεὺς εὐγενικὸς ἔναι *Achil. L* 110; ἔναι ζωντανοῦ ἀνθρώπου στόμα *ibid.* 528; πολλὰ ἔναι
 ἀντρεωμένος *ibid.* 1161
 νὰ ἔναι φρόνιμη *Katal.* 366
 νὰ ἔναι εἰς ὅλα πρακτικὸς *Velis. A* 147; νὰ ἔναι αὐθέντης στρατηγός *ibid.* 556
 εἶτε καὶ ἔνε μεγάλη δουλεία (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19); εἰ μὲν ὁ
 σκλάβος ἔνε Μουσουλμάνος (*ibid.* 198.22)
 νὰ ἔνε ὁ τοῖχος πιθαμὲς δώδεκα (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1967: 1, 48.13)
 καὶ τοῦτο ἔναι ἀληθὲς *Alosis* 735
 ἐτοῦτο ἔνε τὸ χαρτὶν (1456, Unknown, TSIRPANLIS 1986: 1, 221.1)
 τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔνε μὲ τοιοῦτην στράταν (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3)
 ἔνε σασμένον (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 56.29)

Plural

οἱ κουκούτζοι ἔνε οἱ Φράγχοι *Vulgärorakel* I.148
 τὰ ὁμοῖα νὰ ἔνε καὶ νὰ ποιοῦσι (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.19)
 (τὰ πραγματευτάδικα ...) νὰ ἔναι σιγοῦρα (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 205.39)
 νὰ ἔνε κρατούμενοι (1493, Rhodes, TSOPANAKIS 1970: 55.23–4); νὰ ἔνε καλὰ βλεπτήμενοι
 (*ibid.* 55.25)
 διατὶ ἔναι ἐντροπιασμένες SACHLIKIS, *Symvoules* 457 transcr. P (Lendari)
 ποῦ ἔνε οἱ σάρκες οἱ λευκὲς LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 56 app. crit.; τὰ κρῖματα ἄβυσσος ἔνε *ibid.*
 235 app. crit.

In texts from areas that display mid-vowel raising (see I, 2.5.4) *ἐνε/ἐναι* can become *ἐνιν*: ὡς καθὼς ἔνιν εἰς τὸ ἀβεντάριο γραμμένα (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.4).

Sg.	3	εἶν/ῆν εἶ εἶνε/εἶναι εἶνε/εἶναι εἶνι(ν)
Pl.		εἶν/ῆν εἶ εἶνε/εἶναι εἶνε/εἶναι εἶνι/εἶναι εἶνι(ν)

The first positive identifications of both εἶν and εἶνε/εἶναι are datable to the late 11th/early 12th c. in the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain. The change of *ἐν/ἐνε/ἐναι* to εἶν/εἶνε/εἶναι is very likely to be the result of analogical levelling to the rest of the paradigm (εἶμαι, εἶσαι, εἶμεθα), though it cannot be excluded that other factors also played a role in the development: since *ἐν* and *ἐνε* are often enclitic and therefore unstressed, mid-vowel raising of /e/ to [i] may have occurred, resulting in /in/ (see I, 2.5.4 for details). It cannot be excluded either that the frequent combination of τὶ and ἐν (/ti en/ > /'ti en/ > /'tin/)

contributed to the development of εἶν. In some sources, notably in Nikon of the Black Mountain, the form is spelled as ἦν, for since it was a new formation that did not comply with Ancient Greek morphology, there was no rule for its spelling. The scribe therefore chose a spelling he was optically familiar with, namely that of the residual imperfect ἦν (cf. the spelling of the present indicative /'ine/ as εἶναι, below). The form εἶν can be found for the singular and the plural throughout and beyond the period covered by this grammar. The addition of an apostrophe in some modern editions is quite unnecessary, as εἶν is not an apocopated form of εἶναι/εἶνε.

Singular

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγκη ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.23; καὶ οὐκ ἦν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος *ibid.* 314.7
 νὰ εἶν' καὶ ἡ κόρη θαυμαστή *Dig.* E 70 app. crit.
 νέφος πληθὺς ἦν φουσσάτου *Vulgärorakel* I.221
 ταπεινοφροσύνη ... εἶν' νὰ σαλιβώνεις τῆς υψηλότης τὴν ὄρεξιν *Anthos. Ch.* G 203.13–14
 κυρίως ἦν κολλητικόν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 331
 ἂν εἶν' καὶ παραδώσω *Cypr. Canz.* 9.7
 θάνατος εἶν' σε σένα *Diig. Alex.* K 376.24–5; ας εἶν' χαιρετημένη *ibid.* 377.21–2
 (τὸ χωράφι ...) νὰ εἶν' τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 74, 157.15); ὁμολογεῖ
 πὼς εἶν' πληρωμένος (1565, *ibid.* 241, 337.2–3)
 μὰ τοῦτο δὲν εἶν' τίβοτα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.83; λογιάζοντας πὼς εἶν' καλὸς *ibid.* I.171; δὲν
 εἶν' πρεπὸ *ibid.* V.388
 ἐμένα εἶν' τὸ γένος μου STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voen.* 615
 πὼς εἶν' τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ὥρα TROILOS, *Rodol.* II.190
 ὡς ἦν τάξι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 134;¹⁸¹ καὶ δὲν εἶν' πλεῖα δική σου *ibid.* 1861
 ὁ ἀνθὸς τοῦ εἶν' θανατερός KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.179 app. crit. (A)
 τοῦτο δὲν εἶν' συνήθη *Trag. Ag. Dim.* I.71

Plural

(περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀσπρίων ...), ὅταν ἦν ἐκζεστά, ἕνα γομάτον κρασοβόλιν εἰς κατὰ ἕνα ἀδελφόν
 ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 82.11–12; οὐδέ οἶδα τὸ τί εἶν' τοῦτα *id.*, *Logos* 31 818.27
 πόθεν εἶν' τοῦτοι οἱ ἔμνοστοι *Pol. Tr.* 295 app. crit. (E); οὐκ εἶν' πραγματευτάδες *ibid.* 3106 (ms
 A); πολλὰ εἶν' δυναμωμένοι *ibid.* 2488 app. crit. (X)
 ὡς ἄστραν εἶν' στὸν οὐρανὸν *Achil.* L 293 (read ὅσα ἄστρα ἂν εἶν)
 ὅλα εἶν' χωσιασμένα *Chron. Mor.* P 1120
 ὅλα εἶν' συμπαθημένα FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 489
 δὲν εἶν' τοῦτα με φωτῖα TRIVOLIS, *Tagiap.* 181
 καὶ ἂν εἶν' περ(ι)βόλια καὶ δενδρά BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 89
 εἶν' πνιμένα *Fyll. gadar.* 141 f
 καθὼς εἶν' καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα *Alex. Rim.* 587; κι ἂς εἶν' βαμμένα *ibid.* 2878
 νὰ εἶν' καλῶς φυλαγμένα (1536, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 5, 22.6)
 ξεφάντωςες πολλὰ 'νοστες εἶν' τούτες CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.167
 ὅτ' εἶν' ξενιτεμμένοι MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2161; ποῦ εἶν' τὰ πανηγύρια *ibid.* 2407
 ὅτ' εἶν' πολλὰ ἀνδρεῖς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1314; τί ἀπελάτες εἶν' αὐτοὶ *ibid.* 1410
 πὼς εἶν' κακά, νὰ ποῦσι KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.2006
 καθὼς εἶν' μαθημένοι *Thrinis Kypr.* 610

¹⁸¹ This form is considered an imperfect by the editor, but it is more likely to be a present: Petrītis does not use the residual imperfect form elsewhere, whereas he does have quite a few instances of a present form εἶν.

Sometimes, mostly in literary texts from Crete and once in a theatrical play from Chios, instances are found of this form without the final /n/, in both the singular and the plural:

Singular

ἄξος δὲν εἶ' για σένα CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.301; δὲν εἶ' μακρά *ibid.* III.275 (ms D); ας εἶ'
 δοσμένο *ibid.* IV.312 (ms D); κι ἄντρας ἂς εἶ' ὁ Πανάρετος *id.*, *Erof.* V.362; κ' ἡ δόξα ἂς εἶ'
 δική σου *id.*, *Erof. Interm.* IV.88
 δὲν εἶ' στὴ χώρα μοναχὸς *Stathis* I.77; ἂς εἶ' ἐδικό ντου *ibid.* III.450
 νὰ εἶ' καλὰ ἀφιερωμένο (1597?, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 77, 105.9)
 ἂς εἶ' συμπαθημένο FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.294
 ἡ γλώσσα μ' εἶ' τρεμάμενη PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 99
 ἀπείς δὲν εἶ' μετανιωμός *Thysia Avr.* 647 (ms M)
 γνώση δὲν εἶ' οὐδὲ δύναμη KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.272 (reading of A)
 ἂ δὲν εἶ' λολὸς TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.202; κτίσμαν ὠραιότερο δὲν εἶ' στὴν οἰκουμένη *ibid.* IV.382
 καὶ τοῦτο εἶ' συνήθεια BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 445.22

Plural

ἂν ἡ λιβάδια δροσερά BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 91 app. crit.
 δὲν εἶ' μικρά CHORTATSI, *Panor.* IV.269; πὼς εἶ' φαρμακεμένες *ibid.* V.6 (ms D); εἶ' δοσμένα *id.*,
Erof. I.459

The form εἶναι/εἶνε (cf. SMG εἶναι) can be found throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. Being homophonous with the residual infinitive εἶναι, with which scribes were optically familiar, in most early sources the present indicative /'ine/ is consistently spelled as εἶναι (cf. the spelling of the present indicative εἶν as ἦν, above). The form εἶναι is found with the singular from the 11th/12th c. and with the plural from the 12th/13th c. onwards in texts from all areas. Certain texts from south-western areas, among which most of the works of Sachlikis, those of Falieros, *Apok.* V, *Chron. Mor.* H, most mss of *Pol. Tr.* and Sofianos's grammar, have εἶναι only for the plural.

Singular

εἶ' τι καλὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦτο γενέσθω ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 128.18–19; εἶ' τις
 φιλόνηκος εἶναι *id.*, *Logos* 4, 232.19–20
 καὶ ρίκεται εἰς τὰ λιθάρια ὅπου εἶναι ἡ ρούμβη (1108, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 17, 216.50)
 πλὴν καλὸς εἶναι πάντως *Dig.* G VI.486
 ἔαν λάβῃ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἦνε μετ' αὐτῆς (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 47.163)
 τίποτε τ' ἄλλον οὐκ εἶναι *Log. parig.* L 183
 τίς εἶναι εἰς τὴν χώραν *Chron. Toc.* 556; νὰ εἶναι σκεπασμένη *ibid.* 2454
 ποταπὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐνδέχεται νὰ ἦναι *Assizes* A 24.10
 εἶναι πολλὰ φρονίμη *Diig. Alex.* V 33.25 and *Diig. Alex.* F 127.24 (Lolos)
 καὶ εἶνε κοτέντος (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 58a, 56.2)
 νὰ 'ναι τὸ αὐτὸ μερδικό (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 221.83)
 δὲν εἶναι ἄνδρας σου KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 4.18
 τὸν πύργον ὡς καθὼς εἶναι (1641, Athos, PAPAZOGLU 1989/90: 1, 404.2)
 εἶναι καὶ ἐπτωχὸ PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §21.32
 εἶνε ἀχαμινὸς τόπος (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 164, 98.2)
 εἶναι καλὰ πουλημένον (1694–1704, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 3, 78.7)

Plural

εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ριζὶα ἐβδομήκοντ(α) ἐπτὰ (1149, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 18, 121.17)
 ἄνδρες ἀρπαγες εἶναι *Dig.* G II.152

είναι και δύο έσωκουρτζούβακα (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.36)
 ότι είναι μεθυμένοι *Ptoch. II* 93
 θέλω τὰ πέντε νὰ είναι *Chron. Mor. H* 7686; (τούς τόπους ...) όπου είναι από τόν κόσμον *ibid.* 8683
 ο ναός είναι χαλασμένος (1446, Jerusalem, TSIRPANLIS 1964: 19.10)
 πινακωτές δσες είναι (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 9, 154.7)
 δσα νὰ ἦναι *Assizes A* 40.20
 ζευγάδες είναι και βοσκοί SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 160; ἀμή ληστάδες είναι *ibid.* 238
 νὰ ἦνε ἀναπαμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 22.27; εἶνε ψέματα *ibid.* 220.36
 νὰ εἶν' ὁμοῦ οἱ δύο (1545, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 164, 107.16)
 διάθεσες εἶν' ἔξη SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 47.3; εἶναι *ibid.* 71.6; ὅσοι οὐδέν είναι *id. Paidag.* 95.12
 οἱ Πέρσηδες είναι γυναῖκες *Diig. Alex. E* 247.5 (Lolos)
 ἐκεῖνοι όπου είναι πτωχοί KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Matth.* 5.3; ὄλγοι είναι ἐκεῖνοι *ibid.* 7.14
 οἱ ὅποιοι εἶνε ψεύστικοι [VLASTOS], *Dig. P IV* 341.33

Addition of final /n/ to εἶνε/εἶναι can be found in writing from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*) in texts from southern areas:

Singular

εἶναι ἀποκλεισμένον *Pol. Tr.* 10516 app. crit. (C)
 νὰ εἶναι καλὰ (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.11)
 διὰ νὰ εἶναι σὲ φύλαξη (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 191.3)

Plural

εἶναι σκοτωμένοι *Pol. Tr.* 8522 app. crit. (C); τὲς ἀρχόντισσες όπου εἶναι εἰς τοὺς τοίχους *ibid.* app. crit. (C); νόστιμα οὐδέν τῆς εἶναι *ibid.* 9565 app. crit. (C)
 ἀσκανδάλιστοι νὰ εἶναι διὰ μέσου *Chron. Toc.* 1032; ὅτι εἶναι ἀνθρωποι σκληροί *ibid.* 1179
 εἶναι ὅτοιμοι (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 17, 91.9)
 ἐτούτες εἶναι οἱ μοῖρες (1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 363.44)

With palatalized stem consonant εἶνε/εἶναι [ijne]¹⁸² is found mainly in southern/south-western areas, and especially in Cretan and Heptanesian texts from the 15th c. onwards, but only in the plural, even in texts that use εἶναι also for the singular such as the notarial documents of Maras (vol. 2 sampled). The reason for this insertion of /j/ is unclear, but it cannot be phonetic (as it occurs only in the plural): ἀρεσκούμενά μου καθὼς εἶνε (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 85, 84.4), but: ἀρεσκούμενό μου, καθὼς εἶνε (*ibid.* 23, 23.4), and *Fortounatos*: οἱ λογισμοί του εἶναι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.635, but: εἶναι ἀγάπη σπλαχνική *ibid.* V.285 (cf. KONDOSOPOULOS 2001: 70 for the modern Cretan dialect).

νὰ μᾶς εἶναι κρατημένοι (1445, Naxos, LAMBROS 1907: 468.25)
 νὰ εἶδες κλαδιά τούς πόνους μου νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸ λιβάδι *Liv. α* 4301 app. crit. (N)
 ὡσάν εἶναι μαθημένοι SACHLIKIS, *Afigisis* 177; εἶναι ἀμάθητοι *ibid.* 287
 νὰ εἶναι δλα ἴσα FALIEROS., *Log. did.* 277
 όπου 'ναι γνωρισμένα *Theseid X.29,5* (1529)
 καλὰ 'ναι βγοδωμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 494; όπου 'ναι σάν ταύρα *ibid.* 2184
 τὰ σύνορά του εἶνε (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 9, 12.5)

¹⁸² This form is sometimes accented with an acute, because it seemingly consists of three syllables. It is, however, disyllabic, as the <v> after <v> just indicates that the consonant is palatalized.

ὁποῦ νὰ μὴν εἶνε συγγενοί μου (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 24, 24.9); τὰ ὁποῖα εἶνε βαλμένα δλα (*ibid.* 309, 309.70)
 ἐτούτα εἶναι λόγια (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.22); οἱ γεδικοί μας δλοι εἶναι καλὰ (1565, *ibid.* 283, 398.25)
 κακὰ 'ναι BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.20 (*cacagne* in the Latin script of the letter)
 νὰ 'ναι και νὰ γρικοῦνται ἔδικά του (1616, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 2, 220.53–4)
 νὰ 'ναι καλὰ τὰ παιδιὰ μου (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 38.33)
 εἶναι πολλά FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Prol.* 17; κακὰ νὰ 'ναι τὰ τέλη σου *ibid.* III.91; δέν εἶναι παραμύθια *ibid.* IV.60; εἶναι κρατημένοι *ibid.* V.286

In various areas εἶναι (sg. and pl.) can become εἶνι through raising of unstressed /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4 for details):

ὅτι κοντά τους εἶνιν *Achil. L* 372; δοκ' ὅτι νᾶνιν ἄνδρες *ibid.* 422; ποῦ εἶνιν τὰ δοξάρια σου *ibid.* 663; ἐάν εἶνιν μυριάδες *ibid.* 866
 διατ' εἶνι ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐσοδίας (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.48)
 δσα νὰ εἶνι (1634, Peloponnese, LAMBROS 1908b: 339.15)
 ἡ φυλλάδα εἶνι τοῦ παπα-Νίκου (1690, Meteora, SOFIANOS 1986: 48, f.54v.1)
 ἔτοιμος εἶνι σὶ πᾶσα τί (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 6, f.43r.7); νὰ μὴ εἶνι θιληματαραῖοι (1691, *ibid.* A 25, f.51r.4–5)
 διὰ νὰ εἶνι ἡσυχος (1691, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 89, 215.16)
 σάν εἶνι καλὸ πράμα, πουλέτι (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.22) (= πουλέται, see I, 3.5.4)

Sg.	3	ἔστι(ν) ἔστ(ν)
Pl.		εἰσ(ν)

Residual 3 sg. ἔστι(ν)/ἔστ(ν)¹⁸³ and 3 pl. εἰσ(ν) can be found routinely in a variety of texts throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, usually in more formal contexts:

Singular

εἰ ἔστιν χρεῖα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 142.25
 τὸ καῦμα ἔστι πολὺ, ἔνι και μεσημέριν *Dig. G IV.202*
 οὐκ ἔστι πρᾶγμα ζωντανὸν *Pol. Tr.* 54
 τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ μήνυμα λέοντος βασιλέως *Diig. tetr.* 67
 ἔστιν ἀστενής *Assizes B* 339.19
 κᾶν τάχα μοναχὸς ἔστιν *Dig. E* 1510
 αὐτὸν ἔστ(ν) τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖνης *Diig. Apoll.* 423
 ἐπειδὴ ἄδηλός ἔστιν ἡ ὥρα τοῦ πικροῦ θανάτου (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.2)
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος βοηθός *Peri xen.* 506
 ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ υἱός μου *Diig. Alex. V* 23.31
 ἐκεῖ ἔστιν και ἡ θλίψη *Diig. Alex. F* 194.16 (Konstantinopulos)
 τὸ βασίλειον μέγα ἔστιν *Diig. Alex. K* 358.30–1
 τὸ ἐμπαντίκιον ... ἔστιν δουκάτα ζ' (1557 [copy of 1647], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 11, 64.23)
 φεῦ, Αἴσωπε, τί ἔστι τοῦτο; *Vios Aisop. D* 220.39
 αἰσχρόν ἔστιν τὸ λέγειν ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 5821

¹⁸³ The accentuation is mostly a matter of choice and does not appear to adhere to AG rules (for which see SMYTH 1984: 187b). More often than not, the forms are enclitic (see I, 4.2.2).

Plural

ταῦτα γάρ, δέσποτα, εἰσιν δπλα δικαιοσύνης *Dig. G IV.1038*
 τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἔχω εἰσι ταῦτα (1417, Crete, LAMBROS 1895: 1, 585.3), but also: ὁποῦ εἶναι
 βέβρανα φύλλα (ibid. 587.2)
 οἷα καὶ δσα εἰσιν (1472, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 4, 151.9)
 νὰ εἶπες δι Χάριτες εἰσιν *Velth. 691* transcr. (Lendari) (missing in Kriaras)
 πολλά πανόμοια εἰσιν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr. 2995*
 δσα μοι εἰσιν καὶ δσα με ἀνιμένουν (1507, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 4, 8.15)
 τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰσιν οὕτως *Diig. Alex. E 49.13* (Konstantinopulos) (hapax)
 τὰ ὁποῖα εἰσιν τὸ πρέζιον παπουτζῶν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 85,
 84.2–3)
 οἱ σπανοὶ γέλως εἰσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Spanos D 924*
 τὰ γεράκια πῶβλεπες εἰσιν ἀρπαγες ἀνδρες *Dig. A 755*
 σκέπος καὶ φύλαξη εἰσι ἐν σώματι καὶ πνεῦμα *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 2146*
 τὰ ὁποῖα μάρμαρα νὰ εἰσιν μικρὰ μεγάλα (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1,
 368.10–11)

Confusion of residual 3 sg. ἔστι(ν) and 3 pl. εἰσί(ν) may also occur:¹⁸⁴

εἰσιν ἡ ἔξοδος τοῦ Πέτρου (1348, Macedonia, LEFORT et al. 2006: 99, 225.1)
 τὸ ὁποῖον εἰσί (1563, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 5, 83.2)
 ὅτι ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἐστὶν παιδεῖες Του καὶ κρίσεις *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 4709*

In local varieties of the language that are affected by the phenomenon of mid-vowel raising (of unstressed /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4 for details), the unstressed /e/ of the verb stem may become /i/, even in this residual form: τὸ παρὸν ἀνθολόγιον ... ἰστὶν ἐμοῦ (1685, Athos, KADAS 1988: 98, 334.5–6) (scribe from Andros).

4.8.2 Imperfect

		General	Restricted	Rare
Sg.	1	ἤμουν	ἤμου : ἤμουνα : ἤμουνε ἤμην	ἤμον ἤμη
	2	ἤσουν	ἤσου : ἤσουνε	ἤσον ἤσουνα
	3	ἤτο(ν) ἤταν	ἤν ἤτονε ἤστον/εἶστον : ἤστονε/ εἶστονε ἤτανε ἤτουν : ἤτουνα : ἤτουνε	ἤτονε ἤτονα ἔτον ἤντον ἔστον ἤτου

¹⁸⁴ An early example can be found in the *Life of Philaretos* (9th-c. text, 11th-c. ms): ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς μου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας θυγατέρες τρεῖς *Vios Philaret. 442* app. crit. (G).

		General	Restricted	Rare
Pl.	1	ἤμεσθε(ν) : ἤμεστε(ν) ἤμεσθα(ν) : ἤμεστα(ν)	ἤμεθα ἤμεθε(ν) ἤμεστανε ἤμασθε(ν) : ἤμαστε(ν) : ἤμαστενε ἤμασταν : ἤμασθαν ἤμαστον : ἤμασθον : ἤμαστουν	ἤμεθαν : ἤμενθα ἤμεθον ἤμισταν ἰμουναμε (ἤμουναμε?)
	2	ἤσθε(ν) : ἤστε(ν)	ἤστενε ἤσταν	ἤστον ἤσαστε ἤσαστον : ἤσαστουν ἰσουναστε (ἤσουναστε?)
	3	ἤσαν ἤταν ἤτον	ἤσα : ἤσανε ἤσασι(ν) ἤτανε ἤτασι(ν) ἤτονε ἤστον/εἶστον : ἤστονε/ εἶστονε	ἤσανι ἤν ἤσανσι(ν) ἤτα ἤτο ἔτον ἤτονες ἤστα(ν) ἤτουν

1st Person Singular

Sg.	1	ἤμουν : ἤμου : ἤμουνε : ἤμουνα
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The SMG form ἤμουν for 1 sg. can be found in texts from all regions from the very beginning of the LMedG period (the ms of Nikon dates from the early 12th c.), but it is unclear how long before that it came into existence, since the Koine form ἤμην continued to belong to good written practice (see e.g. the works of Glykas, where we find ἤμουν in his vernacular poem, whereas he uses ἤμην in his more learned works). This ending is derived from -μην, the /u/ in the final syllable being the result of backing of /i/ to /u/ in the environment of nasals (see I, 2.8.4), though, as appears to be the case with many verbal endings, the clitic pronoun μου may have played a role by association. Some early examples are:

ὁπου ἂν ἤμουν *NIKON, Logos 4 206.14*; ὅταν καὶ ἤμουν αὐτόθι id., *Logos 31 826.9*
 ἤμουν παιδὶν *GLYKAS, Stichoi 1*
 εἰς κόσμον ἤμουν *Log. parig. L 336*

οὐδὲ ἤμουν ἐκεῖ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 23.152)
 νὰ ἤμουν οἰκοδεσπότης *Ptoch. III* 160; ἐὰν/ἂν ἤμουν *ibid.* 165, 176 and 181
 ἤμουν μέγας μάστορος *Assizes B* 343.28
 ἤμουν καὶ ἐγὼ *Liv. V* 47 and *Liv. α* 45; γνώρισε, ἤμουν χωρικός *Liv. V* 442 and *Liv. α* 514;
 ἄνθρωπος ἤμουν μέγας *Liv. α* 111
 λίθος ἀμάδα ἤμουν *Liv. E* 3327
 ἤμουν διὰ παραδιαβασμὸν *Florios* 772
 οὐδὲν ἤμουν μαθημένος *SACHLIKIS, Afigisis* 278 transcr. (Lendari)
 εἰς ζάλην ἤμουν δυνατὴν *Pol. Tr.* 2918 app. crit. (BV); ἤμουν *ibid.* 11284 (mss BC)

Written evidence of deletion of final /n/ can be found in texts of south-western provenance and the Aegean (Naxos) from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*, *Sachlikis* and others):

νὰ μὴ 'μου ἀγνώριστος *Pol. Tr.* 2692 app. crit. (R)
 ἀπόρστεν ἤμου κοπελιά *SACHLIKIS, Katalogi* 53 transcr. (Lendari)
 πῶς ἤμου πάντοτε ἔτοιμος *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 1232
 θωρώντα με πῶς ἤμου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 283
 καταπῶς ἤμου συνηθισμένος *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 84
 χρόνοι 'ναι ὅπου ἤμου στὰ Νησὰ *Stathis III* 377
 ἤμου κι ἐγὼ παιδί σου *Thysia Avr.* 908
 πῶς, καθὼς ἤμου πρόθυμος *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.66; γιατί ἤμου μανισμένος *ibid.* III.723
 ἤμου παρῶν (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.7; and 1660, *ibid.* 22, 15.9)
 ἤμου παρῶν (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 2001: 3, 176.16)
 ὡς νοικοκυρὰ ὅπου ἤμου καὶ ... (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1032.10–11)
 ἄθροπος πλιὸ δὲν ἤμου *KORNAPOS, Erot.* V.1420

Forms with an added -(v)ε or -(v)α (see also I, 2.6.3.3), not uncommon in colloquial MG, can be found from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Ptoch. III* and *Pol. Tr.*). Forms with -(v)ε have been found in south-western texts (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, Santorini), in texts of northern provenance (*Ptoch.*, *Thrinops patr.*, *Diig. Alex. K*) and in texts from certain Aegean islands (Chios, Naxos) (cf. 2 sg.):

καταβλαττάς ἂν ἤμουνε *Ptoch. III* 181 app. crit. (P)
 ἐδικός σου νὰ ἤμουνε *Pol. Tr.* 5815 app. crit. (X); ἐντροπιασμένος νὰ ἤμουνε *ibid.* 6886 app. crit. (X)
 φυλακισμένος ἤμουνε *Rim. than.* 91
 ἂν ἤμουνε αἰτία *Apoll. Rim.* V 1700
 πολεμιστὴς δὲν ἤμουνε πατρόθεν *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 65.13
 ἀπ' ὄντεν ἤμουνε χρονῶν δέκα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 218.19)
 διότις ἤμουνε βέβαιος (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.32)
 ἐανίσως καὶ ἤμουνε νὰ ὑγιάνω *MOREZINOS, Klini* 55.31
 ἔξυπν' ἤμουνε *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.165; καὶ τίνος ἤμουνε παιδί *id.*, *Erof.* I.139
 δὲν ἤμουνε κάστρον ἐξακουσμένον *Thrinops patr.* 59
 ἤμουνε μάρτυρας (1620, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 1, 40.100)
 ἂν ἤμουνε Σίλβιος ἐγὼ *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* A4v.19
 ἤμουνε φυλαμένη *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 571.7
 γιατί στὰ πάντα ἤμουνε πολλὰ χαριτωμένος *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 432; ὅταν μικρὸ παιδί 'μουνε *ibid.* 1480
 ἤμουνε καὶ πρεζέντε (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.11–12)

Forms with -(v)α appear mainly in texts of south-western provenance, with the exception of a single instance in *Diig. Alex. K*, which is thought to be of northern provenance, and in *Dig. O* (Chios):

ὅτι ἐδικός σου νὰ ἤμουνα *Pol. Tr.* 5815 (ms C); ἐντροπιασμένος νὰ ἤμουνα *ibid.* 6886 (mss CV)
 ἐγὼ ἀπ' τ' Ἀνάπλιν ἤμουνα *Anon. Naupl.* 5
 ἤμουνα ἐγγαστρωμένη *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 426
 ποῖος ἤμουνα καὶ ποῦ 'μαι *Theseid Prol.* P 139; νὰ 'μουνα *ibid.* I.102,2 (Follieri)
 τὴν νύκτα ὀλην ἤμουνα εἰς ἀγρυπνία μεγάλη *ZINOS, Vatr.* 327
 διὰ τ' εσένα ἤμουνα πεθαμένος *Diig. Alex. K* 357.30
 ἤμουνα κουτέντος (1573, Ancona, CATALDI PALAU 2000: 2, 388.18)
 δὲν ἤμουνα ἄξιος *MOREZINOS, Klini* 28.18
 κι' ἤμουνα κοιμισμένη *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.162; ὄντεν ἤμουνα μιτσή *id.*, *Panor.* I.247 app. crit. (A)
 ἔτσι νὰ μὴν ἤμουνα, σὰν εἶμαι *Bertoldos* 54.32
 ἀποθαμένος ἤμουνα (1655, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 178.8)
 Λῆγκος ἂν ἤμουνα κ' ἐγὼ *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* A4v.20
 ἤμουνα στολισμένη *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 180.18
 ἤμουνα πληγωμένος *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 824
 ἤμουνα ἄτεκνη (1682, Skyros, ANDONIAKIS 1983: 8, 185.20)

Sg.	1	ἤμην ἢ ἡμη
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The Koine form ἤμην, to be found regularly from the *Septuagint* onwards (GIGNAC 1981: 402), is sometimes used in the written sources of the LMedG and EMG periods. Most of them, with the exception of texts with clear archaizing tendencies (e.g. *Dig. G*, *T* and *A*, the *Chronicle* of Cheilas), also have the innovative form ἤμουν, which had emerged fairly recently (see above).

ἤμην δώσοντα (1192, Sicily, RE/ROGNONI 2008: 2, 144.10)
 ἤμην καθήμενος *Dig. G* II.139; καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγνώρισαν τῶν ἔργων, ὅστις ἤμην *ibid.* VI.615
 ἤμην ὑποληπτικὴ *Ptoch. I* 68; ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ἤμην νησιτικός *ibid.* 138
 καὶ ἂν ἤμην πέτρα *Log. parig.* L 618
 ἄνθρωπος ἤμην μέγας *Liv. V* 115; ἤμην φυλακισμένος *ibid.* 2442; ἐκ γένους ἤμην εὐγενής *ibid.* 3188
 ἤμην *Pol. Tr.* 8655 app. crit. (AX), 9115 (mss AX) and 11284 app. crit. (A)
 εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτιν ὅπου ἤμην (1496, Pesaro, MAVROEIDI-POUMIDI 1971: 3, 132.35–6)
 λίθος ἀδάμας ἤμην *Liv. S* 2146 (Lambert-van der Kolf); καὶ ὡς ἤμην μυριόθλιβος *ibid.* 2386
 ἤμην γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ τότε μικρὸς *CHEILAS, Chron.* 351.19
 ὅστις ἐξ ἔργων ἤμην *Dig. T* 2444 and *Dig. A* 3611

The strong tendency of the Cretan dialect to drop final /n/ (see I, 3.7.2.2), even from residual forms in passages cited from older texts (the *New Testament* in this case), becomes apparent from the following example: ξένος ἡμη, ἀλλὰ ἐσεῖς οὐ συνηγάγετέ με *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2798 app. crit.

Very few (and chronologically quite remote) examples of ἡμον have been found, which can be viewed either as writing mistakes, or as ἡμην in which the ending was replaced with the 1 sg. active ending of the imperfect of barytone verbs (-ον) (MINAS 2003: 126). In the later examples ἡμον could also be viewed as a hypercorrect form for ἡμουν (see I,

2.8.3); in S. Italy, however, *ἡμουν* does not appear to be attested (see CARACAUSI, *Lex. s.v. εἶμι*):¹⁸⁵ *ἐγὼ ἡμον ἐνδεδυμένην* (1175, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 184, 241.16); *ἡμον παρών* (1659, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 6, 6.6; and 1672, *ibid.* 50, 30.4).

2nd Person Singular

Sg.	2	ἡσου ἡσουν ἡσουνε
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The 2 sg. form *ἡσουν* (now SMG) has not been found in writing before the 13th c., though it is likely to have existed before. Most early works, such as GLYKAS, *Stichoi, Log. parag.* L and *Spaneas V*, happen not to have 2 sg. imperfect forms of *εἶμι* (though most of them do have 1 sg. *ἡμουν*). Significantly, no alternative forms have been found in the texts examined: older forms such as *ἡσθα* and *ἡς* are not to be found there, not even in the higher-register ones such as *Dig. G* and *Kallimachos*; *ἡσουν* is also the only form given by all EMG grammars, from Sofianos to Spanos. **ἡσουν* is held to have been formed from Koine *ἡσο*; an intermediate form *ἡσου*, quoted in DIETERICH 1898: 224 and KAPSOMENOS 1953a: 323, occurs in a letter by Ps. Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79, 545B), probably datable to the 6th c., though it must be borne in mind that Neilos of Ankyra has a notoriously problematic text tradition. The latter form has also been found in Nikon of the Black Mountain (11th/12th c.) and two 15th-c. texts. It is perhaps significant that all three texts are of northern provenance (see I, 2.5.4 for raising of /o/ to [u]).

ὅταν καὶ ἡσου ὦδε NIKON, *Logos* 23 682.15; *ἐὰν ἡσου σιμά μου* *id.*, 26 718.22
 ποῦ ἡσου; (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 1869); but also: ποῦ ἡσουν; (*ibid.* 438)
 οὐδὲν ἡσου ἀπογραμμένος (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.13)

Final /n/ is likely to have been added on the basis of *ἡμην/ἡμουν*. Some early examples are:

καθὼς ἡσουν (1237, Arta, BARIŠIĆ 1966: [1], 2.6)
 καὶ σὺ ἡσουν ματσουκάτος *Ptoch. I* 68
ἐὰν ἡσουν γὰρ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἡσουν ἀφέντης Chron. Mor. H 4226
 καὶ οὐκ ἡσουν ἐκ τὸ χῶμαν *Liv. V* 233; ὡς οὐκ ἡσουν φίλος του *ibid.* 336
 καὶ ἡσουν σπορά ἐκ τὸ σίδερον *Liv. α* 248; τὸ πῶς οὐκ ἡσουν δοῦλος του *ibid.* 368
 φίλος μου ἡσουν ἀκριβὸς *Pol. Tr.* 4273; *ἐσὺ ἡσουν ἡ ἀγάπη μου, ἐσὺ ἡσουν ἡ ψυχὴ μου* *ibid.* 7206
εἰπέ με πόθεν ἡσουν Florios 767
ἐσὺ ἡσουν τὰ ὀμμάτια μου, ἐσὺ ἡσουν ἡ ψυχὴ μου Chron. Toc. 3390
στὴν βίγλαν ἡσουν Katal. 28

From about the 16th c. onwards, renewed deletion of final /n/ occurs in texts from Crete and in Germano's grammar (Chios):

ᾧσάν ἡσου, να σε στρέψει Apoll. Rim. A 468 (same in N and E)
ἡσου βασιλιὸς παιδί CHORTATIS, Erof. I 141 app. crit. M (Xanthoudidis); *σάν ἡσου μαθημένη* *id., Katz. I* 15
ἐσὺ ὅπου ἐκτύπας ἡσου; Stathis I 171

¹⁸⁵ This form is also the only form given by BOIATZIS (1813: 71): *ἐὰν ἡμον*, who also offers a 2 sg. form *ἡσον* (*ibid.*; see below).

στὴν ξενιτιά δντεν ἡσου KORNAROS, Erof. I 1836
ἡσου GERMANO, Grammar 96.22
λογιάζω πῶς δὲν ἡσου FOSKOLOS, Fort. I 15
ἐν ἡσου καὶ Χριστιανὸς BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 405.16

Addition of -(ν)ε (cf. regional MG *ἡσουνε*; see also I, 2.6.3.3) can be found mainly in texts from south-western areas from at least the 15th c. onwards (cf. 1 sg.):

ἐν ἡσουνε ξενούτσικη Poulol. 453 (Constantinople, copied in Rhodes?)
ἡσουνε πουτάνα καὶ μεθύστρα Fyll. gadar. 509
οποῦ 'σουνε το φῶς μου Apoll. Rim. V 1464 and *Apoll. Rim. A* 1462 (same in N and E)
γύρισε ἐκεῖ ἀποῦ ἡσουνε MOREZINOS, Klini 191.18
ποῦσουνε εὐμορφον παλληκάρι AITOLOS, Voen. 261
μετ' αὐτὴ 'σουνε CHORTATIS, Panor. I 305; *ἡσουνε βοηθὸς μου* *ibid.* II.535; *κι ὡς ἡσουνε* *πάσα καιρὸ* *id., Erof. Interm.* 1.83
κι ἐσὺ 'σουνε Thysia Avr. 378; *ἡσουνε τ' ἀπακούμπιο μου* *ibid.* 768
ἐσὺ ὡς μανισμένος ὅπου ἡσουνε (1623, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 429, 403.17)
ἐν ἡσουνε ζωντανὸς Bertoldin. 130.12; *ἡσουνε ἐσὺ* *ibid.* 156.6
σὰ νὰ 'σουνε παιδί μου FOSKOLOS, Fort. I 70; *ἄξος 'σουνε, νὰ ζήσης* *ibid.* I.103
ἡσουνε ἀφέντης BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 391.12
ἐσὺ 'σουνε τὰ μάτια μου, ἐσὺ ἡσουνε τὸ φῶς μου KORNAROS, Erof. III 105
πῶς ἡσουνε KATSAITIS, Klathmos II 657

Addition of -(ν)α, as in the colloquial MG form *ἡσουνα*, has not been found before the later 17th c.: *imouna, iqouna, itané, imounamé, isounasté, itoné SPON, Voyage* 318–19.¹⁸⁶

Sg.	2	ἡσον
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The Koine form *ἡσο* has not been found in the texts examined, but there is an instance of a form *ἡσον* in the Lavra version of *Varlaam and Ioasaph*, which could, however, also be viewed as a hypercorrection of *ἡσουν* (see I, 2.8.3):¹⁸⁷ *οποῦ ἡσον αὐθέτης Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras).

1st Person Plural

Pl.	1	ἡμεθα ἡμεθαν ἡμενθα
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The ending -μεθα, attested with the imperfect from the *Septuagint* and the *New Testament* onwards, is quite rare in LMedG texts and absent from EMG ones. Since no alternative endings have been found before the 15th c., it must be assumed that it was in use at the beginning of the LMedG period, even though the evidence is scarce. It is also the form prescribed by the more conservative EMG grammars (Sofianos, Spanos), where less conservative grammars (Germano, Romanos) give innovative forms (see below).

¹⁸⁶ The form also occurs in a late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy: *μῶρ' στὰ φεστίνια ἡσουνα κόν βιόλα ὀλά σόνα Gouzelis, O Chasis I* 85 (ed. Synadinos) and *ποῦ 'σουνα* *ibid.* I.87.

¹⁸⁷ This form also in BOIATZIS (1813: 71): *ἡσον*, who also offers the above-mentioned 1 sg. form *ἡμον* (*ibid.*).

τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμεθα φίλοι *Hist. Imp.* 1782
 ποτὲ δὲν ἡμεθα τέτοιαι λογῆς ἀνθρώποι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1889 app. crit. (M)
 ἡμεθα *SOFIANOS, Grammar* 71.10
 ἡμεθα *SPANOS, Grammar* 42.7

Addition of final /n/, probably influenced by the innovative form ἡμεθεν (see below), can occasionally be found: *δταν ἡμεθαν Poulol.* 535 app. crit. (E); *δλοι ἡμεθαν εἰς θάνατον Pol. Tr.* 7267 app. crit. (X).

With an added nasal (for which see I, 3.5.2.4) the ending occurs in the so-called *Greek Laws of Cyprus*: ἡμενθα ἀμφοτέροι συνενοῦντες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *SIMON* 1973: 31.61). This may perhaps be viewed as a "learned" spelling hiding the Cypriot ending -μεθθα (see 4.1.1.2; see also I, 3.4.2.5).

Pl.	1	ἡμεθεν ἢ ἡμεθον
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The ending -μεθεν can be found in texts from northern and south-western areas, from at least the 15th c. (ms date of *Liv.* V) until the 16th c. (ms dates of *Poulol.*), after which it apparently falls into disuse (cf. 4.1.1.2 and 4.3.1.2; see also the present of εἶμαι, 4.8.1, with which the ending is attested more frequently):

ἡμεθεν γοῦν οἱ δύο μας *Liv.* V 3008
 οὐκ ἡμεθεν ἀντάμα *Pol. Tr.* 4355 (mss AX); *δλοι ἡμεθεν εἰς θάνατον* *ibid.* 7267 app. crit. (C)
 εἰ μὲν ἡμεθεν οἱ πάντες *ERMON., Ilias* 15.220 app. crit. (PC)
 ἡμεθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου *Chron. Toc.* 2714 (spelled εἶμεθεν in the ed.)
 ἡμεθεν *Poulol.* 535 and 536

The following form appears in a letter found in the Vatopedi archives: ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἡμεθον τέτοιοι δουλωτικοί (1348?, Macedonia, *LEFORT et al.* 2006: 101, 229.8). It is either the result of a writing mistake (ἡμεθον for ἡμεθεν; there are a few more writing mistakes in this document), or it is a predecessor of ἡμεστον and ἡμαστον (see below). If the form is valid, it does illustrate the tendency in northern varieties of the language to replace the final syllable of 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings of the imperfect with /on/ (cf. 2 pl. ἡσαστον below; see also barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2).

Pl.	1	ἡμεστε(ν) ἢ ἡμεσθε(ν) ἢ ἡμεστον
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The ending -μεστε(ν) and its written variant -μεσθε(ν), rarer for the imperfect than for the present (see 4.8.1), are found from the 15th c. onwards in texts from various regions, with and without final /n/:

εἰ μὲν ἡμεσθεν οἱ πάντες *ERMON., Ilias* 15.220 (reading of ms L)
 οἱ τέσσαροί μας ἡμεσθεν, ἄλλος κανεῖς δὲν ἦτον *Anon. Naupl.* 55 (spelled εἶμεσθεν in the ed.)
 πολλοὺς χρόνους ἡμεστε εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν *Diig. Alex.* F 222.5 (Lolos) (spelled εἶμεστε in the ed.)
 τόσον καιρόν ὅπου ἡμεσθεν ἀντάμα *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 19, σ5r.20 (1561)
 ἡμεσθεν *GERMANO, Grammar* 96.23
 ἡμεσθεν *PORTIUS, Grammar* 41.17
 ἡμεσθε *ROMANOS, Grammar* 57.10
 δὲν ἡμεσθεν πλέα διὰ νὰ περάσωμεν (1658, Galats, *TCHENTSOVA* 2004: 20, 125.19–20)

With substitution of /o/ for /e/ in the last syllable, the form appears in the *History of Wallachia* by Matthaïos of Myra, who was from Epirus and lived in Wallachia. The morpheme /on/ in 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings appears to be a feature of northern local varieties (cf. ἡμεθον (above), ἡμαστον (below); see also barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2).¹⁸⁸ καλὸν ἦτον νὰ ἡμεστον ὅλοι ἀποθαμμένοι *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 2455.

Pl.	1	ἡμεστα(ν) ἢ ἡμεσθα(ν) ἢ ἡμεστανε ἢ ἡμισταν
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The ending -μεστα(ν) and its more formal variant -μεσθα(ν) (see I, 3.8.1) are attested from the 15th/16th c. onwards, with and without final /n/, in texts from southern regions and in texts of unknown provenance (for a discussion see 4.1.1.2):

ἡμεσθα γοῦν ἀμφοτέροι μέχρι μεσονυκτίου *Velth.* 899 (Cupane)
 ποτὲ δὲν ἡμεσταν ἔτοιαι λογῆς ἀνθρώποι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1889 app. crit. (B)
 καλλιὸν νὰ ἡμεσταν ἀποθαμένοι *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 142.13–14
 ἡμεσταν πεθαμένοι *Imb. Rim.* 158; ἀτοί μας μὲ τὰ χέρια μας ἡμεσταν σκοτωμένοι *ibid.* 160
 ὄντεν ἡμεσταν (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 53, 56.12)
 ἀποδεκεῖ ἡμεστα ... μισεμένες *CHORTATIS, Panor.* II.424; ἀπόσταν ἡμεστα παιδάκια *id., Erof.* I.116; μιὰς μάνας ἡμεστα παιδιὰ *ibid.* III.276
 ὅς τοῦτο τὸ σπῆτι ἡμεστα τὴν ὥρα ὅπου ἔστειλέ με *Stathis* III.85
 ἡμεσταν ντεσπεράδοι (1604–5, Cythera, *MAVROEIDI* 1978: 146.17)
 ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἡμεσταν σκλάβοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 142.25
 δέκα ἡμεσταν κ' ἐκεῖνοι δύο *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.617 (reading of A)
 ὡσάν νὰ ἡμεσθαν *Don Kis.* 166.21

With addition of -(ν)ε this form occurs in Chortatsis, but it is likely to have had a wider distribution (cf. 1 pl. pres. 4.8.1, and see also I, 2.6.3): γιὰτ' ἡμεστανε δίχως σου περίσσα πρικαμένες *CHORTATIS, Erof. Interm.* I.126.

The following form was found in a document from Cyprus: ἐμεῖς ἡμισταν (1605, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1959: 33, 37.6), a phonetic variant of ἡμεσταν, with non-regular raising of /e/ to [i] (see I, 2.5.4).

Pl.	1	ἡμαστε(ν) ἢ ἡμασθε(ν) ἢ ἡμαστενε
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The form ἡμαστε(ν) and its written variant ἡμασθε(ν), in its form ἡμαστε one of the common SMG forms, appears in texts from south-western areas and in texts of unknown provenance from the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv.* E). According to *MINAS* (1987a: 25), following *MEYER* 1889: 197, it derives from -μεστα through inversion of the vowels /a/ and /e/. As appears to be the case with quite a few other passive endings (e.g. 1 sg. -μουν, 2 pl. -σουν), the 1 pl. postverbal clitic pronoun μας may have played an associative role (cf. also ἡσαστε for ἡστε, below):

καὶ ἡμασθε κοπιασμένοι *Liv.* E 2679; ἡμασθεν κοπιασμένοι *ibid.* 4112
 ἡμασθεν ὀλομόναχοι *Liv.* S 2083 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 πόσην χαρὰν νὰ εἶχαμεν ἐν ἡμασθεν οἱ δύο *Florios* 1673 app. crit. (V)
 εἰ μὲν ἐμεῖναμε ὥσπερ ἡμασθεν (1550, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2002a: 243, 147.17)

¹⁸⁸ The form ἡμεσθον is also the only form given by *BOIATZIS* (1813: 71): ἐὰν ἡμεσθον wenn wir wären.

ποτέ δὲν ἤμασταν τοιοῦτοι CHOUNNOS, *Kosmog.* 1889 app. crit. (M)
 γιατί ἄ δὲν τὰ τρώγαμε ἤμαστ' ἀποθαμένοι *Alex. Rim.* 906
 τοιοῦτης λογῆς ἤμασταν τότε IER. ANVATIOS, *Diig. Seismou* 333.9
 κι' ἤμαστε γυρεμένες CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.310; ἤμαστε στο κυνήγι id., *Panor.* II.129
 ὄντας ἤμαστε ἀντίπερα στὴ Ντῖα *Stathis* I.260; ὄντας ἤμαστε καὶ στὸ Κελλί id. III.315
 ὡσὰν ἤμασθεν μαθημένοι *Alex. Fyll.* 73.30; ὡσπερ νὰ ἤμασθεν ἀθάνατοι id. 114.32–3
 δέκα ἤμαστε κ' ἐκεῖνοι δύο KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.617 app. crit. (X)
 ἤμασταν ἀπ' ὅλους δοξασμένες KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.601

With an added *-(ν)ε* the form appears in a document from Nauplion (author originally from Athens), but it is likely to have had a wider geographical spread (cf. 1 pl. pres.; see also I, 2.6.3): ὄντας ἤμασταν εἰς τὰ ξένα χέρια (1712, Nauplion, LIATA 1998b: 232.19).

Pl.	1	ἤμαστον ἢ ἤμασθον ἢ ἤμαστουν
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The form ἤμαστον and its more formal-looking variant ἤμασθον have been found in 16th- and 17th-c. texts from northern regions (Thrace, Macedonia) (cf. the same ending with barytone verbs, 4.3.1.2); there is also a single instance in a document from Kefalonia. According to MINAS (1987a: 41–2) this ending is derived from *-μαστε* with substitution of /o/ for /e/ by analogy with 3 pl. *-οντο(ν)*, but that seems unlikely given the fact that the ending *-μαστε* had a rather different geographical distribution. Though the textual evidence is scarce, it is more likely to have been formed on the basis of the northern variant ἤμεστον (see above), with substitution of /a/ for /e/ by association with the 1 pl. weak personal pronoun *μας*. In the period covered by this Grammar the morpheme /on/ in 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings appears to be a feature of northern local varieties (cf. ἤμεθον and ἤμεστον (above) and ἤσαστον (below)).

καὶ ἤμασθον εἰς πολλοὺς χρόνους αιχμάλωτοι *Diig. Alex.* K 346.27
 δὲν ἤμαστον καταπατητάδες *Pent. Gen.* 42.31 (εἵμαστον in the ed.)¹⁸⁹
 ἤμαστον πτωχοὶ ἀπὸ καλὰ ἔργα DAM. STOUΔ., *This., Logos* 2, α7ν.34 (1561); καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς
 μικροὶ ὅπου ἤμαστον τότε id., *Logos* 19, σ5ε.32
 νὰ ἤμαστον ὀμπλιγάδοι (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 116, 81.10)
 καλὸν ἦτον νὰ ἤμαστον ὅλοι ἀποθαμένοι PAPASYNAD., *Chron. Proem.* 79

The same form with /u/ for /o/ in the last syllable due to back-vowel raising (see I, 2.8.3 for details) can be found in the grammar of Kritopoulos (17th c., author from Veroia, Macedonia): ἤμαστουν KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 112.28.

Pl.	1	ἤμασταν ἢ ἤμασθαν
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The form ἤμασταν (now one of the SMG forms) and its written variant ἤμασθαν appear, though not very frequently, from the 16th c. onwards in documents from Crete and in *Liv.*

¹⁸⁹ The form was perhaps intended to be a present indicative, given that the *Septuagint* has a present indicative here: οὐκ ἔσμεν κατάσκοποι; cf. however, δὲν ἦτον οἱ σκλάβοι σου καταπατητάδες *Pent. Gen.* 42.11, where the present indicative of the *Septuagint*, οὐκ εἰσιν οἱ παῖδες σου κατάσκοποι, is also rendered as an imperfect. The Hebrew Torah, of which the Constantinopolitan *Pentateuch* is a translation, has a past tense in this passage (Julia Krivoruchko, personal communication).

S, which perhaps had a Cretan background (AGAPITOS 2006: 73). It was also found once in Kallioupolitis's *Kaini Diathiki*. It is likely that north and south arrived at this form from two different directions: ἤμασταν in the case of the southern texts and ἤμαστον in the case of Kallioupolitis, who was of northern provenance, with substitution of the “past”-marker /a/ for /e/ and /o/ respectively:

καὶ ἤμασθαν κοπιασμένοι *Liv.* S 1531 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἤμασταν κοτέντοι (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 6, 7.22 and 12, 14.23); ἤμασταν
 σατισφάδοι (ibid. 72, 70.7 and 218, 217.7); καὶ δὲν ἤμασταν ἐκεῖ (ibid. 218, 217.13)
 ἂν ἤμασταν ἐμεῖς KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 23.30

Pl.	1	imouname (ἡμουνάμε?/ἡμουνάμε?)
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This form has been recorded, without stress notation and in Latin script, by the French traveller Jacob Spon during his travels to Greece and the Levant in 1675–6. Since his Greek is generally correct (not counting the odd mistake and “French” stress notation), there is no reason to assume that the form is not genuine (cf. the similar 2 pl. form isounaste (ἡσουνάστε?/ἡσουνάστε?) below). Unfortunately it is impossible to establish in which part of the area he came across these forms: he travelled a large area covering the Heptanese and the Peloponnese, Leivadia, Athens, various islands in the Aegean, Constantinople and parts of Asia Minor, though we can be fairly certain he did not visit the northern mainland, Crete or Cyprus. If these forms are indeed valid, the most likely candidate would perhaps be Asia Minor, an area for which sources are scarce and for which there is little corroborating evidence from modern dialects. This 1 pl. form clearly consists of the singular form ἡμουνα, with an added (active!) 1 pl. ending *-αμε*. Spon gives the following forms for the imperfect: imouna, igrouna, itané, imounamé, isounasté, itoné (SPON, *Voyage* 318–19).

2nd Person Plural

Pl.	2	ἦστε ἢ ἦσθε ἢ ἦστέν ἢ ἦσθεν ἢ ἦστένε
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The normal form for 2 pl. in post-classical times is ἦτε, which continues to be used in high-register works well into the EMG period. A new formation ἦστε/ἦσθε, homophonous with its present counterpart εἴστε/εἴσθε, is attested in writing from the 14th c. onwards, but due to lack of evidence, 2 pl. generally being rare in texts, it is impossible to establish when this form came into being.¹⁹⁰

καθὼς ἦστε καὶ πρῶτα *Chron. Mor.* H 4249
 καὶ μετ' ἐμὲν οὐκ ἦσθε *Dig.* E 1749
 καὶ ἦστε κρατούμενοι τοῦ ὄρκου τοῦ MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 474.37
 ὅπου ἦστε εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὠραιότατοι *Alex. Fyll.* 72.15
 ἦσθε SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 71.10, GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.23 and ROMANOS, *Grammar* 57.10
 ἦστε ἢ ἦσαστε SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7

Addition of final /n/ is not very common, but is perhaps a Heptanesian feature: ὅπου ἦστέν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ *Diig. Alex.* F 204.15 (Lolos) and *Diig. Alex.* V 59.12; ὅπου ἦστέν εἰς τὸν

¹⁹⁰ It is unlikely to be connected to the AG variant form ἦστε, which can only be found in a handful of Attic writers and never appears to have become mainstream.

καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον *Diig. Alex. E* (Lolos) (spelled εἴσταν); ἂν ἔλειπε ὁ Ταγιαπιέρας, ἦσταν ὅλοι τῆς κακηώρας *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap. 267–8*.

Addition of -(ν)ε was found in *Evgena* and Soumakis's *Rebelio* (Heptanese), but is likely to have a broader geographical spread in the EMG period (see I, 2.6.3 for details): ἦστανε φιδέλοι καὶ οἱ δυό σας *MONTSEL., Evgena 557* (Spadaro); ποῦ ἦστανε καὶ δὲν ἐρχόστανε *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio 57.1* (spelled εἴστανε in both editions).

Pl.	2	ἦσταν
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With substitution of the past-tense marker /a/ for /e/ in the last syllable this form has been found in texts of northern provenance, from the 16th c. onwards:¹⁹¹

ἂν καὶ πένητες καὶ πτωχοὶ ἦσαν *DAM. STOUD., Dial. 94.2–3*
 ποῦ ἦσαν πατριαρχεῖα *Thrinios patr. M 76* (scribe from Ioannina)
 ἂν ἦσαν παιδιά τοῦ Ἀβραάμ *KALLIOUR., Kaini Diath. Ioann. 8.39*; ἂν ἦσαν τυφλοὶ *ibid. 9.41*; ἂν ἦσαν ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον *ibid. 15.19*
 τί ἦσαν ἐσεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐπιάσετε καὶ τὸν ἐκάμετε τόσα σιασέτια; Βοῖβοτάδες ἦσαν, μητροπολιτάδες ἦσαν, κατῆδες ἦσαν, σπαχῆδες ἦσαν, ζαπίτηδες ἦσαν, τί ἦσαν καὶ ἐκάμετε εἰς αὐτὸν τόσα κακά *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §36.203–5*; ἀμὴ ἂν ἦσαν μεγάλοι ἄνθρωποι τί ἐκάμετε; *ibid. I §36.232*

Pl.	2	ἦστον
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With /o/ for /e/ in the last syllable this form has been found in *Thrinios Kyprou* (16th- or 17th-c. text, early 18th-c. ms): ἦστον εἰς τὰ ξένα *Thrinios Kypr. 546*; ἦστον φυλαγμένοι *ibid. 893*.¹⁹²

Pl.	2	ἦσαστε ἢ ἦσαστον ἢ ἦσαστουν
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The form ἦσαστε, now the regular SMG form, appears to have come into being quite late, as it was only found in the 1749 grammar of Kanellos Spanos (Peloponnese). It is likely to have been formed by analogy with 1 pl. ἦμαστε, whereby a certain influence by association of the weak personal pronouns μας and σας may be suspected: ἦστε ἢ ἦσαστε *SPANOS, Grammar 42.7*.

A form ἦσαστον was found in the 16th-c. *Pentateuch* (printed in Constantinople, author's provenance unknown). It is likely to have been formed on the basis of the northern variant for 1 pl., ἦμαστον (see above); association with the 1 pl. and 2 pl. weak personal pronouns μας and σας may, again, have played a role. The same form with [u] for [o] in the final syllable (the result of back-vowel raising, for which see I, 2.8.3) can be found in the grammar of Kritopoulos (17th c., author from Veroia, Macedonia): ἦσαστον *Pent. Exod. 22.20 and 23.9*; ἦσαστουν *KRITOPOULOS, Grammar 112.28*.

¹⁹¹ A variant ἦσθανε, with an added -ε, in the late 18th-c. Phanariot comedy *Ἀλεξανδροβόδας ὁ ἀσυνειδίχτος* by Georgios Soutsos: ἂν δὲν ἦσθανε διαβασμένος Soutsos, *Alexandrovodas 40.2* (ed. Spathis).

¹⁹² The form can also be found in the early 19th-c. *Romanic, or Macedono-Vlachic Grammar* of Michail Boiatzis: ἐάν ἦσθον (BOIATZIS 1813: 71). One instance in Kallioupolis (*I Kor. 6.11*) is likely to be a typographical error, as he normally uses ἦσαν.

The SMG form ἦσαστον has not been found in the texts examined.

Pl.	2	isounasté (ἦσουναστε?/ἦσουνάστε?)
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This form has been recorded, in the Latin alphabet, by the French traveller Jacob Spon during his travels to Greece and the Levant in 1675–6. It consists of the 2 sg. form ἦσουνα, with an added 2 pl. passive ending -στε: imouna, icouna, itané, imounamé, isounasté, itoné *SPON, Voyage 318–19*. For discussion see 1 pl. imounamé, above.

3rd Person Singular and Plural

Sg.	3	ἦτον ἢ ἦτο ἢ ἦτονε ἢ ἦτονεν ἢ ἦτονα ἢ ἔτον
Pl.		ἦτον ἢ ἦτονε ἢ ἦτονες ἢ ἔτον

At the beginning of the LMedG period, the inherited form ἦτο(ν) is the normal form for 3 sg.¹⁹³ Its geographical spread is wider with than without final /n/, appearing in texts from all regions throughout the LMedG and EMG periods. For the plural it can be found from the 15th c. onwards, in texts from both northern and southern areas. Many texts of the 15th c. and later use ἦτον/ἦτονε only for the singular but not for the plural, for which they employ ἦσαν/ἦσανε and/or ἦταν/ἦτανε; to name just a few: *Dig. E*, the Romances, most *Alexanders* (all but the *Fyllada*), *Diig. Apoll.* and all versions of *Apoll. Rim.*, Kartanos, Noukios, *Dig. O*, the grammars of Sofianos, Germano and Romanos, and most Cretans (with the notable exception of Bounialis). Other texts use the form for both the singular and the plural (e.g. Machairas, Voustronios, most versions of the *Life of Aesop*, *Alex. Fyll.*, *Bertoldos* and *Bertoldinos*, Ioakeim Kyprios, Bounialis, *Don Kis.*). Some representative examples are:

Singular

εἰς πόλιν ἦτον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπροσπάθειαν *NIKON, Logos 1 118.16–17*
 ποῦ ἦτον εἰς τὸ κάθισμα *Ptoch. IV 48*; καθά ἦτον φουσκωμένη *ibid. 220*
 ἦτον πρώτη σύμβρια *Chron. Mor. H 8004*
 ἦτον ὁ καβελάρης *Dig. E 43* (Jeffreys)
 ἦτον ἀμπέλι ριζωτὸν *Liv. α 2627*
 ἦτον ἐν τούτοις, ἔχαιρεν [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim. 860*
 ἦτον πολλὰ μορφούλι *FALIEROS, Erot. En. 14*
 ἦτον τόσον κρουδεῖ *VOUSTR., Chron. A 18.7*
 ἦτον SOFIANOS, *Grammar 71.10*; φρόνιμος ἦτον ὁ Εὐριπίδης *id., Paidag. 95.15*
 ἢ πρώτη σου γυναῖκα ἦτον πουτάνα *Alex. V 33.24*
 ἦτον γενάμενη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 21, 33.10)
 ἦτον ταβέρνα (1601, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 31, 111.2)
 ποιὸν ἦτον τὸ κοπέλι αὐτό; *CHORTATZIS, Katz. III.55*; κ' ἦτον τὸ γέλιο τοῦ σκληροῦ *id., Erof. V.61*
 ἦτον δὲ καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ ἄσχημος *Vios Aisop. K 147.7*
 καὶ ἦτον ἄνθρωπος καλὸς *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §1.19–20*

¹⁹³ First attestations of ἦτο(ν) can be found in an undated Roman inscription in Rome (πατρις δέ μοι ἦτον Ἀπαμέα (CIG 6267; see also DIETERICH 1898: 224–5), and in ἄρα ποτε ὦδε πόλις ἦτο; *Oracula Tiburtina 200* (4th c. AD, see the online TLG).

κ' ἦτον ζημιὰ μεγάλη BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 154.10
 όπου ἦτον εἰς τὸ ἀργαστήρι (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 580, 805.12)
 δὲν ἦτον καιρὸς νὰ φάγει *Don Kis.* 47.26

Plural

ἦτον κομάτια μικρὰ (15th. c., Cyprus, SCHREINER 1975/79: 28.I, 208.1.4)
 ἦτον ορισμένοι VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60.17
 οἱ καμουχάδες ἦτον δλόχρυσοι *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 809
 τὰ δένδρη ἦτον λουλούδια γιομάτα *Vosk.* 142 app. crit.
 ἦτον γαλιότσες 6 καὶ κάτεργα λιγνὰ 47 (17th c., Lefkada, TSILIMINGRA 1955: I.2, 72.2-3)
 ἦτον ἀκόμη ... χόρτα εὐμορφα ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, *Ioust.* 427.8
 ὅσοι ἀνθρώποι ἦτον δξω (1650, Santorini, ZERLENDIS 1922: (1), p. 28.5)
 καὶ τὰ ἐπιλοιπα ἦτον φλάδες (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.5) (= φυλλάδες)
 οἱ ὁμορφιές τση ἦτον πολλές KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.62 app. crit. (A) (ἦταν in ms X; ἦσαν in ed.)
 σαράντα ανεμομύλους οπού ἦτον εἰς ἐκεῖνον τον κάμπον *Don Kis.* 44.27-8

Without final /n/ this form is far more common for the singular than it is for the plural. It has a strong representation in texts from Crete, but it can also be found in texts from other areas (*Diig. Alex. K* (northern?), *Dig. O* (Chios), VOUSTR., *Chron.* A and B (Cyprus)) and in texts of unknown provenance (*Alex. Fyll.*, *Diig. Alex. V*), most of them texts that do not usually use ἦτον for the plural anyway (see above). In the *Chronicle* of Machairas ἦτο appears only before words starting in a nasal or a stop, for phonological reasons (see I, 3.7.2.2).¹⁹⁴

Singular

καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἦτο ἐγλήγορος *Dig.* E 767
 ἦτο νὰ τοὺς νώσουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 238.28 καὶ ἦτο τοῦ σὶρ Χαρρὴν τε Ζιπλέτ *ibid.* 242.2
 το παλάτι του ἦτο πολλά μέγα *Diig. Alex. K* 375.14
 τόσον ἦτο ἔμορφος *Diig. Alex. V* 33.1-2
 κ' ἦτο χαρὰ μεγάλη *Apoll. Rim.* N 1611
 εἶδα χρονῶν ὀλίγων ἦτο, νέος *Diig. Alex. F* 150.18 (Lolos)
 ἂν ἦτο μπορετό CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.305; νὰ ἦτο βολετό *ibid.* III.439
 τοῦτος ὁ σκύλος ἦτο ἀπού κοιμάτον *Pist. voskos* II 2.260-1
 ἦτο καὶ βασιλῖός μου TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.616
 ὡς τώρα ἦτο σπασμένη FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.231; καὶ τ' ὄνομα τοῦ κοπελιοῦ πῶς ἦτο; *ibid.* IV.541
 ὁποιος ἦτο γνωστικός PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2458
 κι ὁλ' ἡ ἀρμάδα ἦτο κεί BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 206.23
 σάν ἦτο κυνηγάρης KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.108; γιὰ μέναν ἦτο τοῦτο *ibid.* I.880
 τὸ νερόν της ἦτο γλυκὺ *Alex. Fyll.* 70.23

Plural

τα ποῖα ὅσα ἐλαλούσαν ... ἦτο ψέματα VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 302.20

¹⁹⁴ In many modern editions (for instance *Chron. Mor. H.*, *Pol. Tr.* and many instances in Bounialis) the presence of ἦτο is the result of editorial intervention, by which final /n/ is deleted, usually for metrical reasons).

With addition of -(v)ε, this form is much more common for the singular than it is for the plural. For the singular it can be found in literary texts and documents from south-western areas (Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands) and from Chios, areas in which -(v)ε may be added to a variety of verb forms (see I, 2.6.3.3), but, again in the singular, the form ἦτονε also occurs in literary (mainly verse) texts from other areas (e.g. the Cypriot *Cypr. Canz.*, Ioakeim Kyprios, Matthaios of Myra (Epirus) and *Diig. Alex. K*, which is thought to be of northern provenance as well). In the plural it appears to have a more limited distribution.

Singular

ἦτονε γυναῖκα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.11-12)
 κ' ἦτονε τόπος καπερός CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 654
 καλὰ κι ἂν ἦτονε γυναῖκα ἀπὸ φύσης *Theseid* I.10,1 (Follieri)
 ἦτονε πολλὰ χαριτωμένη *Cypr. Canz.* 150.24
 κάποιος μάντης ἦτονε ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 39.1
 ἦτονε ἐκ τὴν μεγάλην Ἀλβανίτιαν (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.11.2)
 δὲν ἦτονε βασιλικὴ τάξει *Diig. Alex. K* 345.14 (hapax)
 ἦτονε ψηλὴ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 215.11)
 ἦτονε ζητημένος TRIVOLIS, *Re Skotsias* 28
 δὲν ἦτονε ἡ γυναῖκα μου (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 25, 163.16)
 ἐκεῖνος ἦτονε σκιά ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ ΜΥΡ., *Ist. Vlach.* 2471; ἂν ἦτονε καλὴ πίστις *ibid.* 2673
 κι' ἂς μὴν ἦτονε ντροπὴ μου CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.477; χάρισμα ἦτονε ἀκριβὸς *id.*, *Erof.* I.341 (τὸν τόπο ...) ποῦτονε τῆς συντροφιάς (1634, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 18, 321.8)
 ἡ ἀφορμὴ ἵν' ἂν ἦτονε (1644, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1987: 24.7)
 ἀγάπη τὸ ἔρωτις ἦτονε FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.286
 ἦτονε ἀπὸ γένος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 17; ἦτονε πληγωμένη *ibid.* 1616
 ἦτονε Μεχεμέτης IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5583
 ὡσάν νὰ ἦτονε ἱστορομένο νοταριάλε (1683, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1940: 1, 179.3)
 ἦτονε εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 824, 1108.17)
 ἦτονε ἀπάνω εἰς τὴ πρύμνη (1695, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 11, 26.23)

Plural

καὶ ἦτονε πράτσα δέκα ἡμισυ (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.4)
 ἦτονε ὄνειροφαντασμάτου (... οἱ παραγγελιές) *Thysia Avr.* 699
 οπού ἦτονε ἀρχόντισσες IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 242; ἦτονε τα καράβια *ibid.* 7535
 ἦτονε σαλπάδοι (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14-15)
 ἦτονε ὁ γέρος Πέτρος Μανάλης καὶ Ἰωάννης Κοζανίτης (1599, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 94, 126.16)
 ἀμ' ἦτονε χωσμένοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 153.13

Sporadically ἦτονε can be found with an added final /n/, as in the following 17th-c. copy of a 13th-c. document: ἦτονεν διακτίσιμον (1296 [17th-c. copy], Crete, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 6: 102, 239.3); or with an added final /s/, as in the following 17th-c. example from Santorini: ἦτονες τὰ πράγματά της ἀπόδιαστα (1689, Santorini, DRAKAKIS 1971: 133.33).

Addition of -(v)α (see I, 2.6.3) can be found sporadically in the singular: ὡς καθὼς ἦτονα ὁ μακαρίτης ὁ κύρης μου (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 5, 365.9) (author from Monemvasia); γιὰ τὸν τρόπον | δὲν ἦτονα *Pist. voskos* V 7.64.

In the *Chronicle* of Machairas a form *ἔτον* for *ἦτον* occurs twice (sg. and pl.): τοῦ μάστρε Πιέρ Κανέλ δπου ἔτον ἡ ἀφορμὴ τοῦ σκαντάλου MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 182.8; οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἔτον χωσμένοι *ibid.* 190.28. In this form the root /i/ of the verb has been replaced with the augment /e/, probably by analogy with unaugmented imperfect forms of *ἔχω*, which appear in texts from Cyprus and elsewhere, 3.1.4.4.

Sg.	3	ἦστον ἢ ἔστον
Pl.		ἦστον/εἶστον ἢ ἦστονε/εἶστονε

This unusual form is – if at all – explained as a morphologically hybrid infinitive, as a conflation of the infinitive *εἶσταιν* (see 4.8.4) and the 3rd person imperfect *ἦτον* (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 360 s.v. εἶμαι; JOSEPH 1990: 118). But whereas this form is indeed likely to be a hybrid formation, and *εἶσταιν* and *ἦτον* are the obvious candidates, morphologically (an infinitive in -ον would be rather unique) as well as syntactically it does not appear to be an infinitive, but rather a 3rd person imperfect. In the majority of instances found the form appears in 3rd-person conditional constructions with *εἶχε* and *ἦθελε*, against only one instance of an unambiguous imperfect (3 sg. in *Diig. Alex.* F). In the examples from *Imberios* and the Cypriot *Canzoniere*, which have a singular subject, it cannot be established whether the construction is *εἶχα/ἦθελα* + pres. inf. or *εἶχε/ἦθελε* + imperfect,¹⁹⁵ but the three examples from Bounialis all have plural subjects; therefore *ἦθελε* cannot but be impersonal, leaving no other choice than to interpret the form *ἦστον* as finite (given the fact that impersonal auxiliaries cannot normally accompany the infinitive: see 5.1.2.3 and 5.1.4.3). Cf. also the following examples of the same constructions with more recognizable imperfect forms: ὡσὰ νὰ εἶχε ἦτονε σαρκικός (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 239, 193.11); τ' ἀμμάτ' ἀπού 'χεν ἦτονε TROILLOS, *Rodol.* II.193 (3 pl.); ὡς νὰ 'θεν ἦταν 'ταίρι PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2938; εἶχε ἦμουν SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.12.

The form *ἦστον* occurs as singular in texts from Cyprus and the Heptanese, whereas with the plural it has only been found in Bounialis (Crete). With /e/ for /i/ in the first syllable it appears in ms R of Machairas and in *Istoria Makaritou Markou* (cf. the infinitive *ἔσταιν* for *εἶσταιν*, 4.8.4, the imperfect *ἔτον* for *ἦτον* in Machairas, above, and *ἔχα* for *εἶχα* in various texts, 3.1.4.4). There are two examples with addition of -(v)ε (see also I, 2.6.3.3) in Bounialis, another strong indication that the form is indeed an imperfect, since addition of -(v)ε to infinitives is rare in general and Bounialis, however fond he clearly is of -(v)ε, never uses it with the infinitive.

Singular

- ποιὸς πελλὸς ἦθελεν εἶστον *Cypr. Canz.* 130.15
 δὲν ἔθελεν εἶστον ... περίτου ὁμορφον πράμαν *Fior* 109.6–7
 ἔξδον νὰ 'χέ'στον πέτρινος *Imb. Rim.* 971 app. crit.
 ἦστον εἰς ἰατρός ἐνοῦ αὐθεντός *Anthos Ch.* A 177.14–15
 ὁ σφαγμὸς ἦστον εἰς τὰ δύο φουσάτα *Diig. Alex.* F 250.5–252.1 (Lolos)
 νὰ ἦθελε ἦστον δικιολογημένη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.10)

¹⁹⁵For impersonal use of *εἶχε* in periphrastic tenses see 5.2.2.4 and 5.3.1.7.

ὡσγοῖον νὰ εἶχεν ἔστον ἀρνὶν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 345.36
 ἂν εἶχεν ἔστον ἄδικος KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 542

Plural

σὰ νὰ μὴν ἦθελέ 'στονε ἐκεῖ ποτέ κτισμένα BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 330.5; σὰν νὰ 'θελέ 'στον ἄλλοι *ibid.* 413.22; κι ἂν ἦθελέ 'στονε πολλοὶ *ibid.* 542.22

Pl.	3	ἦστα(ν)
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With /a/ in the last syllable and deletion of final /n/ for metrical reasons, the form (pl.) has been found in Vasileios Vatatsis's *Itinerary* (18th c.), a text of northern provenance (author from Constantinople). This form is more common for 2 pl. (see above): πάντες δσοὶ στὰ 'κέϊσε / πάντες δσ' ἦστα 'κέϊσε VATATSIS, *Periig.* II 426.

Pl.	3	ἦσαν ἢ ἦσα ἢ ἦσανε ἢ ἦσανι
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The inherited 3 pl. form *ἦσαν* is used throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in a variety of texts:¹⁹⁶

- ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἦσαν τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ἡγουμένου ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 154.21–2
 ἔαν ἦσαν περισσὰ θρύμματα *Ptoch.* IV 391
 τὸ κοινὸν ποὺ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 352 (for number agreement according to sense see IV, 1.1.1)
 ὁπού 'σαν στὸ σεντούκιν *Byz.* II. 320
 ἦσαν κλέφτες MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.10
 οὐκ ἦσαν ἐμένα ποτέ (1509, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 11, 19.11)
 οἱ ὁποῖοι σύντιχοι ἦσαν (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 217.11)
 διτὶ ἦσαν ἄγρια (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.35)
 εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦσαν τὰ πρᾶύματα (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.11)
 ἦταν καὶ ἦσαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.23
 πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 4.27
 ἦσαν ὅλα γεμάτα ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 635
 ἦσαν τῆς μακαρίτισσας (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 119, 325.3)
 οἱ ὁποῖοι ἦσαν συντρόφοι (1691, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/TSOURLA-PAPASTATHI 1974: 19, 13.7)
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ἦσαν ὀλίγοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 40.6

Deletion of final /n/ can sometimes be found in verse texts from Crete and the Heptanese, often to accommodate the metre or the rhyme:¹⁹⁷

- ἦσα γυμνὰ τὰ χέρια του *Liv.* E 1046
 καὶ μετὰ 'κείνον ἦσα *Apoll. Rim.* N 486
 καὶ τρεῖς ἀκόμη ἦσα *Alex. Rim.* 2579 (rhymes with ἴσα)

¹⁹⁶The following sole example of *ἦσαν(ε)* used for the singular is most likely to be a writing mistake or a case of confusion of singular and plural forms (given the fact that Ioakeim shows extraordinary morphological variety and uses just about every possible form of *εἶμαι*): ἐκεῖνος ποὺ 'σανε ποτέ φίλος καὶ ἀδελφός τους ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 4086.

¹⁹⁷Often the form without final /n/ is actually the result of intervention of the modern editor, as in the following example: παρὰ νὰ ἦσαν ὀλιγώτεροι *Chron. Mor.* H 4724 ms, where the editor corrects to παρὰ νὰ ἦσα ὀλιγώτεροι to remedy the hypermetric first hemistich.

κι ωσά χρυσάφι ἦσα ξαθά CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* III.151 (reading of ms D)
 χίλιοι ἄν ἦσα *Stathis* III.225 (rhymes with περίσσα)
 γιατί δὲν ἦσα πράτικοι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.155

Addition of -(v)ε occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards, in non-literary texts from south-western areas, though in verse texts, the extra syllable being convenient to accommodate the metre, it appears in other areas as well (for -(v)ε see also I, 2.6.3):

δὲν ἦσανε εἰς μία ὀπινιὸν (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 44.11)
 ἦσανε περαταρὲς (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 37.Π, 300.13.3)
 διότις ἦσανε γυμνοὶ *Alex.* Rim. 1908
 ἦσανε σκορπιοὶ μεγάλοι *Diig. Alex.* K 377.8 (hapax)
 δὲν ἦσανε ὀλίγοι *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 1568
 ἔτσι φευγάτοι πού 'σανε *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 327
 τοὺς Τούρκους, ὅπου ἦσανε μέσα (16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.2-3) (scribe from Nauplion)
 ἦσανε μαζωμένοι (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.29)
 ἦσανε κρεμασμένες *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1147
 διακονιάροι ἦσανε (17th c., Crete, SPANAKIS 1971: [1], 179.12)
 καὶ ἄλλοι τόσοι νᾶσανε *STAVRINOS, Diig. Mich. Voen.* 614
 πόσα σεπέττια ἦσανε *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 7745
 ὀλοὶ Ῥωμοῖοι ἦσανε *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 858
 ἦσανε ἄρμενα πεντακόσα *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 75
 ἀνάδοχοι ἦσανε ... (1691, Cythera, KALLIGEROS 2001: 9, 41.1)
 ἦσαν, [ἦσα]νε *SPANOS, Grammar* 42.7

The following form is a phonetic variant, ἦσανε with non-regular mid-vowel raising (/e/ to [i]), for which see I, 2.5.4: ὡσά συντρόφοι πού ἦσανι (1566, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 290, 408.4).

Pl.	3	ἦσανσι(v) : ἦσανσι(v)
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Interchangeability of -αν and -ασι(v) in the active past-tense paradigms (see 4.3 and 4.4) leads to ἦσαν developing an alternative ἦσανσι(v), which is found from the 14th c. until the 16th/17th c. in texts from various areas:

ἦσανσιν ἐκεῖ *Chron. Mor.* H 8147; τὰ λόγια ἦσανσιν πολλά *ibid.* 8999
 καθὼς ἦσανσι πάντες (1395, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 8, 76.16)
 ὅσοι ἦσανσιν ἔσωθεν τῆς Τρωάδος *Pol. Tr.* 2898; ἦσανσι μετ' εἰρήνης *ibid.* 13418
 ἦσανσιν κάλλιοι *Chron. Toc.* 1780
 ἦσανσι (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 52.56)
 ἦσανσιν οἱ ἅπαντες *Chron. Mor.* P 390
 ἔτζι βρεμένοι ἦσανσι *Theseid* I.69,5 (Follieri)
 κι ὀρδινιασμένοι ἦσανσι *Alex. Rim.* 835
 καθίζασιν εἰς τα θρονιά πού 'σανσι διαταμένα *DEFAR., Sos.* 61 (Holton)
 ὀλοὶ ὅπου ἦσανσι τὸν νέον ἐπροσκύνουν *Dig. A* 1530

The alternation between -αν and -ασι(v) can sporadically lead to a hybrid formation -ανσι(v), which is likely to be graphematic, i.e. a combination of ligatures, rather than an

existing ending (cf. 4.3.1.1 and 4.4.2): ἦσανσι τῆς μητρός σας (1400 [16th-c. copy], Corfu, KARYDIS 1999a: 1, 165.14); ἦσανσιν (*ibid.* 165.16).

Sg.	3	ἦτουν : ἦτου : ἦτουνα : ἦτουνε
Pl.		ἦτουν

The form ἦτουν, a phonological variant of ἦτον with substitution of /u/ for /o/ through back-vowel raising (see I, 2.8.3) can be found in the singular in texts from the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Macedonia from at least the 16th c. onwards (ms date of *Pol. Tr.* B¹⁹⁸ and *Chron. Mor.* P). For the plural ἦτουν is used in texts of south-western provenance and in a late 17th-c. document from Cyprus.¹⁹⁹

Singular

ἦτουν καὶ ὁ Φιλεμενῆς *Pol. Tr.* 3037 app. crit. (B); ἔαν οὐκ ἦτουν δυνατόν *ibid.* 6144 app. crit. (B)

δπου ἦτουν δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν *Chron. Mor.* P 7959

μ' ἄν ἦτουν τὸ ἐνάντιον *Imb. Rim.* 158 app. crit.

ἔαν δὲν ἦτουν *Krasop.* L 32; καὶ νά 'τουν ἀργυρόκουπα *ibid.* 48

ἦτουν ἐγκοσμημένον *Diig. Alex.* E 205.1 (Lolos); ἦτουν τοῦ Ἑκτορος *ibid.* 203.23 (only instances)

τι ἄνθρωπος να ἦτουν *DEFAR., Sos.* 160 (Holton)

ἦτουν (1572, Peloponnese, VEIS 1956: 449.9 and 452.24)

ἦτουν *KRITOPoulos, Grammar* 112.27-8 (sg. only)

καθὼς ἦτουν, δλον δσον καὶ ἄν εἶχα (1634, Laconia, Simopoulos 1966: 149.3)

ἦτουν παρὼν (1673, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 72, 43.2; and 1687, *ibid.* 101, 59.5)

ἦτουν ... ὁ παπᾶς Ρουματζᾶς (1686, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a, [6], 91.2-3)

ὡσάν κοπέλλα ὅπου ἦτουν (1688, Peloponnese, GRITSPOULOS 1954: (4), 138.27)

ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Ἀγίου Μάρκου ἦτουν πρῶτα τζαμί (1696, Tripoli, DOKOS 1971/74: 11, 50.2)
 κάλλιο μού 'τουν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.533

Plural

τὰ ἄρματα, ὅπου ἦτουν τοῦ Ἑκτορος *Diig. Alex.* E 203.23 (Lolos)

καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα, ὅ,τι καὶ ἄν ἦτουν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1631, Gortynia, GRITSPOULOS 1972: 13, 175.6)

(τὰ ἄσπρα ...) ἦτουν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1694, Cyprus, KYRRIS 1987: 4, 91.12)

Deletion of final /n/ is quite rare and was found, in the singular only, in texts of Heptanesian provenance and in *Pistikos voskos*, which is considered to be of Cretan provenance: να ιδούμε το ποῖος ἦτου *DEFAR., Sos.* 157 (Holton) (rhymes with ἐντροπή του); ξεύρω, δὲν ἦτου ἀγάπη *Pist. voskos* II 1.288; ὅπου ἦτου λιγωμένη *Thysia Avr.* 290 transcr. M (Heptanesian scribe).

¹⁹⁸ Ms B of the *War of Troy* generally shows a preference for innovative forms, according to ΠΑΠΑΘΟΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ/JEFFREYS (1996: xcvi).

¹⁹⁹ This form, now characteristic of the Cypriot dialect for both 3 sg. and 3 pl., must have entered the dialect quite late. It is absent from *Thrinis Kypr.* (16th- or 17th-c. text; early 18th-c. ms), but it can be found, apart from the above late 17th-c. document, in the early 19th-c. *Ἄσμα Χατζή Γεωργάκη* (plural only).

With an added *-(v)ε* or *-(v)α* (see I, 2.6.3) the form occurs, in the singular only, in Heptanesian texts from the 16th/17th c. onwards and in a text of uncertain provenance (*Diig. Alex. Sem. B*, ms written in Meteora):

ήτουνα πρώτα του ιερομονάχου Κοντονή (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 56.12–13)
 ήτουνα *Thysia* Avr. 43 and 44 transcr. M (Heptanesian scribe)
 νά 'τουνα CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.392 app. crit. (Heptanesian scribe)
 ήτουνα καπετάν γκενεράλες (1685, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1970a, [5], 91.2)
 ήτουνα γέροντας (1668, Zakynthos, ΜΑΥΡΟΣ 1984: 355.7)
 ήτουνα ένα κτήριον παλαιόν *Chron. Theod.* 23.18

ήτουνε δεδεμένος *Diig. Alex. Sem. B* 69
 ήτουνε πρεπόν *Pist. voskos* IV 5.37
 μαγάρι νά ητουνε μόδος MONTSEL., *Evgena* 325
 ήτουνε συνεργία δίχως κακοσύνη (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 56, 92.9)

Sg.	3	ήταν : ήτα : ήτανε
Pl.		ήταν : ήτα : ήτανε

The SMG 3 sg. and pl. form *ήταν*, which is *ήτον* with substitution of the past-tense marker /a/ for /o/ appears in writing from the 15th c. onwards (ms dates of *Liv. V* and *Pol. Tr.*) for the singular and the plural in texts from both northern and southern areas, though not usually in texts from Cyprus and the Dodecanese. A few texts use *ήταν* only for the singular (e.g. *LANDOS, Geopon.*), while quite a few more use it only for the plural (e.g. *Pol. Tr., Byz. Il., Alex. Rim., Diig. Alex. F, Dig. O, Bounialis*, and the grammars of Germano, Kritopoulos and Romanos). In many texts it is used for both the singular and the plural (e.g. *Liv. V, Katzourbos, Bertoldos, Papasynadinos, Kallioupolitis, Ioakeim, Don Kis.*).

Singular

νά είπες αλήθεια ήταν *Liv. V* 211
 τιμή, ή όποια ήταν ... εις το όρκωμοτικόν (1451, Constantinople, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 1, 198.23)
 ή φορεσία τους ήταν βελούδον *Diig. Alex. E* 181.9 (Lolos)
 ότι πρώτα νερό δέν ήταν, ότι ήτον χαϊμένον (1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 451.21)
 ποιός ήταν CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.76
 ήταν μεγαλότατος πόλεμος *Bertoldos* 45.32–3
 άν ήταν καλή PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* IV §15.36
 άναπταν καρβουιάν, ότι ήταν ψύχρα KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath. Ioann.* 18.18
 όταν ήταν κακοχρονία LANDOS, *Geopon.* 178.35–6 (hapax)
 ώσαν ήταν ή Ούγκρια άλλην φοράν (1658, Galats, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 20, 126.28)
 εκεί ήταν κι η βαλετέ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 649
 ποία ήταν ή άργ' ώρα KONDA., *Paidēs* 89
 ήταν ό Πραή πασιάς (1683, Gortynia, YANNAPOPOULOU 1972: 89, 321.2); ήταν μπατάλικην (ibid. 95, 322.4)
 ήταν πρώτα Τουρκα και έβαπτίσθη (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 20, 55.6)
 ήταν πολλά συλλογισμένος *Don Kis.* 46.26

Plural

χάσδια ήταν όλόχρυσα *Pol. Tr.* 237 app. crit. (A); καλά ήταν γαρνισμένα ibid. 2281 (mss VX)
 φάρια ήταν θαυμαστά *Liv. V* 672; ήταν οι μήνες όλοι ibid. 883

και όπου ήταν τά σύνορα πρό της μάχης (1479, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 1, 301.20)
 τά άλογά τους ήταν κουβερτιασμένα *Diig. Alex. V* 60.15–16
 όλοι ήταν εις τόν όρκον *Byz. Il.* 755
 ήταν εκεί σκαλιά όκτώ *Alex. Rim.* 2651
 ήταν χαϊμένοι (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 2, 49.10)
 ήταν και ήσαν GERMANO, *Grammar* 96.23
 σάν πώς ήταν και οι άνδρες των *Bertoldos* 35.9
 οι Χριστιανοί εις μεγάλην στενοχωρίαν ήταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.20–1
 άλλα μοναστήρια όπου ήταν εκεί (1658, Galats, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 20, 126.2)
 και αυτείνοι ήταν πρώτιστοι ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 45
 κ' ήταν σφαμμένα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 355
 ήταν ψυχές -440- (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 506.18) (author from the Mani)
 οι άπόκριες μου ήταν άχαμνές (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 303, f.1r.8)
 οι όμορφιέ τση ήταν πολλές KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.62 ms (X) (ήτον in A; ήσαν in ed.)
 ήταν ομήλικοι *Don Kis.* 96.10

Deletion of final /n/ is rare and has been found once in ms A of *Anthos ton Chariton* (16th c., provenance unknown), as well as in Heptanesian documents of the 16th–17th c.:

αν ήτα καλά, ηθέλαμεν τα πουλήσει *Anthos Ch. A* 159.19
 ήτα χρεία (1566, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 1, 289.12) (author's family from Corfu)
 ήτα τά σόλδια έδικά του (1641, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 232, 189.30)
 ήτα σύντεκνοι (1691, Cythera, PAPADAKI 2001: 131, 62.2)

Addition of *-(v)ε*, common in colloquial MG, occurs from the 16th c. onwards in texts from southern/south-western regions (Heptanese, Crete, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands) and from Chios (see also I, 2.6.3.3). Versifiers from other regions (e.g. the *Tale of Vefas and Michri*, which is of northern provenance) sometimes use these forms for metrical reasons.

Singular

(την ξεφάντωσιν ...) ως ήτανε 'πιτήδεια *Apoll. Rim.* N 770
 ό συμβιβασμός τους ήτανε χρόνους ζ' (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.12)
 σάν ήτανε κι' άλλότες CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.303
 όμόνοια, όπου ήτανε ανάμεσά μας (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.12)
 πώς ήτανε και παίρνει *Diig. Vefa* 1104
 ήτανε άποκλεισμένη ή Πόλις *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 80.25 (only forms in -ve)
 ήτανε προυκι της μάνας της (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.4)
 ήτανε φιλεμένος (1670, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 31, 388.16)
 ήτανε πάσα άνθρωπος εξ αυτούς μετά δακρύων ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 3078
 ή βουλή της δεν ήτανε ποτέ νά τόν πάρη δι' άνδρα (1675, Corfu, KAPADOCHOS 1990: 39, 253.13–14)
 ήτανε άπό τό έκπαλαι (1696, Nauplion, DOKOS 1971/74: 16, 52.2)
 ήτανε KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.452 ms X (= f.21v l. 12); and I.462 app. crit. (X)
 ήτανε ένας βασιλιάς *Diig. Vefa* 63
 πού ήτανε χτισμένο παμπάλαια EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.10–11
 έτούτη ή γυναίκα ήτανε μάϊσσα SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 44.26

Plural

κ' ήτανε μέσα βέροι *Alex. Rim.* 495
 ήτανε γυναίκες συναγμένες *Theseid* XI.7,8 (1529)
 ήτανε δικά μου (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 217.3)

καὶ δὲν ἦτανε σωστὰ (1574, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 15, 141.10)
 δυντες ἦτανε στὸν κόσμον οἱ Ντονάδοι CHORTATIS, *Katz.* V.365
 ἦτανε τοῦ Φωτοδότη Χριστοῦ (1612, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 7, 361.6)
 οἱ ἄρχοντες ἦτανε πλούσοι *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.1 (only forms in -ve, with two exceptions
 before a word starting in /e/)
 ξύλα ἀποῦ ἦτανε ἐδεκεῖ (1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 416.10) (ἦτονε for sg.)
 πενήντα χιλιάδες ἦτανε ΙΟΛΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 7395
 (τὰ δύο χωράφια ...) ἦτανε (1685, Cythera, ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI 1982: 71.22)
 δλ' ἀπελάτες ἦτανε PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2720
 φόβος καὶ τρόμος ἦτανε τῶν λουμπαρδῶν οἱ μπάλες DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 255
 ἦτανε (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS 1968/69: 3, 335.6)
 ἐπειδήτις καὶ νὰ ἦτανε οἱ φοράδες ἐγγαστρωμένες (1708, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 7, 41.22)

Sg.	3	ἦν
Pl.	3	ἦν

The residual 3 sg. form ἦ(ν) can be found now and then, usually alongside other forms, throughout the LMedG and EMG periods in a variety of texts, mainly of higher or mixed register. It is also sporadically used for the plural:

Singular

ὅταν ... ἦν ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωάννης ὁ Κολοβός ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 150.5²⁰⁰
 ἔρωσ γὰρ ἦν ὁ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συνεργῶν εἰς πάντα *Dig.* G III.87
 παμμέγας ἦν ὁ Γολιάθ GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 360
 καὶ πόθεν ἦν καὶ ποταπὸς *Log. parig.* L 92
 κόντος ἦν τῆς Φιλάντρας *Chron. Mor.* H 132 (hapax)
 ὁλος ἦν θυμηδία *Pol. Tr.* 99
 πατήρ ἦν τοῦ πατρός μας *Dig.* E 146
 ἄγριος ἦν ὁ τόπος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 200
 ἦν δὲ καὶ νέος *Achil.* N 309
 ἦν τις ἐλλήνων βασιλεὺς *Theseid* I.6,1 (Follieri)
 τ' ὄνομά του ἦν Κανταρκούσης *Diig. Alex.* K 361.4
 ἕνα πτερόν, ὃ ἦν τῆς ποτὲ ἀδελφῆς μου (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 77, 145.14)
 θηρίον ἦν καὶ φύλαττε τὸν τόπον *Dig.* A 3265
 ἦν γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ κάτοπτρον *Dig.* T 1892

Plural

μαχαιροκοπημένες ἦν καὶ εἰς τὸ αἷμαν κυλισμένες *Dig.* E 81; ὅτι συζουλισμένες ἦν *ibid.* 87
 πλέον βασιλεῖς δουκάδες τε ἦν τῶν δεκατεσσάρων *Pol. Tr.* 2028; Ἀἰλί, πῶς ἐπλανήθησαν καὶ
 πῶς ἦν λαθασμένοι *ibid.* 12063

Sg.	3	ἦντον
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This form has a single occurrence in version A of *Anthos ton Chariton* (16th c.; provenance unknown). It appears to be a conflation of residual ἦν and innovative ἦτον (see above), though it could also be graphematic through the use of ligatures (cf. 4.4.1.1): οὐκ ἦντον πράγμα κανένα *Anthos Ch.* A 49.6.

²⁰⁰ Quite a few instances of ἦν in Nikon's writings are actually present indicative (εἶν); see 4.8.1.

Pl.	3	ἦτασι(ν)
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Interchangeability of -αν and -ασι(ν) in the active past-tense paradigms (see 4.3 and 4.4) leads to ἦταν developing an alternative 3 pl. form ἦτασι(ν), which occurs from at least the 15th c. onwards (ms date of *Liv.* V) in texts from various areas, though it is never the "normal" form in any text:

τὰ σχήματα ἦτασιν καὶ οἱ λόγοι *Liv.* V 886 (hapax)
 ἄρμοζε νὰ ἦτασιν *Pol. Tr.* 1770 app. crit. (A); ὅσοι στήν τσάμπραν ἦτασιν *ibid.* 6411 app. crit. (B)
 λατίνικα τὰ ροῦχα τῆς ἦτασιν *Liv.* S 1072 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (hapax)
 ὅσοι μὲ Πάριν ἦτασιν *Byz. Il.* 584; πλῆθος γυναικες ἦτασιν *ibid.* 838 (only examples)
 ὁποῦ ἦτασιν ἀντίδικοι *Velis.* χ 163; οὔτε Ἀσάνοι ἦτασιν *ibid.* 227, *Velis.* N² 244 and *Velis.* ρ 369
 ἐξήντα χιλιάδες ἦτασιν *Achil.* N 572 (hapax)
 ποῦ ἦτασιν τριάντα κ' ἐξήντα χρόνους ΚΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΣ, *Andrag. Bua* VI.22
 ιστορισμένα ἦτασι *Theseid* VI.48,2 app. crit. (V)
 ονικά ... τὰ ἦτασιν γερόντια *Anthos Ch.* A 159.12; οἱ ποῦ ἦτασι μετ' αὐτόν *ibid.* 223.14
 ἦτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸ διαλαλίκον (1524, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 1, 15.6)
 καὶ λυπημένοι ἦτασι ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 17.4; ἀντάμα πάντα ἦτασι *ibid.* 59.2
 κομπάροι ἦτασιν (1606, Venice, MANOUSAKAS/SKOULAS 1993: 170, 43.5)
 ἦτασι τὰ δζὰ ἀκριβὰ (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 314.14)
 ἦτασιν κρατημένες ΣΟΥΜΜΑΚΙΣ, *Past. Fid.* a2r.3 (1658)

4.8.3 Imperative

The residual imperatives ἔσο (2 sg.), ἔστω (3 sg.), ἔστε (2 pl.) and ἔστωσαν (3 pl.) are only used in higher- and mixed-register texts.²⁰¹ The 3 sg. form ἔστω is the most frequently used of the four forms, though not always correctly, as the hypercorrect spelling with <θ> in the 1140 example from S. Italy, the addition of νὰ in the 1170 example from S. Italy and its use instead of the equally residual 3 sg. present indicative ἔστι in *Dig.* T 153 illustrate. The 2 sg. and 2 pl. forms ἔσο and ἔστε are very rare indeed:

2nd Person Singular and Plural

καὶ ἔσο νῦν τιμῶμενος *Dig.* A 2409 and *Dig.* T 1543
 ἔσο ἀπὸ τοῦ νυν υγιής! LANDOS, *Amart. sot.* 334.31–2
 μαγάριοι ἔστε, σπανοὶ *Spanos* D 1625
 δοῦλοι ἔστε εἰς τὸν Ἑρωταν *Liv.* E 529

3rd Person Singular and Plural

ἔσθω ξένος (1140, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 123, 164.25)
 νὰ ἔστω ἀφιερωμένον (1170, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.16)
 ἀλλ' ἔστω σοι τοῦτο γνωστὸν *Dig.* G IV.464
 γνωστὸν ἔστω τῇ βασιλεῖα σου (1489, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 20, 102.2)
 γνωστὸν ἔστω τῇ βασιλεῖα σου *Porikol.* I 21

²⁰¹ The forms εἴτω and εἴτωσαν that replaced the AG 3 sg. and pl. forms in Hellenistic times (DIETERICH 1898: 227) have not been found at all in the texts examined, which is additional proof for the residual character of the AG forms.

νεμόλον σου έστω η λωλία *Diig. Alex. K* 353.5–6
 τὸ ντεσταμέντον έστω ισχυρόν (1526, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 112, 205.22)
 Θεὸς έκδικος έστω *Dig. A* 783 and *Dig. T* 332
 ἦν ὁ νυμφίος έστω σοι παρόμοιος τοῦ κάλλους *Dig. T* 153 app. crit.
 έστω αφορισμένος καὶ άσυχώρητος (1652–3, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 82, 204.12)
 έστω άφορεσμένος (1685, Athos, KADAS 1988: 98, 334.7)

καὶ ταῦτ' άπέκει έστωσαν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν πραχθέντα *Thrinis Tam.* 87
 (τὰ λοιπὰ άπαντα ...) έστωσαν τῇ έμῇ μητρὶ Άρχοντοῦ (1497, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/
 LAMBAKIS 2003: App., 1, 310.20)
 τὰ δουκάτα έπτακόσα, έστωσαν προικιόν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 297,
 294.12)
 καὶ μὴ άπαρτι έστωσαν φροντίδες *Dig. T* 1538
 έστωσαν άφορεσμένοι (1612, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 12, 66.10–11)
 έστωσαν τὸ αὐτὸ χωράφιον μὲ τὰ συκάμινά άνέσπαστα (1688, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU
 1972: 148, 327.7–8)

In the period covered by this Grammar various constructions were in use for the imperative, for which see IV, 1.3.

4.8.4 Infinitive

General	Restricted	Rare
είσται(ν)/είστε(ν)	εἶναι	εἶν
	εἶσθαι(ν)/εἴσθε(ν)	εἴσθι
	εἴσσαι(ν)	εἴσταινε
	ἔσται(ν)/ἔσθαι(ν)	ἔστιν

The innovative infinitive εἴσται(ν) and its more formal variant εἴσθαι(ν) appeared before the LMedG period, though lack of textual evidence makes it impossible to establish how long before the 11th/12th c. it came into being. The reason for its emergence must have been that the old infinitive εἶναι had become homophonous with the new form /'ine/ that had emerged for 3 sg. and 3 pl. present indicative and subjunctive (see above, 4.8.1), combined with the fact that the verb εἶμαι as a whole was in the last stages of the process of being remodelled on the basis of the mediopassive paradigm: the new infinitive was modelled on the mediopassive infinitive in -σθαι (γράφεσθαι, τιμάσθαι, πατεῖσθαι, for which see 4.6.1.2) (JANNARIS 1897: 250, who, however, seriously underestimates its frequency).

There is great fluctuation in the spelling of this form, both in the sources and in modern editions, ranging from εἴστε(ν)/εἴσθε(ν) and ἦστε(ν)/ἦσθε(ν) to εἴσται(ν)/εἴσθαι(ν) and ἦσται(ν)/ἦσθαι(ν). But even though the spelling in manuscripts is usually simply dismissed as being "erratic", and little attention is paid to it, in this case it is certainly not without significance: the earliest examples of the infinitive are all spelled with <τ>, not <θ> and in

fact forms with <θ> for <τ> have not been found before the 15th c.²⁰² So even though the ending of this infinitive was identical to the AG mediopassive infinitive ending, which every self-respecting scribe would write as -σθαι, in the case of εἶμαι they did not feel the need to do so. This is a strong indication that, in fact, all infinitives in -σθαι were actually pronounced as [ste], and it was only the "visual image" of the word obtained through reading and learning that imposed a historical, etymologizing spelling for inherited forms. In the case of the new formation /'isten/ there was no visual image to fall back on (and insufficient insight into the mechanism of analogical formation that brought about this new form), and therefore it could be, and was, written as it was pronounced. The fact that until the 14th c. all examples of the infinitive /'isten/ have the final /n/ points to this final /n/ being rather normal with the passive infinitive in general, more normal than the writing practice would have us believe (for final /n/ and the infinitive of barytone and oxytone verbs see 4.6.1.2).

(άρμόζει ...) εἰς άρμόζοντα τόπον εἴσταν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Prol.* 38.3
 ὁ παπᾶς ὁποῦ θέλει ἦσταν εἰς τὴν μονὴν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.56)
 ἦθελαν εἴσταν άνήξευρον τὸ παιδίον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 227.52)
 ἦθελαν ἦσταν τὸ διαλυτέον έρρωμένον (1375, Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: 32, 125.45)
 γλήγορα θέλω εἴσταν αὐτοῦ (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.10)
 θέλει εἴσταν ἡ δουλειά ... πολλὰ καλὴ (1453, Thrace/Black Sea?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 4,
 87.9–10)
 εἴσταν ἦθελαν *Theseid* VI.63,1 (Olsen)
 εἴσταν θέλει τριάντα χρονῶν *Diig. Alex. V* 64.4; θέλεις εἴσταν άπανωθέν *ibid.* 67.25
 θέλω εἴσταν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.23
 τὸ φῶς θέλει εἴσταν αἰώνιον KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 388.38–9
 ὁποῦ θέλου εἴσταν (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.15)
 θέλει εἴσταν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 1021
 ποῖας μοίρας θέλει εἴσταν ἡ ζωὴ του *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.24
 λολότερος εἶχα ὅσταν από κείνο CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.616
 ἄλλοῦ δέν θέλει εἴσταν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §22.22

Without the final /n/ the form has not been found before the 14th c.:

ψέγος ἦθελαν εἴσται *Chron. Mor.* H 171; ὀφείλουν εἴσται πανταχοῦ *ibid.* 2009
 ἄδικον ἦθελε εἴσται *Pol. Tr.* 2525; ἔαν εἶχα εἴσται μετ' ἑσέν *ibid.* 4262
 ἂν ἦθελαν εἴσται καύχα μου (1420, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1962a: 1, 39.12)
 θέλετε ἦσται φίλοι του (1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 30.2)
 θέλουσιν ἦσται άνετοι (1481, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 13, 319.17)
 θέλει εἴσται (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.9 and 15, 83.8)
 θέλ' εἴσται κρατούμενος *Assizes A* 175.25
 ουκ εἴσται θέλει δυνατόν *Theseid* VI.69,3 (Olsen)
 ἦθελαν εἴσται ζημιωμένα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 110, 85.26)
 θέλομε εἴσται κρατημένοι (1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 59.50)
 καὶ θέλεις εἴσται χρήσιμος PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* 2 §9.31
 θέλει εἴσται χαρά ὀχι ὀλίγη (1676, Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.28)
 θές εἴσται κρατημένος (1690, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 9, 23.25)

²⁰² What happened is in fact the opposite of what ROHLFS (1977: § 173) postulates based on material from S. Italy, regarding the infinitive ἔσται (see below), namely that it presupposes a form ἔσθαι, which, according to him, derives from the AG future infinitive ἔσεσθαι (quoted in KARANASTASIS, *Lex. s.v.* εἶμαι).

κι ἄς ἤθελά 'σταιν ἡ φτωχή εἰς τὰ προσκέφαλά σου KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.1045
 ἂν ἤθελεν εἶσται ἀνταμωμένοι SOUMAKIS, *Rebelio* 40.7–5
 θέλει εἶσται καθὼς γράφομεν (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 13.1)

With <θ> for <τ>, in line with the conventional spelling of the present passive infinitive, it occurs from at least the 15th c. onward (ms date of *Pol. Tr.*), with and without the final /n/:

θέλω εἶσθαι *Pol. Tr.* 9950 (the vast majority of forms with <θ> are readings of ms A only)
 θέλλω εἶσθεν (1453, Thrace/Black Sea?, DARROUZÈS 1963: 4, 88.21–2)
 θέλετε εἶσθαι ἀντροπιασμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 256.4–5
 θέλει εἰσθε σπάνου σου ο θεός *Diig. Alex.* K 348.30
 ὡσάν νά ἤθελεν εἶσθεν [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VIII 400.30; ἄς ἤθελεν εἶσθαι ὁ Διγενῆς *ibid.* X 411.23
 σάν νά θελ' εἶσθαι σήμερον KONDAK., *Paidēs* 63 (read σάν νά 'θελ' (= ἤθελε) εἶσθαι)
 θέλει εἶσθαι διὰ καλόν σου *Vios Aisop.* I 268.31
 θέλω εἶσθαι κρατημένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 49.19
 ἤθελεν εἶσθαι IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali Prol.* 4
 ἤθελεν εἶσθαι κανένας ἀχρεὺς *Don Kis.* 48.24; θέλω εἶσθαι βρεγμένη *ibid.* 129.29; ἤθελεν εἶσθαι αρκετά *ibid.* 133.25

In geminating areas, <σ> may be doubled (see I, 3.4): ἂν συνέβει τίποτας, τὸ φταίσμο θέλει εἶσσαι ἀπού τὴν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.8); ἂν ἤθελεν εἶσσαι (1487, *ibid.* 17, 92.19).

With /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable, another phonetic rather than a morphological variant (raising of unstressed [e] to [i], see I, 2.5.4), it has been found in the 18th-c. translation of *Don Quixote* (Danubian Principalities): θέλει εἶσθι αρκετή βάσανος *Don Kis.* 104.25 app. crit.

Addition of -(v)ε to εἶσται can occasionally be found (for -(v)ε across parts of speech see I, 2.6.3):

πρὸς τὸ βράδυ θέλει εἶσταινε φῶς KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 386.10
 οὐαί κι ἄς εἶχα εἶσταινε ἐλεύθερος *Theseid* IV.7,3 (1529); χαϊμένος θέλει εἶσταινε *ibid.* X.14,2
 θέλει εἶσταινε (1687, Kefalonia, ALEXOPOULOU et al. 2009: 278, 258.9)
 ἡ Λευκουσιά θέλ' εἶσταινε *Al. Kypr.* 925

With /e/ for /i/ in the root of the verb, the form was found in areas in contact with Romance languages, namely S. Italy, the Peloponnese, Trebizond, Cyprus, Crete, the Heptanese and Athens:

τοῦ ἔσται εἰς ποινὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας (1221, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VIII: 7, 380.8)
 ὀφείλει ἔσται (1388, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 127, 94.7 and 95.11)
 (Trebizond area)
 ὁπού διὰ βάρους του πολὺν μέλλει, εἰκάζω, ἔσται *Pol. Tr.* 209
 μέλλεις ἔσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμετακίνητος (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 291.17–18)
 θέλει ἔσται διὰ μακάριση (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 117, 56.15)
 ἤθελεν ἔσται κακοδικημένος *Assizes* A 34.5–6
 (ἂν ἴσως καὶ ... ἤθελεν) μὴ ἔσται ἐν τιμῇ (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 44, 76.18); ἄτινα θέλω ἔσται τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου (1521, *ibid.* 61, 115.16–17)
 νά μὴ 'χαμ' ἔσται 'σάν αὐτοὺς γεννημένες *Theseid* I.30,6 (Follieri); νά εἶχαμ' ἔσται βγαλμένες ἀπὸ πέτρα *ibid.* VI.30,7 (Olsen)

εἰ μὲν ἤθελ' ἔσται καλὸς καιρὸς (1539, Nauplion, ZERLENDIS 1923b: [1], 14.5)
 θέλει ἔσται πολὺ σου καλόν *Vios Aisop.* D 212.17 (provenance unknown, but edited in Venice)
 θέλει ἔσταιν διὰ αὐξηση τῆς σῆς βασιλείας (1611, Cyprus, CHASIOIOTIS 1972: 49, 81–82.24)
 καὶ θέλει ἔσται ἡ ὕστερη *Bertoldos* 74.15

With /i/ for /e/ in the last syllable it is found sporadically in texts from Cyprus: ἂν δὲν εἶχες ἔστιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 341.50; ἤθελεν ἔστιν φανερά τὰ πάθη μου *Cypr. Canz.* 140.4.

The form εἶστον/ἦστον in the following example: ποῖος πελλὸς ἤθελεν εἶστον *Cypr. Canz.* 130.15 is regarded by the editor as an infinitive, morphologically a conflation of the infinitive εἶσθαι and the 3rd person imperfect ἦτον (SIAPKARAS-PITSILLIDÈS 1975: 360 s.v. εἶμαι). Instances of this form in other texts, however, suggest that this hybrid form is, in fact, an imperfect rather than an infinitive (see 4.8.2 for a discussion).

The residual infinitive εἶναι can be found in mixed- and higher-register texts throughout the period under examination, mostly articular in adverbial constructions (διὰ τὸ εἶναι) and archaic accusative + infinitive constructions, and sometimes as complement of control verbs (see IV, 4.4.7 for details):²⁰³

ὁμολογῶ τοῦ εἶναι με δοῦλος (1143–5, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 1, 56.3, 56.5, 56.9, 56.11, 56.13, 56.15, 56.17, 56.19 and 56.21)
 ἀκρίβεια δὲ πολλὴ ἀρμόζει εἶναι NIKON, *Logos* 1 72.6; ὀφείλει εἶναι παρθένης *id.*, *Logos* 3 192.3–4
 καγὼ νομίσας φάντασμα τὸ ὁρώμενον εἶναι *Dig.* G V.37; διὰ τὸ μόνην εἶναι τε καὶ ξένην ἐν τοῖς ὧδε *ibid.* VIII.194
 οὐ βούλεται εἶναι μετ' ἐμοῦ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 39.32)
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν *Chron. Mor.* H 399
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ προτοῦ σιτάριον SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 46.16
 πλὴν ταύτην μου τὴν διαθήκην θέλω εἶναι βεβαίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 9, 16.25)
 ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς, παρακαλῶ, ψευδῇ εἶναι νομίση *Dig.* T 847
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι με ἀγράμματον VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 29.8

An apocopated form εἶν, also attested in some Koine inscriptions and a Roman papyrus (GIGNAC 1981: 407), occurs in documents from S. Italy:²⁰⁴ ὁμολογῶ τοῦ εἶν με δοῦλος (1143–5, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. II: 1, 56.1 and 56.7); μνησθεῖσα ὡς τοῦτο ἔργον εἶν σωτήριον (1280?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 36, 464.14–15).

4.8.5 Participle and Gerund

For the morphology of the residual present participle ὦν, οὔσα, ὄν see II, 3.7.1.

²⁰³ In the following examples εἶναι is more likely to be a present subjunctive: δὲν θέλουσιν εἶναι ὠνειδισμένοι ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1972; ἡ νίκη δὲν θέλει εἶναι βλαβερὴ *Don Kis.* 101.19 (cf. θέλω εἶμαι *ibid.* 514.3 θέλεις εἶσαι *ibid.* 570.29; θέλομεν εἶμεσθαι ἐρασμένοι *ibid.* 598.13). For more information see 5.1.4.2. For the use of εἶναι as a noun see KRIARAS, *Lex.* s.v. εἶναι.

²⁰⁴ Two instances of an otherwise unattested infinitive εἶν(αι) in *Pol. Tr.* 771 and 8703 are the result of editorial intervention.

General	Restricted	Rare
	δντας	δντα
	ἔστοντα ἔστοντας	ἔστοτας
	ἔστόντα ἔστόντας	εἰστόντα
	ἔσοντας	ἔσοντες
	στάντες	ἔστοντος ἔστόντος ἔσοτας
		στάντε

As with all verbs, the gerund of εἶμαι is derived from the present participle ὄν (for details on dating and morphology of the gerund, see 4.7). The gerund of εἶμαι is not used very frequently, and of δντας, the form that will have (morpho)logically preceded δντα, only two examples have been found, one in the *Astronomy* of Kamatiros (12th c., oldest ms 13th c.),²⁰⁵ and one in Axagiolis, both of them texts that can hardly be called vernacular: Σελήνη με τὸν Ἄρη προσεπαναφερόμενοι ἢ καὶ πρὸς δύσιν δντα ΚΑΜΑΤ., *Astron.* 2905; τυχὼν τις παῖς Χριστιανῶν, Ὀθμανικῶν εὐνοῦχος, | δντα φρουρᾶς προτηρητῆς ΑΧΑΓΙΟΛΙΣ, *Diig. Karolou* 539–40.

Even δντας, now the SMG form, does not appear in texts before the 17th c. Of course, when a masculine singular subject is involved, it cannot easily be established whether δντας was intended as a gerund or a participle:

- δντας ἓνα ὀράκολον *Bertoldos* 76.11; δντας θυμωμένος *ibid.* 84.23
 δντας *cum sim*, *omnis generis, numeri, et personae* PORTIUS, *Grammar* 41.32 (but see also ἔστοντας)
 δντας πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς του RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 64.22
 δντας κακοὶ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 12.34; δντας οἱ πόρτες σφαλισμένες *ibid.* Ioann. 20.19
 δντας ἐδῶ ἐφημέριος ΒΟΥΒΟΥΛΙΣ, *Limbon. Epil.* 10
 δντας ὁμοῖος (1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.19)
 ἀμὴ δντας πόρνη τῶν πολλῶν (1685, Corfu, ΚΑΡΑΔΟΧΟΣ 1990: 68, 275.35–6)
 ο Νάρκισσος, δντας εἴκοσι ἐνός χρόνου ΜΑΚΟΛΑΣ, *Ioust.* 425.30
 δντας ἀκόμη ἐξυπνὴ ΓΑΥΡΙΛΟΡ., *Diig. panouklas* 98.36
 δντας τώρα γερόντισσα (1714, Smyrna, ΣΦΥΡΟΕΡΑΣ 1963b: 2, 177.16)
 δντας ἴδιον καὶ φυσικόν τῶν ποιητῶν *Don Kis.* 151.12; δντας μοναχοὶ *ibid.* 153.15; δντας πανδρεμένη *ibid.* 289.2
 μετοχ[ή] δντας, ἀκλιτον SPANOS, *Grammar* 42.7

The question is, of course, why a language would need a gerund of εἶμαι in the first place, for EMG, like most languages, had various other ways of expressing “being”, from a simple

²⁰⁵ In this example δντα could be viewed as a gerund, unless the syntax is just sloppy, in which case it could also be a participle with an implied neut. pl. noun, e.g. δσπρα, referring to Σελήνη and Ἄρης (but see 4.7.1 for two more gerunds of other verbs in the same text).

adjective/participle – τὰ μάτια του ἤνοιξε θυμωμένος *Achil.* L 430 – to more elaborate constructions such as prepositional and adverbial clauses: μετὰ τὸ νὰ εἶναι Ἀρχιερεὺς ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΡ., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 11.51; ἐνῶ ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ στρατιώτου *Chron. Mor.* H 8004. Nevertheless an innovative gerund ἔστοντα appears from the 15th c. onwards, while ἔστοντας, with an added final /s/ and by far the most common variant, is found from the 16th c. onwards. Morphologically, this new form consists of the morpheme /onda(s)/ that was used to form all gerunds (see 4.7), and a root /est/.

The form is likely to have Romance origins:²⁰⁶ it is most likely to be an adaptation of Occitan *estant* in the 1398 Cypriot example (see below), and elsewhere of Italian *stando/stante che*, rather than *essendo che*, with inversion of /a/ and /o/ to match the normal gerundial formation and prothesis of /e/ for easier pronunciation and recognizability of the verb. First of all, it is interesting to note that ἔστοντα(ς) first appears in texts from areas that were under French (Cyprus, Dodecanese) and Venetian or Genoese rule (Crete, Heptanese, Andros, Cyprus). Second, a variant that is morphologically even closer to the original Italian *stante* (στάντε(ς), see below) is attested in regions that were under Italian rule, albeit a century later than ἔστοντας. At the same time and in the same area a form ἔσοντας appears, which is most likely based on the Italian alternative *essendo* (see below). Contrary to ἔστοντας, ἔσοντας is absent from areas that were under French rule.

Another argument in favour of a Romance origin for both ἔστοντα(ς) and ἔσοντας is the fact that, though they are sometimes used as true gerunds, they are much more common, from the very beginning and throughout the EMG period, in temporal and causal adverbial constructions followed by καί, νά, καὶ νά, ὅτι, πῶς, ὅπου or ὅπου νά, just like their Occitan and Italian counterparts *estand que*, *stando che* and *essendo che* (see IV, 3.4 and 3.5 for details). These adverbial constructions are, in fact, functionally equivalent to the gerund; in the words of Germano: [the verb “to be”] “non ha participio. Quella voce ἔστοντας significa, essendo, & non si mette sola, ma con qualche aggiunto, ἔστοντας καί, essendo che &c.” (GERMANO, *Grammar* 97.19–21). In these constructions the meaning of “to be” is weakened considerably, as the following examples illustrate: ἔστοντας νά ᾿σαι ζωντανός FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 280; κί ἔστοντας γιόμα νά ᾿τονε CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.72.

These forms spread to other areas from the 17th c., presumably through commercial contacts.

Some representative examples are:

- ἔστοντα [...] κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν α΄ Φεβρουαρίου (1398, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1958: 30, 238.1–2)
 (we should perhaps read ἔστόντα, see below)
 ἔστοντα χήρα (1436, Crete, ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ 1960/61: 2, 147.26)
 (ὁ Σολομῶν ...) ἔστοντα εἰς τὸ παλάτιν του ΔΕΛΛΑΡ., *Erot. apokr.* 1976
 ἔστοντα νὰ γεννοῦσιν αὐγὰ πολλὰ ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 5.8
 ἔστοντα θεόφοβος, ἐνδέχεται μετρώς ΑΧΑΓΙΟΛΙΣ, *Diig. Karolou* 278

²⁰⁶ It is unlikely that ἔστοντας is derived from the 3 sg. imperative ἔστω in the phrase “ἔστω καί” (DIMITRAKOS, *Lex.* s.v. ἔστοντας), for more than one reason: firstly, ἔστω καί is a residual phrase that is very rarely (if ever) used in vernacular texts; secondly, ἔστω καί has a rather different meaning from ἔστοντας καί (the first concessive, the second temporal or causal); thirdly, if ἔστοντας were indeed derived from ἔστω, there is no explanation for the form ἔσοντας, which appears simultaneously to ἔστοντας.

- έστοντας βυθισμένοι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 4; έστοντά σου id., *Rim. Par.* 119 (deletion of final /s/ due to haplography)
 έστοντας εις την Ναζαρέτ έσυλλογίζοντο ή Θεοτόκος KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 348.28–9
 έστοντας γούν ήμεις (1544, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 59, 256.9)
 έστοντας ότι το εδίωχναν άλλα ψάρια μεγαλύτερα ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 16.3
 έστοντας αυτός ό άνω γεγραμμένος κυρ-Θωμάς (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.19)
 έστοντας και ... τινάς γραμματισμένος να μην εύρίσκεται (1609, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 55, 55.8–9)
 έστοντας και ... να έκάμασιν οι αίγες ... μερική ζημία (1624, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 393.7)
 έστοντας να κτυπηθή RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 118.14 (ed. έστωντας)
 έστοντας να ύπάρχη PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* II §11.24; έστοντας να είσαι πτωχός ibid. II §11.109
 έστοντας όπου να εύρισκόμεσθαι εισέ στραταν (1653, Ioannina, TCHENTSOVA 2002: 3, 361.16–17)
 έστοντας να στέκεται πάντα ενάντιος (1655, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: 1, f.157v.9)
 έστοντας (... νάν του άφησε παραγγελίαν) (1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 183.4)
 έσθοντας και ... (1700, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 4, 127.2) (with hypercorrect <σθ> for <στ>, see I, 3.8.1.4)
 έστοντας άρφανές (1710, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 32, 94.6); έστοντας τέσσερα άδελφια και ή μάνα τως να παντρεύτηκε (ibid. 94.10–11)²⁰⁷
 έστοντας και να προξενεί σκάνδαλον μέγα (1645 [19th-c. copy], Jassy, LEGRAND 1903: 5, 11.14–15)

Stressed on the penultimate, in line with the stress position in Occit. *estant*, έστόντα(ς) has been found in texts from Cyprus and the Dodecanese from the 15th c. onwards:

- έστόντα εις τό νησίν της Νισύρου, είδαμεν ... (1453, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1986b, repr. 1991: 2, 197.5 facs.)
 έστόντα του τζιβιτάνος (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3) (έστοντατου in the diplomatic transcription)
 στον θάνατον έστόντα | (θωρώ ...) *Cypr. Canz.* 83.8
 έστόντα εις τό σπίτιν του Fior 86.22; έστόντα άμουρούζης της γυναίκας του Ούρα ibid. 96.9–10
 έστόντα και ή έκκλησία ... δέν πλανάται *Pist. Kekoim.* 89–90
 έστόντας και ό 'γούμενος του Κύκκου ... και να έγόρασεν (1646, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 5, 15.3–4); έσθόντας και να γ-είχαν οι Πολεμίτες κάποια χωράφια (1679, ibid. 16, 393) (with hypercorrect <σθ> for <στ>, for which see I, 3.8.1.4).

With /i/ for /e/ in the root it was found once in ms V of Machairas, perhaps formed by analogy with the other invariable form of είμαι, the infinitive είσταιν, which in Cypriot had a variant form έσταιν (see above, 4.8.4): είστόντα του εις την Φρανκίαν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 230.40 (Pieris/Nikolaou-Konnari) (spelled ήστόντα in the Dawkins edition (282.22)).

The gerund έσοντα(ς) can be found in the same period as έστοντας. Morphologically, this form is very likely to be modelled on Italian *essendo* (rather than on *standolstante*), with substitution of the gerundial morpheme /ondas/ for Italian /endo/. It is very seldom used as a true gerund (see the example from Koronaios below), but is far more common in

²⁰⁷ Note the paratactic construction in which έστοντας functions both as a gerund and as a conjunction.

the temporal or causal constructions with να, και, όπου, etc. that serve as periphrases for the gerund (for details see IV, 3.4 and 3.5):²⁰⁸

- έσοντα καλά το κορμίν χορταμένον *Anthos Ch. G* 231.2
 έσοντας να συλλογισθεί ταύτα *Syndipas* 116.32
 έσοντας έκει (1503, Constantinople, YANNOPOULOS 1974: 132.7) (letter of an Ottoman official to Andreas Gritti; provenance of scribe unknown)
 έσοντας να 'σαι ελεύθερος *Theseid* III.78.5 (1529)
 έσοντας να 'ν' στο στρώμαν SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 91
 έσοντα ζηλεμένος KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.13; έσοντα σ' όρδινλα ibid. X.51
 έσοντας όπου εσυνάχθησαν MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 217.37–8
 έσοντας πώς δέν ήθέλησαν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 40, 100.5)
 έσοντας να περάσουν πολλοί χρόνοι (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 233.27) (provenance of scribe unknown)
 έστοντας vel έσσοντας PORTIUS, *Grammar* 41.33
 έσοντας να είναι δλοι μίας πίστης *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.10–11
 οι δέ νησιώται ούτω' έγώ έσοντας να σπουδάζω μαθένω KRITOPOULOS, *Grammar* 113.17–18
 έσοντας όπου δέν ήταν ό Μεχεμέτ Γιαζατζής PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §14.32
 έσοντας να μισέψει (1663, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 2, 19.4)
 έσοντας να μην έχει ό Κουσαντής φορτώματα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.9–10); έσοντας να έκαμα μία μιριά κιρί (ibid. 4, 60.1)
 έσοντας να επρόγνωσε ή μάνα KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.135

Forms in -οντας are phonetic rather than morphological variants of -οντας, representing a graphematic realization of nasal deletion before stops, whereby /nd/ becomes /d/ (cf. 4.7; for details see I, 3.6.2.1):

- έστοτας να του είμαι χρεωφελέτης (1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.6)
 έστοτας και να έχη (1533, Naxos, MILIARAKIS 1888: 58.10)
 έστοτας πώς δέν ήμπορεί να μπει (1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 179, 153.5)
 έστοτας (1683, Naxos, TOURTOGLOU 2000: 2, 115.9) (εσώτας in the ed., but the accentuation in the document, where present, is arbitrary)

Sometimes a new, participial-looking but in fact gerundial, form derived from this innovative gerund can be found, but unlike a participle it does not have a full inflectional paradigm, limiting itself to a form in -ος, reminiscent of the masc. and neut. gen. sg. authors and scribes were familiar with from obsolete genitive absolute constructions (see also 4.7, and see IV, 4.4.6):

- οι κριτάδες ... έστοντός τους εις την αύλην *Assizes B* 277.7; ό υιός ... ενι νόμου ήλικίας, τουτέστιν έστοντος ιε' χρόνων ibid. 281.15–16
 έστόντος συτσακισμένος *Assizes A* 182.23, and in a genitive absolute construction: έστόντος αυτού εις την γην ibid. 50.7

Forms in -ες occur in texts from the Heptanese (see 4.7 for other gerunds in -ντες):

- έσοντες πώς την ήθελε πάρει (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 5, 5.7–8); έσοντες πώς τό ήθελε έχει πουλημένο (ibid. 23, 80.15)

²⁰⁸ For a substantivized use of έσοντας in *Theseid*: τό έσοντάς του *Theseid* IV.49.6 (1529), see KRIARAS, *Lex.* vols 5 and 10 s.v. είμαι.

Another form that looks like a masc. pl. participle but is, in fact, a gerund is the form *στάντες*, clearly formed on the basis of Italian *stante*, with an added final /s/ (cf. similarly adapted Italian nouns and adjectives in -ε(ς), II, 2.6.2 and II, 3.5.1). It has not been found before the end of the 16th c., mostly in the adverbial construction with (καί) νά (see also IV, 3.5). The unadapted form without final /s/ can occasionally be found as well.

- στάντες καί νά κάην (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 37, 29.35)
 στάντες καί ... νά μὴν ἔχω νά δώσω (1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15–6); στάντες καί ... νά μὴν ἔχουν τὸ σιτάρι (ibid. 236, 223.12); στάντες καί νά σαλτάρη τὸ θανατικό (1619, ibid. 329, 308.8)
 στάντες νά ἔχε γυναίκα ἐπαρμένη (1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16)
 στάντες καί νά ἐγρικῆσαμεν (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.4)
 στάντες τὸ παρὸν ἀκόρδιον (1641, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 7, 278.37)
 στάντες νά μὴν κατέχουνε (1674, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1939: 3, 122.25)
 στάντες τὸ ἀνωθεν συμβεβηκός, δὲν ἠθέλησεν ... PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 116.27–8
 στάντε κ' ἠθέλεν ἔχει τὰ δεντρά (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 31, 50.10); στάντε ἡ ἀνωθεν κοτέντα (ibid. 33, 52.10)
 στάντε ἦτον εἰς τὴν προτετζιὸν τῶν μεγάλων PYRRIS, *Diig. panouklas* 111.11–12

4.9 Residual Forms and Innovations

4.9.1 Residual Forms

By the beginning of the LMedG period certain morphological categories had disappeared from the spoken language as well as the lower registers of the written language. Among these are the middle voice, which had begun to be replaced by the passive in the Koine (HORROCKS 2010: 103); the synthetic future, which from Roman times onwards was increasingly replaced by various analytic formations (HORROCKS 2010: 130), such as ἵνα/νά + subjunctive, as well as auxiliary verb constructions, many of which remain in use in the period covered by this Grammar (see 5.1); the synthetic perfect and pluperfect, which, too, had been replaced by auxiliary verb constructions (see 5.3 and 5.4); and the optative, which had fallen into disuse in popular speech and had become interchangeable with the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive in written texts (HORROCKS 2014b), later to be replaced by analytic constructions such as ἄμποτε νά + subjunctive.

However, authors and scribes were familiar with these residual forms through their education, and therefore they can still be found in the period covered by this Grammar, though mostly in mixed- to higher-register texts (see also TOUFEXIS 2008).

4.9.1.1 The Middle Aorist Indicative

Middle aorists of various verbs appear in mixed- and higher-register sources such as Nikon of the Black Mountain, Glykas, *Digenis G*, and others:

- ἐπιλεξάμην NIKON, *Logos* 4 206.31
 ἡκριβασάμην, δ φασιν, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 5; φόνον οὐκ εἰργασάμην ibid. 543
 ὡς ἡδυνάμην *Eisit.* f.4v.12

- τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὴν πίστιν μου διὰ σὲ ἡρνησάμην *Dig.* G II.190; φυλακῆς ἐρρυσάμην ibid. V.72
 παρεστησάμην *Ptoch.* I 114; συνεγραψάμην ibid. 116; τὴν θύραν ἡραξάμην ibid. 182
 ὡς ἐδέξω τὰς πηκτὰς *Paroim.* H 38
 νῦν ἐφευσάμην ἐκ παντός [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1754; τὴν κόρην τῆς κολάσεως ἐκείνης ἐρρυσάμην ibid. 2537
 συνεγραψάμεθα *Achil.* N 1881
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπάσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγάτηρ *Achil.* O 624 (<ἀσπάζομαι)

Inventive poets may even form middle aorists from verbs that never had a middle voice: χαμαὶ ἐπέσατο *Chron. Mor.* H 5882 (for ἔπεσε); ἀρρεμβωνίσατο *Ekth. Chron.* 21.19 app. crit. (D) (<ἀρραβωνίζομαι); καὶ ὅσες ἐμοιχεύσαντο μὲ ξένους ἄνδρες, λέγω BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 154.

In texts that belong to a somewhat lower stylistic register middle aorist forms are usually limited to a handful of verbs such as ἀρχομαι, δέχομαι, ἀφηγοῦμαι, διηγοῦμαι:

- ἤρξαντο πάλιν κλαίειν *Dig.* E 66; ἀφῶν ἡρξάμην πολεμεῖν ibid. 154 and 1231
 παρεδεξάμην τὴν βουλὴν *Liv.* α 787
 ὡς τὴν ἐδιηγησάμην *Liv.* S 2464 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
 ἡρξάμεθα νά τρέχωμεν *Liv.* V 225; δλα τὰ ἐφηγησάμην ibid. 3343
 καὶ ἤρξατο νά τραγωδεῖ *Diig. Apoll.* 226
 μὲ χαρὰν μεγάλην τὰ ἐδεξάμην *Diig. Alex.* K 346.22

With the exception of certain notaries such as Grigoropoulos, Montesantos and Vlasopoulos, middle aorists are not very common in EMG non-literary texts and are generally absent from literary texts that show dialectal colouring (Crete, the Heptanese and Cyprus). The verb γίνομαι appears to be a special case, as middle-looking forms occur in a variety of texts that do not normally have middle aorists, such as for instance Machairas: ἐγένετον εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ὅτι ... MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.36. Given the fact that the distinction between imperfective γιν- and perfective γεν- and their distinct verbal aspect is blurred (see 2.4 for details), these forms of γίνομαι are morphologically best viewed as imperfects.

4.9.1.2 The Middle Aorist Infinitive

Residual aorist middle infinitives in -ασθαι (sigmatic aorist) and -έσθαι (thematic aorist) can occasionally be found in mixed- and higher-register texts. Again, γίνομαι appears to be the exception, being rather more common (see also 2.4):

- ὁμολογοῦμεν ... ἀποτάξασθαι (1123, Sicily, GUILLOU 1963: 4, 60.6)
 καὶ θέλω σὲ ἀφηγήσασθαι *Liv.* V 97
 οὔτε βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι πλέον γουμάριν (1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19)
 θέλομεν διηγῆσασθαι τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν *Achil.* N 752
 μὴ ἔχουσα τί διαπράξασθαι *Spanos* A 271
 ἠθέλησα καλέσασθαι πρὸς με τόνδε τὸν νοτάριον (1510, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 23, 39.4)

- διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι (1073, Constantinople?, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 50, 10.125) (for <στ> see I, 3.8.1)
 μέλλει γενέσθαι *Assizes* B 265.2–3

ἡ παραχή, ἡ μέλλουσα γενέσθαι *Diig. tetr.* 892
 καὶ ἐμᾶς ἀρμόζει ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πρὸς σὲ παραγενέσθαι *Achil.* N 1439
 τὰ μέλλοντα γινέσθαι *Chron. Toc.* 1157
 μέλλει γὰρ ταύτην ἀμνηρᾶς λαβέσθαι εἰς γυναῖκα *Dig.* A 53

4.9.1.3 The Middle Aorist Imperative

The sigmatic middle aorist imperative ended in -αι in the singular and -ασθε in the plural. Due to sound change, the singular had become homophonous to sigmatic aorist active forms in -ε. However, the middle aorist had been obsolete for too long for these forms to re-emerge as active aorists. Aorist middle imperatives are generally rare in the period covered by this Grammar, occurring mainly in higher- and mixed-register texts, with one lexical exception: the imperative of δέχομαι, δέξαι, is the only form that survives as an active form δέξε until the present day (see *ILNE* s.v. δέχομαι), and it is certainly not uncommon in the LMedG and EMG periods (though a corresponding plural form has not been found):

δέξαι τὸ σὸν γεράκιον *Dig.* G III.265
 δέξαι με, κόρη, σύμβουλον *Achil.* N 970
 κυρά μου, δέξαι με *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 121
 δέξε μας *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 433
 δέξαι αὐτήν τὴν σπλαχνικὴν μου θυγατέρα *Diig. Alex.* E 303.5–6 (Lolos)
 δέξε τούτο, ἀδελφέ, τὸ παραμικρόν *Vios Filaret.* 242.4
 καὶ δέξε με τὸ γληγορώτερον *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §31.133

θέασαι τὸ φίλατόν σου τέκνον *Dig.* G VII.119
 ρῦσαι με τῆς στερήσεως, ρῦσαι με τῆς πενίας *Ptoch.* III 284
 ἰασαί με, Κύριε *STAFIDAS, Iatrosoph.* 9.258
 ρῦσαι με ἀχ τὰ δεσμὰ *Cypr. Canz.* 131.13
 πιστόν λαόν σου ρῦσαι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 9984

Plural forms are very rare: ἐκδέξασθε τὸν πόλεμον ὅπου σᾶς θέλουν δώσει *Pol. Tr.* 875.

The middle imperative of verbs with a thematic (second) aorist is very rare too, with the exception of γένου/γίνου (< γίνομαι),²⁰⁹ which is certainly not uncommon. This form is aspectually ambiguous and the distinction between forms of the imperfective stem (γιν-) and those of the perfective stem (γεν-) is blurred (see 2.4). Fluctuations in the position of the stress, paroxytone in -ου or oxytone in -οῦ, had existed since Antiquity (*VENDRYES* 1938: 126, 128):

ἀποβαλοῦ τοὺς λογισμοὺς *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 341
 μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον (1359–60, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 248, 450.55–6)
 τὴν θλίψιν ἀποβάλου *Florios* 313 (pres. ἀποβάλλου in *Flor.* L 313)
 ἀντιλαβοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν *DOUKAS, Ist.* 47.27–8
 καὶ μὴ μοῦ ἐπιλάθου *Dig.* T 2650

γίνου προσχερίαρης *Ptoch.* III 210; γένου προσχεράρης *ibid.* app. crit. (G)
 καὶ γίνου φίλος τῆς φιλιᾶς *Spaneas Z* 154

²⁰⁹ Another exception is the form ἰδοῦ ("behold!" < ὁράω), which, however, had become lexicalized as an adverb in Antiquity, see *LSJ* s.v.

μεσίτρια γένου τὸ λοιπὸν *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 215
 γενοῦ φιλανθρωπότερος [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 717
 γίνου πλάσμαν ἀγροίκον *Deft. Par.* 67
 γένου ἀτὸς σου ἀποκρισάρης *Diig. Alex.* F 270.7 (Lolos)
 γίνου ἑτοιμος *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 159.6
 γένομαι vel γίνομαι ... imperat. γένου *GERMANO, Vocab. s.v. farsi*
 ἔλα, γίνου Τοῦρκος *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §4.10
 καὶ γένου μερωμένον *Dimotika Ivir.* X.1

AG plural forms in -εσθε are seldom found, and the following text can barely be called vernacular: ἀκωλύτως γένεσθε ἐντὸς καὶ ταύτην αἰχμαλωτίσατε *KANANOS, Diig.* 295.

4.9.1.4 The Future Indicative

As noted above, the synthetic future had disappeared from the spoken language long before the LMedG period. Residual future forms are not very common in the period covered by this Grammar: τί σοι προσοίσω, δέσποτα *Ptoch.* I 1; ἀλλ' ἔξεις παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἅπαν πλήρωμα (1359, Albania, *SAKKELION* 1887a: 473.27–8).

Residual middle futures can be found occasionally, especially of certain verbs such as ἄρχομαι and διηγοῦμαι. The 1 sg. form in -ομαι, 1 pl. in -όμεθα and 3 pl. in -ονται are homophonous with their aorist middle subjunctive counterparts, which is why they are often spelled with <ω> for <ο>. More often than not these residual future forms are used instead of the present indicative, rather than as real futures, or in stock phrases such as "τίς διηγῆσεται" and "πῶς διηγῆσομαι", for which modal interpretations are the most likely ("who could describe", "how should I describe"):

ἄλλως γὰρ οὐ πεισθήσομαι *Dig.* G I.125
 ἄρξομαι ἀπ' ἐδῶ *Chron. Mor.* H 441; θέλω τοῦ νὰ σκολάσω | ἐτοῦτο ὅπου ἀφηγήσομαι, ἄλλο νὰ καταπιᾶσω *ibid.* 441–2 (instead of present)
 καὶ ἐθαύμασέν τα ὡς ἄπειρα, ἄρξεται τὰ ἐδικὰ του *Liv.* V 2404 (instead of historical present)
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πῶς διηγῆσομαι *Ptoch.* IV 164 app. crit. (H) (modal)
 ἄρξομαι διηγῆσομαι τὰ γέγονεν εἰς Τροίαν *Byz. Il.* 2
 καὶ τίς διηγῆσεται τὰ δσα κακὰ ἔκαμαν *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §1.11 (modal)
 ὁποῖος εἰσελεύσεται καὶ λέγει μου γὰ νὰ ῥθω *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 348 (instead of present)

4.9.1.5 The Perfect and Pluperfect

Residual synthetic perfects have been found in the texts examined, but they are quite rare and usually used as aorists (cf. *HINTERBERGER* 2007): τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς δέδωκαν τὸν σουλτάν Μουσταφίαν *Ekth. Chron.* 3.4–5; καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τοῦτο συβέβηκεν (1553, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2001: 99, 145.7); λαβὼν τὸ μοσχάριον, δέδωκεν αὐτοῦ *Vios Filaret.* 241.18; and they sometimes even appear in modal or conditional environments: ἴσως, πᾶτερ ἄγιε, κατὰ λήθην νὰ γέγονεν (1065, Athos, *LEMERLE et al.* 1970: 35, 205.18–19); καὶ νὰ ἔγνωκεν καὶ ὁ κύρης σου καὶ τὴν ἐμήν τὴν δόξαν *Dig.* E 1046. Pluperfects are even rarer and they, too, are used as aorists: διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει ὁ παρὼν ὄρκος (1346/7, Beylik of Aydin, *ZACHARIADOU* 1962: 257.80).

Absence of reduplication, already attested in papyri (MAYSER 1923: 222) and inscriptions (DIETERICH 1898: 215), is normal for the only surviving form of the perfect, the passive perfect participle. As new "perfect" participles are formed from the aorist stem (see 2.3.2), reduplications appear residually mainly with inherited perfect participles: ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινά *Velis.* ρ 38; τὸ ἄνω γεγραμμένο (1573 [later copy], Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 17, 72.39); ο τύραννος ο ἄθλιος, ο βεβορβορωμένος *Diig. Apoll.* 358. The same is true for the perfect augment: στέμμα ἦν ἐσκεπασμένον *Vulgärorakel* I.194; τὸ εἰρημένον στρουμέντον (1513, Corfu, KARABOULA/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1998: 26, 40.16); ἡγαπημένα μου παιδάκια *Pist. kekoim.* 11. For residual active participles see II, 3.7.1.

4.9.1.6 The Imperative of Root Aorists

In AG some verbs, such as βαίνω, γινώσκω and ἵσταμαι among others, made use of the imperative endings -θι (2 sg.) and -τε (2 pl.), which were directly attached to the root of the verb, e.g. βαίνω: βῆθι, βῆτε; γινώσκω: γνῶθι, γνῶτε; ἵσταμαι: στήθι, στήτε. Other verbs with root aorists, such as ἀφίημι, δίδωμι and τίθημι had irregular imperatives (2 sg. ἄφες, δός and θές, 2 pl. ἄφετε, δότε and θέτε). Already in AG, βαίνω had developed alternative imperative formations in -α (2 sg.) and -ατε (2 pl.), which were used in prefixed derivatives of this verb. These /a/ endings remain in use in the period covered by this Grammar (see 4.5.2.3). The irregular imperatives of ἀφίημι, δίδωμι and τίθημι (ἄφες, δός, θές) remained in frequent use alongside new sigmatic formations ἄφησε, δῶσε and θέσε. Γί(γ)νώσκω appears not to have obtained a new imperative, and the residual form γνῶθι is used only sporadically in the period covered by this Grammar, as are the residual forms of the other verbs in this category:

καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπίγνωθι *Dig. G* III.223; ἀνάστηθι καὶ λάβε σου τὰ δπλα *ibid.* VI.267
καταπεσὼν ἀνάστηθι, πάλιν κατὰτρεχέ την *Ptoch. I* 169
γνῶθι καὶ σκόπησέ το *Liv. α* 1614 app. crit. (N)
μυθοτεχνολογήματα τῆς Τύχης εἶναι, γνῶθι *Log. parig.* O 450 (Politi) (μάθε in ms L)
ἀνάγνωθι τοῦ Παύλου | ἐπιστολὴν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 758-9
κατάβηθι, αὐθέντα μου *Dig. A* 2534 and *Dig. T* 1647; στήθι καὶ φῶς ἡλιακόν *Dig. A* 4769

4.9.1.7 3rd Person Imperatives

Third-person forms of the active, middle and passive imperatives had started to be replaced with subjunctive forms and with various other constructions such as (ἵ)να or ἄς + subjunctive before the LMedG period (HATZIDAKIS 1892: 218; DIETERICH 1898: 206). Residual synthetic forms occur sometimes, more often in the singular than in the plural. They appear in certain legal texts and in mixed- and higher-register literature:

Present

τῶν ἱατρῶν καλεῖτω τις *Dig. G* VIII.54
γινωσκέτωσαν πάντες (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 47.132)
ἡ ρηθεῖσα μου κουμμεσαρὰ ἐχέτω πλήρη ἐξουσίαν (1508, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 7, 13.20-1)

ὁποῦ δὲ βιάση κόρην καὶ φθέρῃ αὐτήν, ρινοκοπέσθω, νὰ κόψουν τὴν μύτην τοῦ ΖΥΓΟΜ.,
Synopsis 214.K.49

Sigmatic Aorist

ἐγγισάτω ἡ μύτη σου στὸν κῶλον μας *Spanos D* 1466
(τὰ λοιπὰ ...) μερισάσθωσαν ἐπίσης τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα (1504, Crete, SATHAS 1877: 23, 691.3)

Thematic Aorist

γενέσθωσαν τὰ ἀρμόζοντα ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 2 148.12-13
καὶ σὲ καταφαγέτω *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 343 (but read καὶ σὲ (strong personal pronoun) because if the pronoun were clitic it would have followed the verb: see IV, 8.2.1)

4.9.1.8 The Optative

Finally, the optative is predictably very rare in the texts examined, and it is usually used as an alternative for the aorist subjunctive: ὁσάκις ἀναπνεύσειε, λυπεῖται τοσαυτάκις *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 111; οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ,τι δράσειε *LIMEN., Velis.* (Λ) 611; μηδὲν τολμήσειεν κανεῖς *Diig. tetr.* 702 app. crit. (P).

4.9.2 The Middle Voice

A full overview of residual forms is beyond the scope of this Grammar. Therefore, the following description focuses on innovations in residual forms that occur by analogy with other endings or even through sheer confusion. The innovation and hybridity in the paradigms is especially true of the verb γίνομαι, which also shows irregularities in its stem formation (see 2.4).

4.9.2.1 The Aorist Indicative

		Residual	Innovative
Sg.	1	-άμην -όμην	-αμουν -ουμου(ν) -όμου(ν)
	2	-ω -ου	-ουν -εσουν
	3	-ατο -ετο	-ατον -ετον -εντο(ν)
Pl.	1	-άμεθα -όμεθα	-άμεθεν -όμεσθεν
	2	-ασθε -εσθε	
	3	-αντο -οντο	-ουντα

The endings of the middle aorist (with a thematic vowel /a/ for the sigmatic (first) aorist and /o/ and /e/ for the thematic (second) aorist) were identical to the endings of the imperfect. Therefore new imperfect passive endings (see 4.3.1.2) sometimes replace the middle aorist ones:

καθώς σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήσασθαι *Chron. Mor.* P 6249

νὰ γένουμι καὶ ναύκληρος *Ptoch. III* 197.18 app. crit. (P)

ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκε ... κ' ἐγίνουμι καλὰ (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.4-5)

ἐγινόμου δμοιος τὸν θεὸν *Diig. Alex.* F 268.6 (Lolos)

οὐ μὴ ἐκαυχῆσασθαι *Chron. Mor.* H 5553

καὶ ἄρξεντο χαρίσματα ... νὰ δίδῃ *Chron. Toc.* 143

ἔδε καὶ πῶς ἐγίνεντον καὶ πῶς ἐκαταστάθη *Moirol. Konst.* 8

καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤρξάμεθεν *Liv.* V 2382

ἐγενόμεσθαι *Liv.* E 3770

ἐγένονται ἐξεστηκοὶ ὁλότελα *Diig. Alex.* F 124.15 (Konstantinopulos)

Hybrid first aorist formations with a thematic vowel /e/ instead of /a/, in all likelihood modelled on the imperfect ending -ετο(ν) (see 4.3.1.2) rather than on the middle second aorist (given its partiality to final /n/), can be found in various texts, and rather frequently in the *Chronicle of Morea*:

ποτὲ καιροῦ ἔχασμήσεται ὁκάτις κατὰ τύχην *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 261

ἀφηγήσεται *Chron. Mor.* H 262; τιμητικὰ ἀποδέξεται *ibid.* 338; ἄρξεται νὰ πορεύεται *ibid.* 2469; κὶ οὐδὲν τὸν ἐφροντίσεται *ibid.* 4182; καὶ εἶπεν κ' ἐδιακρίσεται *ibid.* 6273; διατὸ

ἐλογίσεται εὐθέως *ibid.* 9112

ἤρξατο τὴν ἀφήγησιν *Liv.* α 27 app. crit. (N)

ὅλα ἠφηγήσεται τα *Liv.* S 1027 (Lambert-van der Kolf) (ed. ἠφηγήσεται τα, but at verse end)

καὶ ἄρξεται νὰ τοὺς λαλῇ *Chron. Toc.* 3914

Further confusion of thematic vowels also occurs: ἐγὼ ἐγινάμην κύριος *Liv.* V 3187 (for ἐγενόμην); καὶ σύντροφοι ἐγινάμεθα εἰς μίαν ποθοκατούναν *Liv.* V 3470 (for ἐγενόμεθα).

Addition and deletion of final /n/, very common throughout the morphology of verbs, also appears with residual forms:

καὶ ἄφρονος ἐγενόμη *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 182 (for -όμην)

ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἐκ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπόκομμαν ἐγίνου *Liv.* V 1571 (for ἐγένου)

πότε νὰ ἐγίνου εἰς ἐμὴν ἐρωτικὴν καρδίαν | ἐξουσιαστής *Liv.* S 283 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἐγίνου ὕβριστής *Spanos A* 35-6

ἠῤῥατον καὶ ἐμὲν καὶ τὰ πουλῖα μου *Poulol.* 580 app. crit. (E) (for -ατο)

καὶ κατειργάσατον αὐτὸν *Thrinotam.* 92

καὶ αὐτὴ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατον *Anthos Ch.* A 167.2

The obsolescence of the middle aorist is further illustrated by the fact that there is confusion between 3 sg. and 3 pl.:

(ὁ βοῦς δὲ καὶ ὁ βούβαλος ...) ἤρξατο προσφθέγγεσθαι *Diig. tetr.* 549 app. crit. (A); τότε ο

βοῦς καὶ βούβαλος ἤρξατο ταῦτα λέγειν *ibid.* 569 app. crit. (PA)

ἤρξατο πάλιν νὰ κλαίουν *Diig.* E 66 app. crit.

ἤρξατο νὰ μὲ λέγουν *Liv.* α 1475 app. crit. (N)

καὶ ἦτον ὁ μαῦρος μεθυστής καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ παίζειν *Achil.* O 180

Furthermore, various hybrid formations occur, consisting of active stem with middle ending, or middle stem with active ending:

ἀρχισάμην *Pol. Tr.* 12741 app. crit. (X) (conflation of ἤρξάμην and ἀρχισα)
ἤρξου, ψυχὴ, ἀναβαίνειν *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 192 (ending of the second aorist (2 sg. -ου) instead of that of the first aorist (-ω))

ἤρξου νὰ μοῦ λέγῃς *Poulol.* 386 app. crit. (E)

ἤρξαμεν *Liv.* V 2551 (for ἤρξάμεθα, with active ending)

ὅσα ἡ Κορίτζια ἐφθεγγεν *Flor.* L 1657 (for ἐφθέγγατο)

4.9.2.2 The Aorist Subjunctive

Some innovation also occurs in the aorist subjunctive, such as addition of final /n/ to 1 sg., a thematic vowel /u/ for /o/, or the use of innovative endings (-μεθεν) (cf. 4.1.1.2):

ὅς σὺς ἀφηγήσωμαι *Diig.* E 619 (middle future?)

ἔδῳρε νὰ σὲ ἀφηγήσωμαι *Liv.* E 3551

μαχησώμεθεν ἀνδρείως *ERMONT., Ilias* 15.229

γὰ νὰ γενούμεθεν *Irodis* II.344

Even hybrid forms consisting of a passive stem and a middle ending have been found: νὰ ἀξιοθούμεθα *Irodis* II.361; νὰ κατακαυθούμεθεν *ibid.* 361-2 (with innovative ending).

4.9.2.3 The Aorist Infinitive

The middle infinitive sometimes presents phonological innovation: ἀμβρύνασθαι (1155, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 3, 361.4) (= ἀμβλύνασθαι, see I, 3.8.6.2); and there may be confusion regarding the thematic vowel:

ἂν θέλῃς καταράσασθαι *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 246 (for καταράσασθαι)

ὅταν δὲ θέλῃς κτήσεσθαι *Spanos V* 81 app. crit.

καὶ θέλω σὲ ἀφηγήσασθαι *Liv.* α 94 app. crit. (P)

τὰ μέλλοντά μοι συμβήσεσθαι *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 100.3-4

οἱ γονεῖς περιχαρῶς θέλουν δέξασθαι τοῦτο *ibid.* 112.2

4.9.2.4 The Future

A certain degree of innovation can sometimes be found in residual future forms, such as /u/ for /o/ in 1 sg. and 3 pl. by analogy with the present indicative (see 4.1.1.2) or the addition of final /n/: ἔδῳρε νὰ σὲ ἀφηγήσωμαι *Liv.* E 3551; οἱ Ἀρετὲς ἐπλήρωσαν καὶ ἄρξονται οἱ Μῆνες *Liv.* V 880 (but note that the morphological future represents an aorist subjunctive in the first example and a present indicative in the second).

4.9.3 The Perfect and Pluperfect

4.9.3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is ornamental in the period covered by this Grammar. It is sometimes applied in participles of verbs that did not have a passive voice: ἴτους μεμαθημένῃ *Poulol.* 611; and has even been found with the present indicative of a loanword λελιπεράρεται

(1673, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 15, 30.23) (< Ital. *liberare*); or it may appear instead of the perfect augment: νά 'ναι τετοιμασμένος (1490, Constantinople, LEFORT 1981: 22, 109.19) (for ήτοιμασμένος). Sometimes the reduplication is replaced by an augment: κι ὡς ἔβνηκεν ἄνευ παιδι *Chron. Mor.* H 7431.

4.9.3.2 The Perfect

The alternation of -αν and -ασι(ν) in the past-tense paradigms is sometimes extended to the residual perfect indicative: ταῦτα γέγοναν οὕτως (1134, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 7, 520.19); τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς δέδωκαν τὸν σουλτάν Μουσταφίαν *Ekth. Chron.* 3.4–5; and with a shift of the stress that is not uncommon in the aorist indicative: ἀρίφνητοι τεθνήκαν *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 221.

A learning method for Arabic that stays as close to the Arabic as possible has a few rather innovative perfects: φάσον μοι, ἐγὼ γὰρ πεινῶν εἰμι, πεπείνακα (post 1461–ante 1512, Constantinople?, LEHFELDT 1989: 117.2d–3d) (AG πεπείνηκα); ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ κεκάθικα (*ibid.* 139.4d).

The perfect infinitive is extremely rare. The notary Grigoropoulos uses one, but semantically incorrectly, as it means “to be” or “to stay”, not “to stand”; it is simply a dressed-up version of εἶσταιν: πλὴν ἢ συμβία μου εἰ θέλει ἑστάναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ἐν τούτοις (1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 42, 73.22–3).

4.9.3.3 The Pluperfect

As noted, residual pluperfects are very rare indeed. In the following examples the pluperfect appears with the ending and stress of the active aorist indicative: οὕτως ἐγέγονε ἡ παροῦσα μου διαθήκη (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.10–11); διὰ πίστεως ἀληθείας ἐγέγονε τὸ παρὸν (1671, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 3, 259.6–7); διὰ τὸ ἀληθές ἐγέγονε τὸ παρὸν (1631, Kea, VISVIZIS 1949: 7, 65.4); whereas in the following form the ending of the passive aorist is employed: ἐγεγόνηκε *Alfan.* 3 33 and 35 (18th-c. ms).

5 Morphosyntax

By the beginning of the LMedG period the synthetic future, pluperfect, perfect and future perfect had fallen into disuse in the spoken language and had been replaced by various analytic constructions, consisting of an auxiliary verb or a particle with various complementations. Periphrastic constructions are also in use for the aorist indicative and the imperfect, which are discussed separately. The conditional mood, which in many ways is the past-tense counterpart of the future, is expressed with the past tense of the auxiliary. Finally, in the period covered by this Grammar, there are various periphrastic alternatives for the subjunctive mood.

5.1 The Future

The synthetic future had disappeared from the spoken language long before the LMedG period. Substitution of the present indicative for the future indicative had not been uncommon since Antiquity (for examples see BĂNESCU 1915: 66–71, where older bibliography can also be found), and continues to be a feature of the language throughout the LMedG and EMG periods, as the following examples illustrate (see also IV, 4.4.1): ἂν σὺ παράσχῃς μοι τροφήν, ἂν χορηγήσῃς πόσιν, | ἔχω καρδίας στηριγμόν, ἔχω ζωῆς ἐλπίδα *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 33–4; καὶ αὐρὶ ἐρκεται εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 54.13–14. Furthermore, various analytic formations developed to replace it, such as auxiliary verb constructions (with μέλλω, ἔχω, θέλω, ὀφείλω, βούλομαι) and ἵνα/νά + subjunctive, all of which, with the exception of βούλομαι and ὀφείλω, remain in use in the period covered by this Grammar.

Also, since in Late Antiquity the sigmatic active synthetic future had become homophonous with the perfective subjunctive as a result of sound change and analogical levelling (BĂNESCU 1915: 72; HORROCKS 2010: 129 and 317), and since both the future indicative and the perfective subjunctive had inherent future, or prospective, reference (JANNARIS 1897: 560–1), confusion between the two, and especially substitution of the subjunctive for the future, is a phenomenon not uncommon from Hellenistic times onwards (for examples see e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 555; DIETERICH 1898: 244; REINHOLD 1898: 101–3; MOULTON 1906: 185; PSALTES 1913: 217; BĂNESCU 1915: 72–4; NICHOLAS 2008). Examples from the LMedG and EMG periods include, among others: καὶ πάντως βλέψεις λογισμὸν *Dig. G* IV.77; πλύνω δὲ καὶ τοὺς πόδας σου *ibid.* IV.209; ποντικοῦ βουλᾶς κόψει κάτης *Paroim.* H 87. The use of non-sigmatic (thematic) subjunctives instead of futures illustrates this evident confusion: (πῖνε γρουτίτσαν ...) καὶ διαβῇ ὁ ρεματισμὸς *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 265; ὥσάν νά μάθη, πάθη [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2080; ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου καὶ βάλω τρία δαμάσκηνα *Spanos A* 57 (instead of fut. βαλῶ); as does the use of future forms instead of subjunctives, e.g. καὶ ἂν τὰ παραδέξῃσαι *Spaneas V* 71; νά με

ἀφηγήσεσθαι *Liv.* V 3149; θέλουν ὀφνόνται ὡς καθὼς ἔκαμαν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §3.5. For residual synthetic forms in LMedG and EMG texts see 4.9.1.

The Ancient Greek synthetic future had one disadvantage, namely that it was not morphologically marked for verbal aspect. When the subjunctive started to be used instead of the future, this use at first limited itself to aorist subjunctives, while at the same time true subjunctives came to be marked as such with the addition of the particle ἵνα (HORROCKS 2010: 129). It was not until the subjunctive in future use began to be “reinforced” with a particle as well (first ἄν, then ἵνα/νά, see JANNARIS 1897: 556–7) that a clear morphological distinction between the punctual and the durative was obtained for the future tense. JANNARIS (1897: 418 and 556–7) gives examples of ἵνα + subjunctive used as futures from as early as Kallinikos’s *Life of St Hypatios* and Palladios’s *Lausiak History* (both 5th c.), as well as Eusebius of Alexandria (5th/6th c.) and throughout the EMedG period. It must be said, however, that the vast majority of his early examples are perfective, whereas the use of the present subjunctive appears to be limited to verbs that are durative almost by nature, such as ἔχω.

However, from the very beginning of the LMedG period, futurative νά can be found with the aorist subjunctive for the simple future and – although much less frequently – the present subjunctive for the future continuous. Compare for instance the following two examples from Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.): καὶ νά εὔρης τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ ρητοῦ ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 312.4 and ψηλάφα καὶ ἐκεῖ νά τὸ εὕρισκῃς *ibid.* 310.21. In the first example νά εὔρης is a simple future “[look at my interpretation of Matthew] and you’ll understand the significance of his words” (once). The form νά εὕρισκῃς in the second example, on the other hand, denotes possible repetition: “[each chapter has a caption stating which part of the scriptures it was taken from,] so all you have to do is look at the caption, and then you’ll find the source [to verify what I have written]”, in other words, “whenever you want to verify something, just look at the captions”.

The νά construction remains in use as a future throughout the period covered by this Grammar, though mainly in literary texts and with decreasing frequency in the EMG period.¹ Because the particle νά also has modal connotations, a clear distinction between future and modal (e.g. deontic, potential or hortative) use cannot always be made; e.g. the following example could have a futurative as well as a deontic reading: καὶ τότε δεῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ κάτι νά σᾶς εἴπω *Spaneas* P 208 (“come to me and I will tell you something” or “come to me because I have to tell you something”).

Periphrastic or auxiliary verb constructions that express futurity consist of the present indicative or subjunctive of an auxiliary verb (μέλλω, ἔχω, θέλω) complemented by an infinitive, a subjunctive or ἵνα/νά + subjunctive, or, alternatively, a particle (θέ, θέ νά, θέννα, θά, ἔννα) + subjunctive. All periphrastic constructions can also have modal connotations, and unless the subject is inanimate or the context leaves no doubt (as in the

¹ KAPSOMENOS (1953b: 343) mentions that the future νά + subjunctive survived in Asia Minor in modern times. Remnants of futurative νά can also be found in SMG, e.g. in the use of νά with the conjunctions ὥστε, ὥσπου, μέχρι που in futurative contexts, and the optional use of νά with ἴσως, πριν and προτού (cf. HOLTON et al. 2012: 291–2, 558–9 and 561–2).

following example: θέλει νά φανῇ ἡ ἀγάπη του [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P VII 386.24 (“his love will show”), the distinction between future, volitive, potential or deontic meanings is not always clear (cf. HOLTON 1993 for such cases in *Erotokritos*).

The following example has three possible readings, futurative, volitive or deontic: τὸ προικίον ὅπου θέλομε νά δώσομε τῆς ἀδελφῆ σου (1553, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 177, 167.16–17) (“the dowry we will/wish to/must give to your sister”); this example could have a futurative as well as a potential reading: εἶναι καμιά διακοσαριά ὀξω με δύο λουμπάρδες | καὶ ἔχουν νά μας πολεμοῦν ἀπὸ τες δύο πάρτες ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΡ., *Pali* 2243–4 (“they will be fighting us from both sides” or “they will be able to fight us from both sides”); whereas the following examples could be futurative or deontic: γιατί κατέχω σήμερο πὼς ἔχω ν’ ἀποθάνω CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.285 (“I know that today I am going to die” or “I know that today I must die”); ἄρξαν νά συμβουλευόνται τὸ πὼς θέλουνσιν πράξει *Chron. Mor.* H 829 (“they started to deliberate how they were going to act” or “how they should act”); and this example from *Livistros* can have both a futurative and a volitive reading: ἄς ἔλθῃ μετ’ ἐμὲν νά ἀκούσῃ ... | ἐρωτικὴν ἀφήγησιν τὴν θέλω ἀφηγεῖσθαι *Liv.* α 8–9 (“the love story I am going to tell” or “the love story I want to tell”). In the following example taken from a 16th-c. gunner’s manual, a deontic reading is the most plausible: καὶ θέλεις τὸ βάλῃς εἰς τὴν μποῦκα τῆς καμάρας (15th/16th c., Heptanese, Morgan 1954: 64.39) (“you should place [the wooden stopper] in the mouth of the powder-chamber”); in the following example θέ νά could have both a futurative and a volitive reading: κ’ εἰς ὄλους ἀναφέρνουνσι πὼς θέ νά τοὺς ἐβγάλῃ | ὁ Θεός, στήν γῆν τσ’ Ἐπαγγελιᾶς αὐτῶν διὰ νά βάλῃ, | ὡσάν καλὰ τὴν ἔταξε εἰς τοὺς ἡμᾶς πατέρας CHOUNMOS, *Kosmog.* 2207–9 (“God will lead them out [of Egypt]” or “God wishes to ...”).

However, even if a construction has modal force, it does not lose its future reference as such:² deontic and potential readings, denoting what must or might happen, are inherently futurative, and even in the case of volition, the desire may be situated in the present, but the possible fulfilment of it is typically placed in the future. The precise distinction between future and modal functions of a construction belongs to the domain of theoretical linguistics, but is less relevant to a descriptive grammar. Therefore examples of futures with possible modal connotations have not been excluded from the following description.

Given the great number of possible future formations, sometimes writers apparently have difficulty choosing, opting for a conflation of two or more constructions: ὅπου μέλλει νά θέλω ζήσει *Pol. Tr.* 342 app. crit. (V); τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ μέλλουν θέλουν γένη *Byz. Il.* 773; νέφη θελὰ θέλου γερθῇ FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* Prol. 112; ὁ,τι θὰ μὴ θὶς τάξει (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 11, f.44r.5) (= θὰ μὲ θὲς τάξει, with raising of /e/ to [i], see I, 2.5.4). Different constructions may also be coordinated: ὅπου θέλουνε μὲ θάψει καὶ κηδέψου (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14).

² In this context, the only modality that is not inherently futurative is the epistemic modality, which expresses a degree of confidence on behalf of the speaker regarding the veracity of the utterance: ἐσὺ θὲς ξεύρεις νά μοῦ πῆς VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 18; θέλει προέρχεται ἀπὸ το κτύπημα *Don Kis.* 47.8; παιδί θέ νά ’σαι ’νούς ὀχθροῦ μου CHORTATIS, *Erof.* IV.693.

For the use of some of these constructions as periphrastic subjunctives see 5.7. For the hypothetical future with past-tense auxiliaries that indicates that the exact realization is unknown (hypothetical future scenario) see 5.2. For the construction *πά νά* + subjunctive, which expresses futurity without, however, losing the idea of motion see 2.4 s.v. *ὑπάγω*.

5.1.1 *νά* + Subjunctive

As noted in the introduction to this section (5.1), *ἵνα* + subjunctive started to be used as a future long before the beginning of the LMedG period, mainly with the aorist subjunctive, to express a simple future. In the period covered by this Grammar futative *νά* can be found with the aorist subjunctive for the simple future and – less frequently – the present subjunctive for the future continuous:

νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- καὶ νὰ τὰ εὕρης εἰς καιρὸν εἰς ὄφελόν σου μέγα *Spaneas* V 116
 ἐρώτα καὶ νὰ μάθης *GLYKAS, Stichoī* 137; κουκκίν-κουκκίν ἂν σωρευθῇ, τὸ μόδιον νὰ γεμίσι
ibid. 183
 προσδοκᾷς τί νὰ σὲ παραβάλω *Ptoch. I* 101
 νὰ τὴν ἰδῇς μετὰ θεὸν | εἰς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας *Eisit. f.1v.13–14*
 καὶ ἂν εὕρετε τὸ ἀδελφί σας, εἰς μίαν νὰ σᾶς τὸ δώσω *Dig. E* 64; ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποίσω *ibid.*
 1574
 καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σᾶς συντύχω *Liv. V* 2544
 τώρα νὰ ἰδῇς ... τὸ τί σὲ θέλω ποίσει *Poulol.* 39
 εἰς πόσα πηδήματα νὰ φθάσῃ ὁ σκύλος τὸν λαγῶν (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 11,
 698.3)
 καὶ δὲν ἐπήφας τί νὰ πῇ διὰ σὲ τινὸς τὸ στόμα *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 28 ms
 καὶ ἔπιον, πίνω καὶ νὰ πῶ ὀλωνῶν τέσ πικράδες *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 196
 πλοῦτον πολὺν ... νὰ κερδέσης *Alfan.* 14 48
 λέγει τους: τὴν ἀπηγοιὰ γοργὸ νὰ σᾶς τὴν ποίσω *Theseid I.109,8* (Follieri)
 μωρὴ, κάνεις ἐκεῖνο ποῦ σοῦ 'πα ἢ νὰ σὲ σκοτώσω (1579, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 1975: 7,
 97.34–5)
 καὶ μὴν εἴπησ' ὅτι· νὰ πάγω εἰς καλὸ μοναστήρι διὰ νὰ σωθῶ *PAPASYNAD., Chron. IV* §4.6
 στὴν κόλασιν θὰ καίονται καὶ παιδευοὺς νὰ δοῦσι *BOUNIALIS M., Kat. ofel.* 408
 τὴν ὄψιν σου νὰ χάσης *MONTSEL., Evgena* 722 app. crit.
 πῶς δραγουμᾶνος ἐγένιν καὶ γράφτουσαν νὰ κάμη *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 196

νά + Present Subjunctive

- νὰ εἶμι καὶ ἀφρόντιστος *Dig. G IV.211*
 σύννους ᾗς ἦσαι καὶ πρᾶϋς, καὶ φρόνιμον νὰ σ' ἔχουν *Spaneas* P 98
 καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ κοράσιον μου νὰ εἴμεθεν ἀντάμα *Dig. E* 1304
 ἐκεῖ νὰ σὲ ἀναμένω *Liv. V* 2849
 'ς τὴν Τροίαν νὰ καρτεροῦμεν *ERMION., Ilias* 13.290
 καὶ δοῦλοι σου νὰ εἴμεθεν ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ παιδία μας *Achil. N* 562
 καὶ νὰ ἦσαι ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ ἰδικούς καὶ ξένους *STAFIDAS, Iatrosof.* 20.72–3
 κάθε χρόνο ... νὰ στέλλῃ ... μ' χιλιάδες δουκάτα (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5–6)

- ἀλλήλους νὰ δικάζονται καὶ νὰ κρυφομιλοῦσι *Defl. Par.* 19
 ἐγὼ νὰ σὲ φυλάγω καὶ νὰ σὲ τιμῶ *Diig. Alex. F* 140.26 (Konstantinopoulos)
 λέγω σοι ὅτι νὰ σε αγαπῶ *Varl. & Ioas. (Lavras)* 83.23
 (γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρίαν ...) νὰ 'στέν σ' ἀθανασία *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 51

Sporadically *διὰ νά* can be found instead of *νά*: καὶ ὡς πότε τοῦ Χάρου τὸ σπαθὶν τὸ αἷμα
διὰ νά στάσση; *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 89.

5.1.2 μέλλω

Future	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple	μέλλω νὰ γράψω μέλλει νὰ γράψω	μέλλω γράψει(ν) μέλλω γράφει(ν) μέλλεται νὰ γράψω	μέλλω τοῦ γράψειν μέλλω τοῦ γράφειν μέλλω γράψω μέλλω διὰ νὰ γράψω μέλλει γράψει(ν) μέλλει γράψω μέλλὰ γράψω μέλλεται γράψει(ν) μέλλομαι νὰ γράψω μέλλομαι γράψαι
Continuous		μέλλω γράφει(ν) μέλλω νὰ γράφω μέλλει νὰ γράφω	μέλλεται νὰ γράφω μέλλομαι νὰ γράφω

The verb *μέλλω* had been in use in future-referring contexts since Antiquity, and can be found throughout the period covered by this Grammar. *Μέλλω* is generally used in texts alongside other future periphrases, and it usually expresses a very definite, inescapable type of futurity that borders on the deontic. This use of *μέλλω* is attested from the 1st c. AD (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 48); it is, for instance, often used in the context of death.

In the LMedG and EMG periods *μέλλω* can be found with active and passive infinitives, with *νά* + subjunctive, and sporadically with a bare subjunctive. Impersonal *μέλλει* is, as a rule, constructed with *νά* + subjunctive. The passive *μέλλομαι*, with 3 sg. *μέλλεται* used impersonally, is a southern feature (found in texts from Crete, Cyprus and Zakynthos), whereas univertation of the verb and *νά* (in other words incorporation of *μέλλει* and *νά* into one word: *μέλλει νά* > *μελλά*) has been found in one Cypriot text only (cf. *θελά* (5.1.4.5), *μπορά* (4.1.2.1) and *πά* (2.4 s.v. *ὑπάγω*)). For 3 sg. of *μέλλω*/*μέλλομαι* *νά* + subjunctive it is impossible to establish whether the auxiliary verb has impersonal use or not, unless a text uses only the one or the other for all persons (such as e.g. *Assizes, Machairas, Cyp.*

Canz., Falieros and Chortatsis, where we find impersonal μέλλει/μέλλεται + νά only).³ In the following description, when a text has examples of personal μέλλω of other persons, 3 sg. examples are considered to be personal as well.

5.1.2.1 μέλλω + Infinitive

The verb μέλλω complemented by an infinitive is more common in non-literary texts, often of a legal nature, than it is in literature. It is used in documents from all areas, whereas in literature it appears mainly in mixed- and higher-register texts (*Dig. G*, Ermoniakos, Dellaportas, Sfrantzis, *Dig. T*), with single instances in more vernacular texts (*Chron. Mor.*, *Dig. E*). It can hardly be a coincidence that two early texts in which a conscious effort is made to write in a form of language closer to the vernacular, Ptochoprodromos and Glykas, do not use μέλλω at all, whereas it appears routinely in Glykas's learned work. The construction obviously belonged to the written rather than the spoken registers of the language.

Whereas in post-classical times, after the demise of the future infinitive, the present infinitive was by far the most common complement of μέλλω in both literary texts and papyri, in the EMedG period the aorist infinitive had begun to gain ground rapidly. This is reflected in papyri of the period, though hardly so in other, more conservative, textual sources (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 53–4 and 90–1). The rise of the aorist infinitive as a complement of μέλλω continues in the LMedG period, and by the 14th c., the aorist infinitive had clearly become the preferred form to express perfectivity. However, as in earlier stages of the language (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 30, 57–8), the present infinitive after μέλλω, leaving aside the examples with inherently imperfective verbs such as εἶμαι and ἔχω, continues to be aspectually ambiguous, conveying mainly perfective meanings, e.g. the texts of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.) (not counting direct citations from other texts) have four instances of an aorist infinitive, against fifteen present infinitives, with no apparent aspectual differentiation.⁴ Absence of aspectual distinction is also evident in the examples from S. Italy, the second example from Athens, in *Dig. G*, *Diig. sevast. Thom.*, *Byz. Il.* and *Alfav.* 14. Even as late as the 17th c., Ioakeim Kyprios has two instances of μέλλω + infinitive, both with present infinitives that have no aspectual value. Only the *Chronicle of Morea*, which has only two instances of μέλλω + infinitive, uses the present infinitive in a clearly imperfective, durative sense (note the repetition of the meaning in line 4746 with imperfective θέλουν ἐπαινεῖ): μέλλει στήκει τὸ ἔπαινος τῆς σημερινῆς ἡμέρας, | ὅπου μᾶς θέλουν ἐπαινεῖ ὅσοι τὸ θέλουν ἀκούσει *Chron. Mor.* H 4745–6.

³ These texts use impersonal μέλλει for the future, though *Assizes B* and *Machairas* do very occasionally display personal use of ἐμελλα, in past contexts: ἐμελλες νά με πλερώσης *Assizes B* 413.11; ἐμελλαν νά τὸ φέρουν *ibid.* 427.31; ἐμελλαν ... νά πᾶσιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 274.36 (only examples).

⁴ Both can express the future simple and continuous. Note that when Nikon uses other means to express futurity, such as νά + subjunctive (see above), the choice of the present or the aorist subjunctive is clearly an aspectual one.

μέλλω + Aorist Infinitive

ὅταν χωρισθῇναι μέλλη ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 106.21; μέλλομεν γὰρ πάντες λόγον δώσειν *id.*, *Logos* 33 862.16–17

ὅπου με μέλλουν ἐνταφιᾶσαι (1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.12)

μέλλουν ὀρμαστῆναι (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.392)

ἦν μέλλει γινεῖ (1359, Albania, SAKKELION 1887a: 473.9–10)

τὸ πῶς τὸ μέλλω ἀφηγηθῇ *Chron. Mor.* H 4683

καὶ πάντες μέλλομεν σταθῇν τὴν φοβεράν ἡμέραν *Dig. E* 1755 (hapax)

μέλλεις ἀνέβην *Pol. Tr.* 62; μέλλομεν ἀππλικεῦσαι *ibid.* 205

μέλλω χύσαι *ERMION.*, *Ilias* 7.153; μέλλει γένειν *ibid.* 12.338; μέλλομεν ἔβγειν *ibid.* 16.55

τίνος μέλλει γενέσται ἐκεῖνος ὁ σκλάβος *Assizes B* 265.2–3; τι μέλλει γενέσται *ibid.* 488.11 (only with this verb)

μέλλει κριθῇναι *Assizes A* 25.26 (hapax)

μέλλει θρύψαι *Ptochol.* α 394

μέλλεις βασιλεῦσαι (16th c., Peloponnese?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.IV, 259.84.2)

εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὅπερ μέλλω θαφῇ (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 227.7)

τὰ ὅσα ἐνταῦθα μέλλει διορθῶσαι (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.13)

τὰ ὅσα μέλλουν συμβεῖ *PAPASYNAD.*, *Chron.* III §34.3 (hapax; usually constructed with νά)

μέλλω + Present Infinitive

ὅταν μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐσθῆιν ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 100.21; μέλλω κατακρίνεσθαι *id.*, *Logos* 3 164.5–6

μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43)

ἰδοὺ γὰρ μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες φθάνειν *Dig. G* IV.628 (hapax)

μέλλω ἀποθνήσκειν *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 185

μέλλεις ἔσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμετακίνητος (1431, Athens, BUCHON 1843: LXIX, 291.17–18); τὰ

μέλλουν ἀφιερεῖν (1437, *ibid.* LXXI, 297.13)

καὶ κρίσιν μέλλουσι ζητεῖν *Byz. Il.* 227

αἰτία μέλλει εἶναι *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 194.9

ἐνθυμήσου ... πῶς μέλλεις ἀποθνήσκειν *Alfav.* 14.40

τι μέλλει τοὺς τυγχάνει *IOAKEIM KYPR.*, *Pali* 4584; πού μέλλουν ἀναγνώθει *ibid.* 6060

Μέλλω with an articular infinitive in the genitive can occasionally be found in middle-register texts of the MedG period,⁵ but by the LMedG period this construction should without doubt be considered an even greater learnedism than μέλλω + infinitive. There are several attestations in higher-register texts of the 14th c.: μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν (14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164); μέλλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦ εἶναι εἰς τὸ μέσον (*ibid.* 436.166–7); μέλλει τοῦ ζητεῖν *Diig. Alex. M* 2440.

5.1.2.2 μέλλω νά + Subjunctive

Substitution of νά + subjunctive for the infinitival complement, a widespread phenomenon certainly not restricted to auxiliary verb constructions (for details see IV, Chapter 2), occurs with μέλλω in literary texts and in documents from the early 14th c. and throughout

⁵ E.g. ὡς μέλλων τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι Ps. Symeon, *Chronographia* 641.16 (10th c.; ed. Bekker); ὅτι μέλλεις τοῦ κρίναι Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 24, l. 111 (10th–11th c.; ed. Kambylis).

the period covered by this Grammar, from north to south and from east to west. Due to the definitive nature of μέλλω, expressing what will inevitably happen ("I will die/be buried/be judged"), perfective complementation (aorist subjunctive) is much more common than imperfective complementation (present subjunctive). However, contrary to the infinitival complementation (see above, 5.1.2.1), the examples with the present subjunctive clearly have imperfective readings.⁶

μέλλω νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- μέλλουν νά λάβουν (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 226.24)
οί ποῖοι μέλλουν νά εὐρεθοῦν (1481, Rhodes?, TSIRPANLIS 1968: 2, 206.46)
τὸ μέλλεις νά ποιήσης *Log. parig.* O 154
μέλλεις ν' ἀποσώσεις FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 319
μέλλει νά πνιγῇ πρῶτον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 25.5; ἐπειδὴ μέλλω νά γένω φαγί σου *ibid.* 79.3
αὐτὸς γὰρ μέλλει καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ζωντανούς νά κρίνει *Diig. Apoll.* 663
μέλλει νά γενεῖ/γένει τὸ φοβούμενε BAROZZI, *Letter* 359.20 (letter in Latin script)
μέλλω νά θαφτῶ (1582, Patras, ZOIS 1936/37: 17–18, λδ'.24)
τί ἄδικον ἔκαμα καὶ μέλλω νά χαθῶ *Vios Aisop.* I 282.28–9
τὸ ποτήριον ὅπου ἐγὼ μέλλω νά πῶ *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 20.22; ὅταν μέλλουσιν
ἐτοῦτα ὅλα νά τελειωθοῦν *ibid.* Mark. 13.4
μέλλουν τὰ ἄσπρα νά ἀλλαχτοῦν PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §32.15; μέλλουν ... νά ἀσεβήσουν
ibid. IV §5.12
τοῦ ἱερέως ποὺ μέλλει νά μὲ θάψῃ (1644, Lefkada, RONDOYANNIS 2005: 2, 441.19)
νά ἴθω μέλλω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1231; τί πλιὰ νά κάμῃς μέλλεις *ibid.* 1800
ὅπου μέλλουν ... νά ὑπάγουν (1683, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 5, 56.5)
μέλλει νά ἀποδώσω (1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 205.8–9)
ποιὸς μέλλει νά βῇ νικητὴς KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1306

μέλλω νά + Present Subjunctive

- μέλλουσιν οἱ αὐθέντες μου νά κάμουν γάμον ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 31.4
ποιὰ στράτα μέλλεις νά κρατῇς KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1534

In verse texts διὰ νά is sometimes used instead of νά because it usefully provides an extra syllable:

- ὥς μέλλει διὰ νά ἀναλωθῇ *Pol. Tr.* 5562 app. crit. (A)
τὸ μέλλει διὰ νά ἔχῃ *Chron. Mor.* P 5312
τὸν θάνατον ποὺ μέλλεις διὰ νά πάρῃς MONTSEL., *Evgena* 539
μέλλει διὰ νά βῇ *Dig.* O 49

Absolute use of μέλλω, with a strong sense of "destiny" or "fate" (cf. μέλλομαι, below) has been found in Cretan texts and in texts of unknown provenance (*Liv.* V and *Imb.* Rim.):⁷

⁶ In the example from Noukios, a dog says to a wolf that wants to eat him: "I'm skinny and poor now, but if you wait a bit, my masters will be celebrating their wedding, and there I'll eat very well, so I'll be a lot tastier to you." A future simple (μέλλουσιν κάμειν) would automatically make the wedding party precede the dog's eating well chronologically ("they'll celebrate the wedding, and then I'll eat"). In the second example, Erotokritos says to Aretousa: "you must seriously consider to which road you'll stick (i.e. remain in love with him), or which way you'll choose ("καὶ ποῖαν ὁδὸ νά πιάσῃς"), so that you'll neither lose your life nor be married off to the prince of Byzantium."

⁷ Absolute use of ἐμεῖλα in past-tense contexts can also be found: ἀλλὰ καὶ τί τοὺς ἐμεῖλεν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀθλίους! *Pol. Tr.* 12038; τοῦτα γὰρ μὰς ἐμεῖλα *Apoll. Rim.* V 964 (same in all versions).

- καὶ εἴτι μέλλει ἄς γένη *Liv.* V 2814
τί μέλλει περὶ τούτου DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 534
ἡ Μοῖρα σου ἃ σόγραψε καὶ μέλλει FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 59
ἔβαλεν καὶ στὸν λογισμόν δι' ἡμῶν τοῦ μέλλει *Imb.* Rim. 388
ἀνέναι καὶ μου μέλλει CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.330; ἀπὴς ἐσύ μου μέλλεις *ibid.* V.356
νά μάθω τί ναι τὸ βαρὺ κακὸν ὅπου μᾶς μέλλει *Thysia Avr.* 152
καὶ δὲν τοῦ μέλλει, τάσσω σου, τοῦ γέρο τὸ κουλούρι FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.500
ὅ,τι μοῦ μέλλει θά γενεῖ BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 499.7
ἡ τζόγια τίνος μέλλει KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1710
τὸ πρᾶγμα ποὺ τοῦ μέλλει *Leilasias Par.* 432

5.1.2.3 μέλλει νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal μέλλει has been found from the 14th c. (*Chronicle of Morea*) and throughout the EMG period, in literary and non-literary texts. The impersonal use of μέλλει is very likely to be the result of the semantic development of the verb toward a particular kind of futurity with strong deontic connotations, thus gaining a semantic overlap with other verbs denoting obligation such as impersonal πρέπει and ἐνδέχεται (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 127–30), although examples with a simple future meaning can also be found: *κι εἰς τοῦτο ἴντα μέλλει | νά κάμωμε τὸ λοιπόν;* CHORTATIS, *Katz.* IV.210–11 ("so what are we going to do about it?"). Impersonal μέλλει is used for both the simple future (aorist subjunctive) and the future continuous (present subjunctive), but perfective complementation, denoting something that will (inevitably) happen at some point in the future, is the most common. Imperfective complementation denotes a state or situation that will occur in the future (e.g. μέλλει νά σωκῆται, below), often occurring with inherently stative verbs such as εἶμαι and ἔχω, but it can also express repetition in the future: e.g. μέλλει νά μπαίνουν καὶ νέοι ἡγούμενοι, below. For the use of impersonal μέλλει in Cypriot see AERTS 1983.

μέλλει νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- μέλλει νά ἔμπῃς *Liv.* E 490; καὶ πάλιν μέλλει μου λοιπὸν νά πάθω διὰ τὴν κόρη *ibid.* 2477
ὅταν τὴν νίκην ἤκουσαν δι' ἡμῶν μέλλει νά ἔχουν *Pol. Tr.* 2386
μέλλει ν' ἀπιλογηθῶ (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 78.2); μέλλει νά γράψω (15th c., Thrace, *ibid.* 8, 101.10–11)
καὶ μέλλει νά τοῦ δώσωμε (1469, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 115, 54.2)
μέλλει νά εἰποῦμεν *Assizes* B 273.2; μέλλει νά ἔρτουν *ibid.* 466.28
γιατὶ σὲ μέλλει μετ' αὐτὸν νά ζήσῃς, ν' ἀποθάνῃς FALIEROS, *Erot. En.* 94
οὕτως μέλλει νά πάθουν *Alosis* 867
μέλλει νά τὴν κληρονομήσουν KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 394.4; μέλλει νά γεννηθεῖ *ibid.* 416.6–7
καὶ τώρα μέλλει τὴν ψυχὴν στὸν ἄδην νά τὴν πέμψω ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 94.9
τὸν θάνατον ὅπου μέλλει νά λάβω (1535, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 58, 100.22–3)
μέλλει νά ἐλθοῦνε (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.24)
μέλλει νά πολεμήσετε *Chron. Tourk. Souli.* 89.31; μέλλει νά τιμηθῇτε *ibid.* 89.33
τώρα σοῦ μέλλει | ... τὸ θάνατο νά πάρῃς PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2592–3
μέλλει νά πᾶνε (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 523.4–5)
τούτα ὅλα τα λυπητερά, ὅπου μέλλει νά συνέβουσιν VAROUCAS, *Logoi* 467.29–30

μέλλει νά + Present Subjunctive⁸

- τιμήν δπου τοῦ μέλλει νά ἔχη *Chron. Mor.* H 5312
 όταν τήν νίκην ἤκουσαν ὅτι μέλλει νά ἔχουν *Pol. Tr.* 2386
 μέλλει νά δουλεύῃ *Assizes B* 403.1–2
 αὐτόν ποῦ μέλλει ν' ἀγρυπνᾷ *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 24
 (ἡ καρδιά μου ...) μέλλει νά σωκέται *Cypr. Canz.* 56.8 (< ἐσωκαίομαι)
 ποία μέλλει νά ᾔχει πλερωμή η ἐδική μου ἀγάπη; *CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.178
 μέλλει νά μπαίνουν καί νέοι ἡγούμενοι (1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 174.15–16)
 τί μέλλει νά 'ναι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 2456
 ἂν εἶν' καί μέλλει μου σ' τοῦτα τὰ πάθη νά 'μαι *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1015

Univerbation is very rare with this verb (cf. *θέλά* (5.1.4.5), *πά* (2.4 s.v. *ὑπάγω*) and especially *μπορά* (4.1.2.1)): *ὕμνω τὸ δὲν μελλὰ 'βρω* *Cypr. Canz.* 146.5.

The combination of impersonal *μέλλει* with an infinitive is very rare and awkward, since this construction fails to show the number and person of the subject: *μέλλει, Μυρτάνη δέσποινα, σήμερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι* *Liv.* α 20 app. crit. (N); *μέλλει στραφῇν, τοὺς εἶπα* *BERGADIS, Apok.* A 459 app. crit. (AB).

Sporadically *μέλλω/μέλλει* can be found with a bare subjunctive, probably influenced by the *θέλω* periphrasis, for which this construction is rather common (see below, 5.1.4.2): *τὰ μέλλουν γένουν* *Byz. Il.* 322; *πέντε βασιλεῖς Ἀγαρηνοὶ μέλλει βασιλεύσουν τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν* (16th c. [ms], Peloponnese?, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 50B, 365.15.16–17); *μέλλει ποιήσουν στάσιν* (16th c., Peloponnese?, *ibid.* 58I, 426.15).

5.1.2.4 μέλλεται νά + Subjunctive

In the period covered by this Grammar, passive impersonal *μέλλεται* can be found complemented with a *νά* clause. It is a southern feature, found in texts from Crete and one from Cyprus, and in ms V of the *War of Troy*. Much like the impersonal use of *μέλλει*, which in a way removes any responsibility for a future event from the subject, the use of the passive voice, too, stresses the inescapability of what is bound to happen and the powerlessness of the subject to influence its outcome.

μέλλεται νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- πῶς μέλλεται νά γένῃ* *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 324
λέει μου: αὐτὴν τὴν γέφυρα μέλλεται νά διαβοῦμε *ΡΙΚΑΤ., Rima thrin.* 204
τὸ μέλλεται νά ποίση *Cypr. Canz.* 92.66; *μέλλεται νά γιάνῃ* *ibid.* 98.28; *ἂν μέλλεται ποτὲ νά 'χουσιν τέλος* *ibid.* 110.7
δια το μέγαλον το κακόν 'πού μέλλεται νά πάθουν *Apoll. Rim.* V 1688
τί μέλλεται νά κάμω *CHORTATSI, Katz.* I.108; *ποιά μέλλεται νά πιάσῃ* *στράτα* *id., Erof.* II.441; *μέλλεται νά χάσεις | τὴν βασιλεία σου* *ibid.* IV.538–9
τί μέλλεται νά κάμω *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 384.19; *μέλλεται νά τελειώσῃ* *ibid.* 540.14
ἐκείνου ὅπου μέλλεται γυναῖκα νά μὲ πάρῃ *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1458; *τὸ κακὸ ποῦ μέλλεται νά σ' εὕρῃ* *ibid.* I.1970

⁸ The 3 sg. examples from *Falieros*, *Cypr. Canz.* and *Chortatsis* are considered to be impersonal since these texts do not use personal *μέλλω νά*.

μέλλεται νά + Present Subjunctive

- μέλλεται νά ἔχη* *Pol. Tr.* 2338 app. crit. (V)
μέλλεται ... νά τὰ γνώθῃ *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 50

5.1.2.5 μέλλομαι νά + Aorist Subjunctive

Personal *μέλλομαι* is less common than impersonal *μέλλεται*. Examples have been found in texts from Crete and Zakynthos and in ms V of the *War of Troy*:

- μέλλονται νά γένουν* *Pol. Tr.* post 5560 app. crit. (V)
αὐτὰ τὰ πάθη μέλλονται νά σᾶς καταδικάσουν *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 233
'ς τοῦτον τον τρόπον μέλλομαι, Νίκανδρε, ν' απεθάνω; *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* N2.3 (1658)

5.1.2.6 μέλλομαι + Infinitive

Personal *μέλλομαι* with an infinitive, clearly a more “elevated”, written variant of *μέλλομαι νά* + subjunctive (also note the residual form of the aorist infinitive), has been found in an early document from Crete: *μέλλεστε κερδίσει* (1414, Crete, *MANOUSAKAS* 1964: 13, 96.4).

Absolute use of *μέλλομαι* (cf. *μέλλω*, above) occurs in Cretan texts and in one ms of the *War of Troy*:⁹

- ὥσάν δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα μέλλονται, οὕτως εἶναι* *Pol. Tr.* 1168 (reading of ms X)
τοῦ καθενὸς καὶ ἃ μέλλεται *FALIEROS, Erot. En.* 62
καὶ τώρα τί σοῦ μέλλεται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 502.14
ἴντα νά τοῦ μέλλεται *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.694; *κ' ἴντα κακὰ σοῦ μέλλονται* *ibid.* III.454; *πολὺ κακὸ μοῦ μέλλεται* *ibid.* IV.124

5.1.3 ἔχω

Future	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple	ἔχω νά γράψω	ἔχω γράψῃ(ν)	ἔχω γράψω ἔχει νά γράψω
Continuous		ἔχω νά γράφω	ἔχει νά γράφω

The construction *ἔχω* + infinitive, which in classical Greek had modal force denoting mainly possibility or ability (*MARKOPOULOS* 2009a: 33–8), can be found to express

⁹ Absolute use of *ἐμέλλομαι* in past-tense contexts can be found in the same area: *κι ὥσάν ἦτον τὸ ἐριζικόν κ' ἐμέλλετον τὸ πρᾶγμα* *Chron. Mor.* H 2482; *τοῦ Φορτουνάτο ἐμέλλετον* *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* V.200; *τοῦ Φορτουνάτο μου ἐμέλλουσου* *ibid.* V.328–9; *κι ὅλα δικά τῇ ἐμέλλουνταν* *KORNAROS, Erot.* V.232; *κι ἀπὲς ἐμέλλετον ἐσέ* *ibid.* V.1395.

futurity from at least the 1st c. AD.¹⁰ Whereas at first it clearly belonged to the lower stylistic registers, during the EMedG period this construction started to be used more and more in middle-register texts (BANESCU 1915: 78–81; MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 94–9). In most of the period covered by this Grammar it continues to be one of the available constructions to express futurity, although the construction also continues to have modal connotations (deontic, potential). From at least the 13th c. onwards, *ἔχω* begins to take on *νά* + subjunctive complements, which, again, can have both futurative and deontic or potential meanings. Complementation with a bare subjunctive, common for the *θέλω* construction (see 5.1.4.2), is extremely rare with *ἔχω*, as is impersonal *ἔχει*, which is used with impersonal verbs only (e.g. *χιοιζέει*). For the use of *ἔχω* constructions in the subjunctive see 5.7.1; for *ἔχω* + infinitive as a perfect see 5.4.1.6.

5.1.3.1 *ἔχω* + Infinitive

The *ἔχω* + infinitive construction can be found mainly in literary texts of the LMedG period (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 145–7), and had by then already started its steady decline as a future in favour of the *θέλω* construction. The aorist infinitive is the only infinitival complement in the texts examined,¹¹ which is corroborating proof for the residual nature of this construction (cf. *μέλλω*), as by the beginning of the LMedG period there was already a means to distinguish between perfective and imperfective aspect in the future tense (cf. *νά* + subjunctive and *θέλω*). For the use of *ἔχω* + infinitive as a futurative subjunctive, see 5.7.1.1. For the use of this construction as a perfect, see 5.4.1.6.

ἔχεις ... εὐρεῖν καὶ νοήσῃν πάντα, ὅτι εὐκόλον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα ΝΙΚΟΝ, Logos 9 310.10–11
ὡς ἡ γραφή δηλῶσαι ἔχει (1134, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1930: 33, 14.14)
καὶ κρίνειν ἔχει ὁ Θεός Dig. G II.197; ἔχει γενέσθαι ibid. IV.429; εἰ ἐγερεθῆναι ἔχει ibid. VI.507
χαλάσειν ἔχει ὀφείποτε, κατακλιθῆν καὶ πέσειν GLYKAS, Stichoi 359

¹⁰ JANNARIS (1897: 553), whose earliest example is from Ignatius of Antioch (1st c. AD), deems it a scholastic construction, whereby he appears to underestimate its frequency in the period covered by this Grammar. GIGNAC (1981: 289) gives the following example from the early 2nd c.: *οὐκ ἔχεις ἀκ[οῦ]σαι PMich. 476.12*. For more examples see e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 553–4, DIETERICH 1898: 246 and PSALTES 1913: 216–17. See MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 62 for a refutation, on chronological grounds, of Jannaris's hypothesis that the construction is modelled on Latin *habeo* + infinitive.

¹¹ Present infinitives can occasionally be found in middle- and lower-register EMedG texts, mainly of the verb *εἶμαι*: Θεόδωρος ὥδε ἔχει εἶναι *Miracles of St Artemios* 43.15 (7th c., ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus); ἡ ἴλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, ἡ ἐγὼ Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 127.13 (9th c., ed. De Boor); ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐτέροις ἔχομεν ἀκολουθεῖν *De Ceremoniis* II 427.13 (10th c., ed. Reiske); *ὅπου ἂν ἔχη περιπατεῖν* (10th/11th c.?, Tinos, Feissel 1980: 5, 485.3). Sporadically instances can also be found in high-register LMedG texts: *εἰ ἔχει εὐρίσκειν τὸν τρίτον ἀνάλογον Pachymeres, Quadrivium I 72.14* (13th–14th c., eds. Stephanou/Tannery); *οὐ μόνον ἐφ' οἷς ἔχει λέγειν: οὐκ εἰσακουσθήσεται (1264, Athos, Lefort et al. 1994: 60, 107.20–1); τί λοιπὸν ἕτερον ἔχω γράφειν πρὸς σέ (1286, Cyprus, Beihammer 2007: 89, 219.13)*. The following example from *Panoria* is not a future periphrasis, but a misinterpretation by the editor: *να μάθει ἀνέναι καὶ καλὸ γῆ καὶ κακὸ του μέλλει, | να 'χει τήνε ρωτά κι αὐτὴ ζιμιό του προφητεύγει* CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* IV.154–5. One should read: *ἀνέναι καὶ καλὸ γῆ καὶ κακὸ του μέλλει | να 'χει, τήνε ρωτά, κι αὐτὴ ζιμιό του προφητεύγει* ("[whoever wants to know] asks her if he will have good or bad [fortune], and she gives her prophecy immediately"), as in the new edition (Bancroft-Marcus).

μαθεῖν ἔχει πλατύτερον (1214, Cyprus, LAMBROS 1908b: I, 46.8)
τί ἔχει παθεῖν ὁ λέγων Ptoch. IV 499
ποῖσέ το τὸ σ' ἔχω παραγγεῖλει Log. parig. L 165
παρακαθίσει τὸ ἔχει Chron. Mor. H 2898; τὸ κάλλιον ... ὅπου ἔχομεν ποιήσει ibid. 3647
καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν ἔλθῃς τὸ γοργόν, κατέβειν ἔχω εἰς Μάγγε Dig. E 288; κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν ibid. 290
τὰ καλὰ, ἅπερ ἔχω ποιήσειν καὶ ἀναστήσειν (1403, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 10, 93.4–5)
δσὴν ἀκαρτερεῖ νὰ λάβει καὶ ἔχει λαβεῖν (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 18, 158.5–6)
φονεύσει σ' ἔχει σύντομα, διατὶ πολλὰ ἐπήρηθη Velis. ρ 91
εἰ ἴσως ταῦτα ἂν εἰπῆς, ἔχεις καλῶς ποιῆσαι Velth. 922
καὶ ἔχω σὲ ἰδεῖν Diig. Alex. F 108.12 (Lolos)
ἄρα τι μέγα κακὸν ἔχομεν ἰδεῖν (post 1647, Crete?, SCHREINER 1975/79: 65.III–V, 508.33.7)

5.1.3.2 *ἔχω* νά + Subjunctive

The replacement of the infinitive with *νά* + subjunctive is a widespread phenomenon in various syntactic environments (see IV, 2). In his grammar Girolamo Germano notes that the future in Greek is formed just like in Italian: "*ha da scrivere ἔχει νὰ γράψῃ ... ha da essere scritto ἔχει νὰ γραφῇ*" (102.13–15). And indeed this construction is especially common in areas with Italian influence. However, it also occurs in other areas and therefore the emergence of this construction should not be attributed to language contact alone. Like *μέλλω* (see above), *ἔχω* νά + subjunctive often expresses a very definite, inescapable kind of futurity (destiny-future in the terminology of MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 144), and due to this definitive nature of *ἔχω*, expressing what will inevitably happen ("I will die/be buried/be judged"), perfective complementation (aorist subjunctive) is much more common than imperfective complementation (present subjunctive), which has not been found before the 15th/16th c. However, the examples of present subjunctive clearly do have imperfective, durative, readings.

ἔχω νά + Aorist Subjunctive

ἂν ἔχη εἰς τὰ ἐπιθάνατα νὰ τὸ εὖρη, μὴ σὲ μέλη GLYKAS, Stichoi 364
ἀνέφερε μας ὅσα ἔχει νὰ ποιήσει (1448?, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5)
οὐδὲν ἔχου[ν] νὰ χαθοῦν Diig. Alex. F 172.6 (Konstantinopulos)
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει νὰ πάρει τὸ μερτικόν του (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.28)
απ' ἔχουσινε νὰ γενοῦ CHORTATSIS, Panor. Prol. Apoll. 94
κάθα ἄνθρωπος νὰ εἶναι τσέρτος πῶς ἔχει νὰ ἀποθάνῃ (1607, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 448, 410.2)
θωρώντας πῶς ἔχει νὰ καταγρεμιστῇ Vios Aisop. I 282.28
καὶ πῶς ἔχει νὰ πῇ VEST., Prol. Theot. 103
ἔχεις νὰ κολαστῇς βέβαια PAPASYNAD., Chron. II §9.36
εἴτι καὶ ἔχει νὰ γενεῖ Bertoldos 57.14–15; ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἔχει νὰ ἔλθῃ αὐριον ibid. 63.25–6
να πάγουν ἔχουν καὶ ἐκεῖ ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ KYP., Pali 6625; μες στὴν Κωνσταντινὸπολιν πῶς ἔχουν νὰ κατέβουν ibid. 7154
καὶ τὰ θηρία τ' ἄγρια ἔχουσι νὰ με φᾶσι MONTSEL., Evgena 624; ἔχω ν' ἀναστενάξω ibid. 1515

μέ ἐρώτησε ἀνισῶς καὶ ἔχουν νά κάμουν ἀγάπην μέ τοὺς Πολωνέζους (1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.21) (author from Athens)
 ἔχει νά βαλθεῖ (1675, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1955: 519.4)
 βασίλισσα ἔχεις νά γενῆς, ρήγισσα ν' ἀποθάνῃς KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.289

ἔχω νά + Present Subjunctive

καλὰ καὶ νά 'χω νά πονῶ γιὰ 'δῶ τὸ στερεμό σου FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 106; ὁπδχει ν' ἀγαπᾶται id., *Ist. On.* 544 ("she who will be loved (had better watch out for the likes of you men)")
 με τσι φωνές του σήμερο ἔχει νά με παιδεύγει CHORTATSI, *Panor.* II.76
 λουλούδια ἔχουν ν' ἀθοῦσι MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1266
 ἔχουν νά μας πολεμοῦν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2244

5.1.3.3 ἔχει νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal ἔχει with νά + subjunctive is very rare (the example from Landos is considered to be impersonal since "κά(μ)νει χιόνι" is impersonal as well): ἔχει νά δαμάσουσιν οἱ πόνοι τὴν ψυχὴν του *Diig. sevast. Thom.* 248; ἔχει νά κάμη πολὺ χιόνι LANDOS, *Georon.* 131.20; καὶ ὅλα τὰ σύνορα τοῦ μοναστηρίου, οὐθεν ἔχει νά εὐρίσκωνται (1672, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 70, 319.3–4).

5.1.3.4 ἔχω + Subjunctive

Complementation of ἔχω with a bare subjunctive can very marginally be found; so marginally in fact that there is room to doubt its validity (*pace* MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 142–3). Isolated examples found in the LMedG and EMG periods are the following:¹²

τὰ καλὰ ἄπερ ἔχεις ποιήσεις καὶ ἀναστήσειν (1382, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 2, 89.4)
 (θησαυρόν ...) ἔχω γάρ σε δελῶ ERMON., *Ilias* 24.155 app. crit. (C)
 ἀπέλθω ἔχω καὶ ἐγὼ *Dig.* E 1420
 που ἔχουν καταντήσουσιν εἰς τὰ σκοτεινισμένα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 8708

All of these examples may easily be regarded as simple mistakes: the Cretan example, which combines a subjunctive (ποιήσεις) with an infinitive (ἀναστήσειν), is a standard phrase that appears in several other documents in the same collection as ποιήσεις καὶ ἀναστήσειν; the example from Ermoniakos is the reading of one ms, where the others have an infinitive; *Dig.* E, of course, has come down to us in one ms only. In the example from Ioakeim Kyprios it is likely that he accidentally omitted νά after ἔχουν, cf. κάτω εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἔχουν νά κατεβούσι *ibid.* 8934; μες στὴν Κωνσταντινόπολιν πῶς ἔχουν νά κατέβουν *ibid.* 7154.

¹² The sole 4th-c. example of a counterfactual εἶχα + subj.: εἶχες γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆς σὺν αὐτῷ *POxy.* 1676r13, quoted in MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 71 and heralded as proof for the existence of a wider pattern of subjunctive complementation with ἔχω (*ibid.* 72, 147, 167), is in fact a scribal error corrected by the scribe himself into -θῆναι (LIOSIS 2011: 112). The second LMedG example of MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 147: πῶς νά τὸ ἔχω εἰπῶ *Pol. Tr.* 7763 ms B (εἰπεῖν) in the other mss) is a phantom, since from the critical apparatus it can be gathered that ms B actually reads πῶς νά τὸ εἰπῶ.

5.1.4 θέλω

	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple	θέλω γράφει(ν) θέλω γράψω θέλω νά γράψω θέ(ν) νά γράψω	θέ(ν) γράψω θέλει γράψω θά γράψω	θέλω τοῦ νά γράψω θέλει νά γράψω θελά γράψω
Continuous	θέλω γράφει(ν) θέλω γράφω θέλω νά γράφω	θέλει γράφω θέ(ν) νά γράφω	θέλει νά γράφω θέλω εἴσταιν γραφόμενος

Future-referring θέλω + infinitive can already occasionally be found in AG and the lower registers of Hellenistic Greek (see LSJ s.v. ἐθέλω, II and MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 40–1 and 83–4), but its breakthrough is probably to be dated to the EMedG period. DIETERICH (1898: 245–6) gives examples from inscriptions and papyri of the Roman period and later, though his first unambiguous examples date from the 6th/7th c. (δικασθῆναι θέλωμεν BGU 103.1). Another example, in a papyrus datable to the 4th–7th c., is the following: ἡ μητέρα σου ἀσθενεῖ· ἀποθανεῖν θέλει (*P. Michael.* 39; see www.papyri.info). According to PSALTES (1913: 216) the construction does not appear in the Byzantine chronicles, though it can be found in Moschos and Leontios of Neapolis (early 7th c.).¹³ BANESCU (1915) quotes various examples, most of which are not unambiguously futurative, as noted by Markopoulos, whose conclusion regarding the EMedG period is that θέλω will have remained in use in the lower linguistic registers, and may even have had a wider spread, although, due to a regrettable dearth of sources, there is very little textual evidence at hand to corroborate this supposition (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 112–13).

However, from the very beginning of the LMedG period θέλω constructions are well represented in texts, and are soon to become the most popular way to express futurity. The construction can be found not only in vernacular texts, but also in mixed- and higher-register texts such as the works of Nikon of the Black Mountain (late 11th/early 12th c.), *Dig.* G and Kekaumenos,¹⁴ a strong indication that the construction was well established in the lower registers before the LMedG period, and had already started to spread to more formal writings by the beginning of the LMedG period (cf. MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 165–6). In the period covered by this Grammar, θέλω can be found with aorist and present

¹³ E.g. διὰ τοιαύτην οὖν ἡδονὴν βλέπε πόσους κόπους θέλεις ἀπολέσαι, ἴδε διὰ ποίαν ἀμαρτίαν θέλετε ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστερῆσαι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν Moschos, *Leimon* 2865.46–9 (ed. Migne PG 87/3); τοῦ κυρίου εὐδοκούντος αὐρίου θέλωμεν ἐνδύσαι ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄχιον καὶ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* 65.16–17 (eds. Festugière/Ryden 1974).

¹⁴ Καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σου τὰς ρόγας θέλεις ἀδικῆσαι καὶ ἔσχατον ἐμέσεις ἃ οὐκ ἀπῆτησας Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* xcvi (ed. Roueché).

infinitives, with *νά* + subjunctive and with bare subjunctives. Impersonal *θέλει* + subjunctive appears quite late and is regionally restricted, whereas impersonal *θέλει νά* + subjunctive seldom has a predominantly futurative reading, having strong modal (deontic) force instead. In the following description, 3 sg. forms are considered to be cases of personal rather than impersonal use of *θέλει*, unless there is good reason to regard them as impersonal (e.g. when a text uses impersonal *θέλει* only, or in the case of impersonal verbs such as *χιονίζει*).

5.1.4.1 *θέλω* + Infinitive

From the very beginning of the period covered by this Grammar, *θέλω* + infinitive is used, in literary and non-literary texts from north to south and from east to west, and it continues to be in use throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods. Contrary to *μέλλω* and *έχω* (see 5.1.2.1 and 5.1.3.1), the choice for the aorist or present infinitive is clearly an aspectual one, the aorist being used to describe simple actions and events, whereas the present denotes progressiveness/stativity (often with verbs such as *είμαι* and *έχω*), repetition or habit. For aspect in general, see IV, 4.4; for the spelling of the infinitive with <η> or <η>, as if it were a subjunctive, see 4.6.

θέλω + Aorist Infinitive

- μέχρις ότου θέλει έπάρειν παναγίαν ό διακονών ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 1 72.3–4
 τολμήσειν θέλω, αύγουστα μου *Eisil.* f.5v.11
 πολύ θέλουν κουστίζει *Chron. Mor.* H 601; θέλομεν φανή αν είμεθεν στρατιώτες *ibid.* 3845
 και θέλετε μάθειν πάσαν τίποτες (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 101.9–10)
 κατά που θέλει ιδείν ό λεγόμενος άποκρισιάρης (1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.12)
 και τό κουβετζούρι πέψει σου τό θέλω (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.15–17)
 είτε δε αποθάνεις, με τιμήν βασιλικήν σε θέλω θάψει *Diig. Alex.* K 366.7–8
 θέλει τό γνωρίσειν ό Θεός (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.17)
 ό φλύαρος δέν θέλει άγαπηθην άπάνω εις την γην *Fior Suppl.* 275.23
 ή έγω θέλει τό ύπάγω, ή θέλω τό στείλει (1657, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 187, 211, f.200r.8–9)
 τό πώς θέλεις έλθει (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.7)
 θέλουνε με θάψει (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.14)
 πλέον τέτοιον βασιλέα δέν θέλομεν εύρει εις την ζωήν μας PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §16.17
 καθώς ό λόγος θέλει τό φανερώσει *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* I 12–13
 όποιος ήθέλει άκουστέι πώς έχει γυναίκα εις τό κελί αύτου (1667, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 9, 24.15–16)
 θέλομε γράψει (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51r.22)
 τώρα θέλεις ιδεί *Don Kis.* 49.30

θέλω + Present Infinitive

- ό παπάς όπου θέλει είσταιν εις την μονήν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.56); εκεί
 όπου θέλω κείτισταιν (*ibid.* 82.56)
 όλοι τόν θέλουνσι γελα, μέμφεσται κι όνειδιζει *Chron. Mor.* H 8185
 άποσπάξει θέλει όλον έκείνον όπου ένι άγκαλόμενος *Assizes B* 340.11–12
 ώς πότε θέλω κυνηγών *Dig.* E 744; θέλω στέκειν νά έβλέπω *ibid.* 1437
 μέγα όνειδος θέλω έχει *Pol. Tr.* 2399; και πάντα θέλει αύξάνεσθαι *ibid.* 5307
 άπ' έσέν τό θέλουν ήξεύρει (15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.4–5); με την φρόνησιν
 σου θέλεις τό διορθώνει (*ibid.* 100.7)

- συχνάκις θέλει φλέγεσθαι *Flor.* L 209
 όσοι τό θέλουν σηκώνειν (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 271.8)
 νά παραδίδει όλα τά στάμενα όπου θέλει πιάνει (1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 10, 47.11)
 θέλουνσι βαστάν άντάμα τους τά χαρτία (1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 15, 84.11–12)
 αύτου σου θέλει βαστάν τό δακτυλίδιον (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.50)
 θέλουν εύρίσκεσται (1550, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 68, 93.21)
 θέλουν έρχεσται (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 5, 261.15)
 θέλει λέγει (1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 126, 86.21)
 ό ιερεύς που θέλει ιεουργεί (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.39)
 και πάντα θέλω σ' αγαπά *CHORTATSI, Panor.* I.392
 διώχνεις με, μάνα, διώχνεις με, κι έγω πηγαίνει θέλω *Dimotika Ivir.* XI.1
 θέλει παρακαλεί και νά δέεται (1621, Sicily, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 1, 90.24–5)
 θέλει κάθεσταιν έκ δεξιών *KALLIOUR., Kaini Diath.* Louk. 22.69
 οι φιλομαθείς θέλουνσι την άγοράζει μετά χαράς *Erof. Prol.* 11 (ed. 1676)

θέλω είσται(ν) + Present Participle Passive

This construction is not very common. It usually expresses a state in the future: *θέλει είσται* κρατούμενος νά τους δίνη την χρειαζούμενη θροφή (Corsica, BLANKEN 1951: IX, 310.28) "he will be obliged (under obligation) to provide them with the necessary food". An unusual example, active in meaning, is the following from *Fior de Vertù*: άπου είναι εύκολος εις τό δεσδένιασμα, γλήγορα θέλει είσταιν τρεχάμενος εις τά κακά *Fior* 94.15 "he who gets angry easily will quickly be getting into trouble".¹⁵

Shortened Forms of the Auxiliary

Before infinitives starting in a vowel, and especially before *είσται(ν)*, the auxiliary may be reduced to *θελ'*:¹⁶

- θελ' είσταιν και πριδιάτος (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.5)
 θελ' είσταν κρατούμενος νά τό στρέψη *Assizes A* 175.25
 και τί θελ' απογένει *Diig. Apoll.* 477
 ά σέ νικήσω τό λοιπόν, θελ' άκουστέι μεγάλος *Alex. Rim.* 749 (1 sg.)
 θελ' είσθαι πάντα μετά σέ *DEFAR., Log. did.* 460
 και φορεσιές να κάμουνσι όμορφες θελ' ορίσει *CHORTATSI, Panor. Dedic.* 41; πάντα ανοιχτό τό
 σπίτι μου θελ' είσται για τ' έκείνο *id., Katz.* III.347
 θελ' είσθαι ύπογεγραμμένον (1591, Kefalonia, CHRYSOCHOIDIS 1977: 1, 207.33)
 τό πουλίον ... θελ' έλθει πάλιν *Diig. Alex. Sem.* B 1063
 θελ' είστ' ό χαλασμός μου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 459.26
 ό θεός θελ' είσταιν βοηθός μου *Dig.* O 705; ή καρδιά τους θελ' εύρει ίατρεια *ibid.* 802
 ή Λευκουσιά θελ' είσθαινε *Al. Kypr.* 925 (for -(ν) see I, 2.6.3.3)
 κι έγω θελ' είσται δούλη σου *Markada* 185

Shortened forms of the auxiliary *θέλω* are also found with this construction from at least the 15th c. onwards: 2 sg. *θές*, 3 sg. *θέ(ν)*, 1 pl. *θέμε(ν)*, 2 pl. *θέτε(ν)* and 3 pl. *θένε/θέσι*. For these forms with volitive *θέλω*, which appear in written texts in the same period, see 2.4;

¹⁵ This is likely to be a literal translation from the Italian (*sarà corrente*).

¹⁶ The same can be observed for volitive *θέλω*, e.g. προς τόν ήμπεριον λόγον θελ' άρχινίσει *Imb. Rim.* 803; δε
 θελ' άλλον *NEOFYTOS, Achouri* 50

for indeclinable θέ(ν) see below, 5.1.4.6; 3 sg. forms are considered to be personal unless a text has indeclinable θέ(ν) for other persons as well.

- μάθει θές πῶς δοξεύω *Pol. Tr.* 4826
 ἡ ξενιτεία μὲ θέ κερδαίνει *Peri xen.* 256
 σὲ θέ πατάξει *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 206; διὰ μὲ θές πᾶ στόν Ἄδην *ibid.* 1912
 καὶ ποία ψυχὴ δὲν θέ θλιβῇ *Rim. than.* 61 ms (θὰ in the ed.)
 θέ κοπὴ πᾶσα σας δυσκολία *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 733; εἰς τέτοια πάθη θές ἐμπῇ *id., Log. did.* 319
 θές τὸν ἰδεῖ στόν ὕπνον σου *Alex. Rim.* 87; εἶπασι τί πάρει θέ τὴν Τύρο *ibid.* 666
 θές γλιτώσει *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 71.15
 στόσον κακὸν ποῦ θέ γενεῖ *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 793
 θές χάσει τὸ βασίλειον *VENDRAMOS, Istor. Filarg.* 24
 θές πρικαθεῖ *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.10
 θές ἰδεῖ τὸ πῶς δὲν εἶν' τιμὴ σου *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.65
 δὲν ξεύρουν πῶς θὲν τζακισθῇ σὰν πῆλινα τζυγκάλια *MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach.* 1156 (3 pl. < θένε)
 εἰ θέ τύχει (1669, Naxos, *RODOLAKIS* 1994: 1, 577.4)
 ὥς θέτε ἴδεῖ *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 71
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ποῦ θές περιπατεῖ *Florios* 1134
 ὀλίγα θές κοπιᾷ *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 233; θές περνᾷ *ibid.* 317
 ὅτ' ὅσα κάμω ν' ἀσπριστοῦν, ἐσύ τα θές μαυρίζεις *ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 12.7
 ποτὲ δὲν θές ἔχει τὸ λογιάζεις *MOREZINOS, Klini* 50.20
 θές τρώγει *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* I.131
 θές εἴσται κρατημένος (1690, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 9, 23.25)

5.1.4.2 θέλω + Subjunctive

The earliest isolated example of θέλω with a bare subjunctive appears in the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos (11th c.),¹⁷ after which it does not resurface in texts until the 14th c. From then and throughout the period covered by this Grammar, it is found in both literary and non-literary texts from north to south and east to west. The most plausible explanation for the origin of the construction is still that of JOSEPH (1983: 188–9) and PAPPAS/JOSEPH (2001), who see a connection between the loss of final /n/ of the infinitive, which made the active and passive infinitives (in -ει(ν) and -η(ν) respectively) homophonous to the 3

¹⁷ Εἰ δὲ καταγύρωθεν ὅλα θέλουν ἀποστατήσουν *Kekaumenos, Strategikon* clxviii (ed. Roueché). MARKOPOULOS (2009a: 166) infers that, since the construction appears in this middle-register text, it is bound to have been well-established. However, some caution is perhaps in order, since it may be a simple writing mistake (ἀποστατήσουν for ἀποστατήσιν), or a slip of the pen of the 14th-c. scribe who copied the sole manuscript to have come down to us. The correction suggested by the first editors Vassilievsky and Jernstedt and by Joseph (2009b: 206) that θέλουν ἀποστατήσουν is in fact a case of haplography for θέλουν νὰ ἀποστατήσουν is equally plausible. Kekaumenos has several instances of ἵνα used as a complementizer, e.g. οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι εἶπον ἵνα μὴ ποιῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἡμέρας πολλὰς εἰς ἓνα τόπον and θέλεις ἵνα σε ἀχρειώσω; and there even are three other instances of νὰ (which, of course, could be innovations by the scribe of the manuscript, given the fact that ἵνα is much more common in this text): ἴσως νὰ εἴπῃς ὅτι ἀφρων ἐστὶ (futurative); σκόπει δὲ νὰ μὴδὲ τοῦτό σε διαλανθάνῃ (complementizer); περὶ τὸ νὰ σὲ φοβοῦνται ὑπόχειροί σου (substantivized substitute for the infinitive).

sg. finite forms of the active present (in -ει) and the aorist active and passive subjunctives (in -η). The 3rd person singular being the most frequently used person, these forms thus allowed for reanalysis of the infinitive as a finite form, which enabled other persons for the θέλω construction to take on the corresponding finite forms as well.¹⁸

θέλω + Aorist Subjunctive

- θέλουν ἀρματώσουσι *Chron. Mor.* H 368
 θέλου συμπαθιστοῦσι *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 1086
 ὅσοι θέλουν ἀφονταὶ τὰς σάρκας τοῦ διαβόλου *Phys.* 530
 θέλου ἀνακατωθοῦ οὐλοὶ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ (1486, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 9, 61.7)
 θέλουν ἀρματώσουν τὸ κουμούνιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 350.31
 ἀποθάνεις θέλεις *Peri xen.* 449
 γενεῖ θέλει τώρα χρόνων τριάντα *Diig. Alex.* K 345.33; το τί θάνατον θέλεις ἀποθάνεις *ibid.* 365.29
 οὐδὲ χωριστοῦν θέλουν εἰς ἐτοῦτον τὸν κόσμον *Diig. Alex. Sem.* S 423
 θέλου ὑπογράφου (1641, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 229, 186.34)
 γιατί θέλω θανατωθῶ *VEST., Prol. Theot.* 33; θέλω κάμω καὶ τοῦτο *id., Pathi* 57
 δὲ θέλουν δυνηθοῦν *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 420
 θέλουν ορίσουσιν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 3964; πῶς θέλουν τον νικήσουν *ibid.* 8490
 θέλω ἀφήσω (1668, Naxos, *KEFALLINIADIS* 1971/73: 481.31)
 θέλουν κάμου (1671, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 20, 91.11); θέλουν πάρου (*ibid.* 91.18)
 θέλουνσι πουληθοῦσι (1681, Constantinople, *VELOUDIS* 1987: 11, 309, f.1r.22)
 θέλω δώκω εἰδήσεις (1690, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 9, 23.24)
 θέλεις ἐπιμεληθῇς περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου (1699, Sinai, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 8, 64.20)

θέλω + Present Subjunctive

- θέλεις εἶσαι πολλὰ πολλὰ ἀναπατημένος (1508, Ios, *PATRAMANI* 1989/90: 3, 173.40)
 θέλεις πειράζεσαι *Diig. Alex.* E 65.12 (Konstantinopolis); καὶ θέλεις κολάζεσαι ἐδῶ *ibid.* 133.9–10
 καθὼς θέλει πουλιέται (1549, Crete, *DRAKAKIS* 2004: 39, 44.6)
 ὅ,τι ἄλλο θέλει βρῖσκεται *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.390; καὶ πάντα θέλω σ' ἀγαπῶ *ibid.* I.392 app. crit. (A)
 ὅ,τι ροῦχα θέλει ἔχει στ' ἀρχοντικό τση (1607, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 448, 410.8–9)
 πάντα θέλεις συγχωρᾷς κι' ἐμένα *MONTSEL., Evgena* 366
 καλλίτερα θέλεις εὐρίσκεσαι παρὰ ὅπου ποτέ (1655, Athens, *KAMBOUROGLOU* 1889: 178.9–10)
 θέλεις ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν ἔπαινον (1658, Galats, *TCHENTSOVA* 2004: 20, 126.36–7)
 θέλεις εἶσαι ὀρισμένος (1686, Tinos, *LAMBROS* 1909b: 1, 243.14)
 θέλω εἶμαι πάντα εἰς τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς σου (1695, Ioannina, *MICHAILARIS* 1976: 1 [A], 250.15)
 δὲν θέλεις ἔχεις ἔγνοια δι' αὐτά (1698, Sinai, *PAPASTRATOU* 1981: 7, 61.56)
 εἰς τοιαῦτα μέρη δὲν θέλουν διαρρέουν κακοὶ χυμοὶ *Don Kis.* 463.15

¹⁸ Objections to this interpretation raised by MARKOPOULOS (2009a: 167) are ill-supported, since he interprets single examples that are centuries apart and crucially occur in different syntactic environments as proof of a wide pattern of finite complementation in all future periphrases, whereas the sources clearly show that only with θέλω does finite complementation occur regularly. This is not surprising given the residual character of the μέλλω and ἔχω + infinitive constructions, which generally leaves less room for innovation (for μέλλω and ἔχω see 5.1.2 and 5.1.3).

Shortened forms of the auxiliary θέλω are also found with this construction (for these forms with non-futurative, volitive meaning see 2.4):

πῶς τότε θες πληρώσεις FALIEROS, *Rim. Par.* 249 (reading of ms N)
 δντε θες γράφεις χαρτί (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.12)
 θε σε κανακίζει DEFAR., *Log. did.* 459
 θες δεις την πεθυμιά σου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.400; πλιά κακό παρά καλό θες έχεις από μένα
 id., *Katz.* II.85; γιά γγίξε μου, και θες ιδεις, καημένε, πῶς σε δέρνω ibid. III.534
 μάθεις το θες και δεις το θες *Thysia Avr.* 130
 θες έρθης νά με πάρης *Alfan.* 11 8
 θες γροικᾶς KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.594; και δε θες εὔρης διαφορὰν ibid. I.1527
 θέν συγχυσθοῦσιν *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.87; τῶρι θέτε δῆτε ibid. V.31

For persons other than 3 sg. the shortened form θέ(ν) + subjunctive is found mainly in texts from the Chios/Naxos area (Stavrinos, who was from Epirus, being the only striking exception) from the early 17th c. onwards. Final /n/ is added to θέ before stops (/k/, /p/, /t/) (for the use of this shortened form in a volitive sense see 2.4).

θέ(ν) + Aorist Subjunctive

θέ γράφω GERMANO, *Grammar* 81.9–10; θέν πάρω ibid. 81.22; θέ γραφῶ ibid. 82.3; θέ γράφουνε ibid. 83.17; θέν τὸ γράφω ibid. 85.32; θέ θελήσω ibid. 94.23
 και θε μας ονειδίσουν STAVRINOS, *Diig. Mich. Voiv.* 164 (Pidonia)
 τὴν ὥρα πού θε φάγω VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 33; θέ διορθώσει ibid. 368; πού θε γεννήσει τὸν Θεόν ibid. 354
 θε γροικήσεται PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 133
 θέ δῆτε ὅλοι KONDAR., *Paidēs* 53; πού θέν τὴν ἀγκαλιάσουσι, κάμινον θε βαλθοῦσι ibid. 57;
 θέν κάμω ibid. 181; θέν μάθωμεν ibid. 667; θε φανοῦν τὰ λόγια σας ibid. 668; πάραυτα θέν χαθοῦσι ibid. 769
 θέν ἀντιμέψω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 21; τὸ τί παιδί θέν ποίση ibid. 41; θε γένη ibid. 53; και ὅπου θέν μπορέσουν ibid. 324; τῶρα θε δῆς ibid. 1943; δε θέν τὸ μετανοιώση ibid. 2248
 θέν συγχυσθοῦσιν *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.87

θέ(ν) + Present Subjunctive

Σιών, μήτηρ μου θε λοῦσαι VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 103
 πάντα εἰς τὸν λογισμό θε σ' ἔχω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 946

5.1.4.3 θέλει + Subjunctive

Impersonal θέλει + subjunctive has a rather strong presence in texts from the Heptanese and Chios, and has also been found in texts from the Cyclades and Mani.¹⁹ Its first attestations date from the 16th/17th c. The presence of this construction in *Panoria* and *Katzourbos* (though tellingly not in *Erofili*) does not necessarily prove that it is Cretan as well, since mss A (which also contains *Katzourbos*), D and N are considered to have Heptanesian

¹⁹ Beyond the period covered by this Grammar, the construction can still be found in the early correspondence of Adamandios Korais, vol. 1, e.g. in letter 11 (1783, writing to Smyrna): ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὅποια θέλει λάβω (27.10); in letter 25 (1787): θέλει εὔρης (79.33); in letter 27 (1788): εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς θέλει σε γράφω περισσότερα (94.5), but in 1791: θέλεις ὑποχρεῶσαι (letter 38, 146.2); and in the grammars of Katartzis and Venieris (see MANOLESSOU 2012 for details).

influences. Like most future periphrases impersonal θέλει + subjunctive can have modal connotations:

θέλει + Aorist Subjunctive

(κανέναν ἀσκημο βροσκό ...) θέλει σου δώσου γι' ἀντρα σου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.245
 με ἄλλο θέλει σοῦ τὸ στεῖλω (1637, Chios, PAPADOPOULOS 1989: 3, 95.13); θέλει τὰ στεῖλετενε
 τ' ἀφέντη ... (1657, Ancona, ibid. 8, 111.9) (author from Chios; for addition of -(ν)ε see I, 2.6.3)
 ὅπου θέλει υπογράφου (1638, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 102, 103.28)
 ἡ ἐγὼ θέλει τὸ ὑπάγω, ἡ θέλω τὸ στεῖλει (1657, Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 187, 211, f.200r.8–9) (author from Kefalonia)
 ἀμὴ ἐκεῖ στήν μέλλουσαν θέλιν στεφανωθούμεν IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 9514
 και πῶς ἀπὸ τὸ θάνατον ἐγὼ θέλει γλυτώσω; KONDAR., *Paidēs* 328
 θέλει σε ονειδίσω PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 234; αὔριο θέλει δῆτενε ibid. 1424
 ἡθέλει κάμου (1668, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 3, 14.10)
 θέλει ξεδιαλύνω MONTSEL., *Evgena* 85; θέλει τὸν ἰδοῦμε ibid. 227; θέλει στεῖλω ibid. 799
 θέλει ἀτσετάρεις τὸ ὀλίγο (17th c., Sifnos?, TSELIKAS 1986c: 4, 42.28)
 θέλει ἀρριβαριστοῦνε ὁμπροστά (1681, Genoa, VAYAKAKOS 1988: 508.62–3) (author from Mani)
 θέλει πᾶμε νὰ κριθοῦμε (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.5)
 θέλει τὴν γνωρίσω *Diig. Vefa* 847
 θέλει βεβαιώσουν (1707, Lefkada, GRAPSA 2006: 2, 35.17); θέλει ξεκάμομε (1708, ibid. 7, 41.9)
 θέλει τῶνε δώσω νοτίσια (1707, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 16, 34.22)
 κ' ἐμεῖς θέλει τὰ κάμομε KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* II.322; γλήγορα θέλει ἰδῆτε ibid. IV.269

θέλει + Present Subjunctive

τότες δα θέλει κατέχουν οὔλοι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.377 (mss AD)
 ἔτσι θέλει εἴμεσθεν φίλοι Bertoldos 21.33; ἐσὺ θέλει εἶσαι ἕνας ἀπὸ τ' ἐκείνους ibid. 71.32
 ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους θέλει εἶσαι τιμημένος Bertoldin. 101.21
 μὰ ξεῦρε ἀπ' ἐμᾶς πῶς θέλει ἔχεις κόπον PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 898
 ὅ,τι θέλει ἔξίζουν ἐκεῖνα (1682, Cyclades, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 231, 411.5–6)
 θέλει τῆς εἶμαι πάντα κρατημένη KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* III.125

Before verbs starting in a vowel the auxiliary may be reduced to θελ':

κι' ἂν ξετελειώσης τὴ δουλειά, θελ' εἶναι γιὰ καλλιὰ σου CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.18; μεγάλη
 καλορίζικη θελ' εἶσαι, Πουλισένα ibid. V.406
 θελ' ἀγαπήσω GERMANO, *Grammar* 81.19–20
 θελ' εἴμεσθεν πάντοτε 'κεῖ σιμά τους KONDAR., *Paidēs* 69
 εἰς τὴν χώρα σου θελ' εἶσαι αὔριον βράδυ MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1048
 θελ' εἶσαι ευχαριστημένος (17th c., Sifnos?, TSELIKAS 1986c: 4, 41.25–6)

The combination of impersonal θέλει with an infinitive is very rare, as well as awkward since this construction fails to show the number and person of the subject unless there is an explicit predicate, as in the following example (μπαλοτάδοι): οἱ ὅποιοι θέλει εἶσται κάθε δύο χρόνους μπαλοτάδοι (1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 34.8) (deontic connotations: "who will/must be elected every two years").

5.1.4.4 θέλω νά + Subjunctive

In the first centuries of the LMedG period there was a clear distinction between θέλω + infinitive for the future and θέλω νά + subjunctive for modal meanings, e.g. volitive:²⁰ καὶ τότε θέλω νά σε ἰδῶ τὸ πῶς τὸν θέλεις σύρειν *Ptoch. IV* 509 ("and then I want to see how you're going to drag him forth"); deontic: τὰ ρ' δοκάτα τῆς ράτας τοῦ τὰ θέλει νά πλερώσει τὴν αὐτὴ ἐχρονία (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 50, 27.2) ("the 100 ducats in interest, which he must pay in the same year"), θές νά παρηγοῶσαι *CHORTATIS, Erof. I* 437 ("you must take courage"); or even potential: ὅσο κι ἂ θέλει νά 'ν' πολὺ, πέ μου τὸ φταίσιμό σου *CHORTATIS, Erof. I* 113 ("however great your mistake may be, tell me what you did"). As a general interplay between modal and futurative θέλω constructions can be observed throughout the centuries (see also the introduction to 5.1 and cf. e.g. in the EMG period the use of shortened forms for both), and given the equally general tendency to substitute clausal complements for infinitival ones (see IV, 2), it was only to be expected that θέλω νά + subjunctive would come to be used for future reference as well. First examples of future-referring θέλω νά + subjunctive date to the 14th c. and the construction continues to be found in literary and non-literary texts, with a wide geographical distribution. And even though it is obviously not as popular a construction as θέλω + infinitive, it can be found throughout the remainder of the period covered by this Grammar:

θέλω νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- κι εἰς ὅσους χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς θέλω νά τὸ κρατήσω *Chron. Mor. H* 8737
 ὅλον τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὅπου θέλω νά ζήσω *Pol. Tr.* 342 app. crit. (B)
 καρπὸν ὅπου θέλει νά παραλάβει ὁ λεγόμενος Μαράνος (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 48.41)
 διὰ τόσας ἡμερόνυχτας θέλει νά ἀνεβεῖ ὁ ὄφης εἰς τὸν πύργον (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 4, 694.8)
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θέλει νά μετανῶση *Assizes B* 250.25
 ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐγνώρισε ... ὅτι θέλει νά γεννήσῃ ἡ Θεοτόκος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.10
 καὶ γράφετε πῶς θέλει νά ἐρημώσῃ ὁ τόπος (17th c., Athos, MEYER 1894: XVI, 221.7)
 ἐγὼ θέλω νά γράψω ἢ ἔχω νά γράψω *KRITOPOULOS, Grammar* 110.14–15
 ἀφόντις ἀπεθάνω θέλω νά κάμω ἀνδραγαθίαν; [VLASTOS], *Dig. P IV* 343.29–30
 θέλει νά ἔλθῃ τὸ γρόσι ἀπὸ ὀγδόντα *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §32.15–16; θέλει νά καὶ τὸ σπῆτιν ὅλον *ibid. III* §7.61
 τὸ τί θέλει νά τῶρθῃ *MONTSEL., Evgena* 71
 θέλει νά καταλυθῇ τὸ κρασί *LANDOS, Geopon.* 167.15–16
 θέλει νά χαλάσῃ ἡ Ἀθήνα (1677, Athens, LAMBROS 1910: 302, 198.3)
 ξέχωρα θέλουν νά κριθοῦν *Alfan.* 15 27; δὲν μεριμνᾷς πῶς θέλεις ν' ἀποθάνεις; *ibid.* 32
 ἐχάρη κατὰ πολλὰ, ποὺ θέλει νά κάμῃ παιδί *Alex. Fyll.* 11.8–9

θέλω νά + Present Subjunctive

- ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες θέλει νά ἐνι τοιοῦτῃ *Assizes A* 52.21
 τὸν Ἑβραῖον ... ὅπου θέλομεν νά πέμπομεν (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 19, 24.10–11)
 ὅ,τι μέλισσες θέλουν ... νά εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὸ ... μοναστήρι (1550, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 68, 93.23–4)
 κολαστήρια ὅπου θέλουν νά κολάζωνται οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 110.32–3

²⁰ Early examples of volitive θέλω + ἵνα can be found in the Hellenistic period (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 73–6).

- τὸ τέρμενο ἀποὺ θέλου νά στέκου ἀμάδι (1617, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1988: B, 160.29)
 καὶ τότε τί ἔπαινον θέλω νά ἔχω; [VLASTOS], *Dig. P IV* 343.30
 μεγάλο μιστὸν θέλετε νά ἔχετε *PAPASYNAD., Chron. IV* §16.7
 καὶ τοῦτα σὲ κιαμιὰ βολὰ θέλει νά τὰ θυμάται *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 411.13
 ἡ παροῦσαν τῶς διαθήκην καὶ παραγγίλιες θέλου νά εἶναι ἰσχυρὲς (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.16–17)
 αὐτὸ θέλει νά εἶναι χειρότερον παρὰ ἐκεῖνο τῶν ἀνεμομύλων *Don Kis.* 49.22

An example of this construction with an articular νά clause appears in version P of the *Chronicle of Morea*. This construction is in itself quite rare with θέλω, and if used, normally has volitive meaning:²¹ ὅσο κοῦρσον θέλουσιν τοῦ νά διαφορέσουν ... νά ἐναὶ ἐδικόν τους *Chron. Mor. P* 5674–5.

Shortened forms of the auxiliary θέλω are also found with this construction. In Cypriot texts 3 sg. is often spelled θέννα or θθὲ ννά, reflecting gemination (see I, 3.4). (For these forms with volitive θέλω see also 2.4; the construction is regionally used, as a periphrastic subjunctive, for which see 5.7.2.4; for impersonal θὲ νά see below, 5.1.4.6.)

- ὡς λέων θὲ νά δράσῃ *KORONAIOS, Andrag. Bua XIII* 94
 φουρτοῦνα θὲ νά ποίση *Fyll. gadar.* 100
 ὡς ἐκεῖ ὅπου θὲ νά σκεπαστῇ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 68, 66.7)
 θὲ νά κάτση *VENDRAMOS, Istor. gyn.* 205; καράβι θὲ νά μδρθῇ *id., Istor. Filarg.* 250
 θὲς νά κάμεις ταραχή, σὰ σοῦ τὸ μολογήσω *Thysia Avr.* 133
 θὲ νά τοῦ δώσει (1677, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 452.2)
 τὸ ψαλτικὸ τοῦ, ποὺ θενὰ μὲ ψάλει (1678, Andros, POLEMIS 1977: 1, 29.9)
 'που θθε' ννά δῇ *Thrinios Kypr.* 1; θεννὰ τοὺς καταδράμη *ibid.* 826

5.1.4.5 θέλει νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal θέλει νά + aorist or present subjunctive is not attested very frequently and often has strong modal connotations (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 179–82), usually deontic and sometimes potential. It can, however, also be found with a purely futurative meaning (*Diig. Vefa*), notably with impersonal verbs (see the examples from Morezinos and Landos):

θέλει νά + Aorist Subjunctive

- θέλει νά γενεῖ χειμῶνας δυνατὸς *MOREZINOS, Klini* 216.24
 ἀλήθειαν ορίζετε, γαβρόν θέλει νά 'πάρω *Diig. Apoll.* 300 (deontic)
 μὰ πῶς θέλει νά τὸ ποῦμεν *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 236.10 (Xirouchakis) (potential)
 τὸ γουρούνι ἐγνωρίζει πότε θέλει νά χιονίσῃ *LANDOS, Geopon.* 131.11–12
 θέλει νά τὸν ἀποκεφαλίσουν *Diig. Vefa* 842

²¹ In the corresponding verse ms H has a clearly futurative θέλω + aor. inf. construction. H uses θέλω τοῦ νά + subj. sparingly, and only in volitional contexts, e.g. θέλω τοῦ νά σκολάσω *Chron. Mor. H* 441; ἀν θέλετε τοῦ νά γενῇ *ibid.* 425. Other examples of volitional use are: θέλω τοῦ νά σὰς δείξω *Pol. Tr.* 11691 app. crit. (B); ἐσέναν εἶχε θέλημα ἄντρα τοῦ νά μὲ δώσῃ *Liv. E* 2237; μὴ θέλῃς τοῦ νά φαίνεσαι *Flor. L* 1127; θέλει τοῦ νά φύγῃ *Achil. N* 262.

θέλει νά + Present Subjunctive

τά δώδεκα θέλει νά εἶναι εικοσιοκτώ (post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 99b, 80.5) (deontic)

οι κάτζες τους θέλει νά 'ναι μακριές μπάλλες τέσσερεις (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 62.5) (deontic)

5.1.4.6 θελά + Subjunctive

With univerbation of the verb and νά, resulting in a form θελά (cf. μελλά (5.1.2), μπορά (4.1.2.1) and πά (2.4 s.v. ὑπάγω)), the construction has predominantly futurative reference. Only a few examples have been found, in texts of the 17th and 18th c.:²²

γῆινά 'ναι τὰ κορμιά μας καί στήν γῆν θελά θαφτοῦν *Charon* II 5

νέφη θελά θέλου γερθῇ *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol. 112* (double construction, see the introduction to 5.1)

ὁ χαλασμός θελά σταθῇ ἀκόμη τοῦ Χανδάκου *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 275.14*

θελά γενοῦν/γένουν τὰ δύο χωράφια ἓνα (1764, Zagori, SOULIS 1934: 53, 97.6)

5.1.4.7 θέ(ν) νά + Subjunctive

PAPPAS/JOSEPH (2001) and ROBERTS/ROUSSOU (2003: 68–9) argue that a futurative, impersonal θέλει νά + subjunctive was the direct ancestor of θέ νά, but the data presented above (5.1.4.5) indicate that this construction appears relatively late and is hardly common enough to have led to the widespread use of θέ νά. Given, as noted, the mutual influence between non-futurative and futurative θέλω constructions, and also given the fact that shortened forms of θέλω had been in use for some time in all uses of the construction, it is likely that θέ νά evolved, not from impersonal θέλει νά, but from personal θέλω νά, as noted by HORROCKS (?2010: 228–9 and 301–2, esp. fn. 11). It is often, though seldom systematically, spelled θέννα or θθῆ ννά in Cypriot texts, reflecting gemination (see I, 3.4). Θέ νά can be found from the 15th/16th c. onwards and throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar,²³ in texts from southern and insular areas (Cyprus, Crete, Heptanese, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands and Chios):

θέ(ν) νά + Aorist Subjunctive

μέσα στὰ δάση θέ νά καταντήσω *Cypr. Canz. 34.3 app. crit.*

καί δλα θέ νά πάψου *Alex. Rim. 385*

ἄν τοῦς πιάσω, | δλους θέ νά τοῦς κρεμάσω *TRIVOLIS, Tagiap. 81–2*

πρίκες καί καημοί θέ νά τονέ πλακώσου *CHORTATIS, Erof. Prol. 125*

διατί θέ νά μοιράσωμεν τσί λεγόμενες ἀγελάδες (1609, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 59, 58.9)

στό λίμπρο μου θέ νά τὸ βρῶ *MONTSEL., Evgena 71*

βλέπε, τῆς λέγει, μάτια μου, τί θενά κάμω τώρη *PETRITSIS, Dig. O 1920*

το φλάμπουρον κει μέσα θε να βάλουν *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali 7155; θεν να διωχθούσιν ibid. 7362*

²² The construction also in Vilaras's *Ρομεκη γλωσσα* (1814), p. η': θελα τεριασομε, θελα φκιασομε, θελα σπησομε.

²³ E.g. in Kolokotronis's *Memoirs*: τὰ ἄρματα τῆς Πελοποννήσου τί θενά γένουν; τί θενά γένουν οἱ κόποι τους; 58.8–9 (ed. E. Alexiou), and well into the 20th c., in the work of certain MG authors, such as Gryparis and Varnalis.

δπου θέ νά φορτώσουσι (1670, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 2, 577.18–19)

ἐκεῖ θεννά κριθοῦσιν *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko 434*

θέ νά 'ρθῆς μέ τὸ καράβι (1683, Gortynia, KONOMOS 1969a: 63.6)

θέ νά φήκουμε (1705, Symi, GEORGA-VOLONAKI 1974: 1, 204.16)

τί θενά κάμης, διὰ ὄνομα Θεοῦ (1708, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 23, 98.50)

θέ νά γένου *KATSAITIS, Ifig. II.260*

θέ(ν) νά + Present Subjunctive

θέ νά τὰ ξηγᾶται *Cypr. Canz. 23.11 app. crit.*

θέ νά 'χης θεραπεία *Alex. Rim. 115*

θέ νά τὰ διδῶ (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 180, 170.8)

θέ νά ψήνεται σ' αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol. 1411*

τοῦ γάμου τῇ χαρὰ θέ νά 'χη *Stathis I.55*

θέ νά τρώει τὸ ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι τὸ ἡμισυ (1593, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 55, 77.12)

παντοτινὰ τῶς φαίνεται οἱ ἄθλιοι θέ νά ζοῦσι *P&N Diath. 60*

κι ὁ ἥλιος, ἄγουρέ μου, θέ νά πησῖνη *Vosk. 118*

ἐτότες θέ νά εἶναι κομμένο (1626, Crete, MALTEZOU 1995: [1], 199.191–2)

θενά ψηφίζεται (1672, Milos, CHATZIDAKIS I. 1927: A, 300.14)

θέ νά δίνει (1677, Chios, KANELAKIS 1890: 452.7–8)

μά πάντα θέ νά λέτε *BOUNIALIS M., Kat. ofel. 383*

αὐτὸς θέ νά πηγαῖνη εἰς τὰ πράματάν της (1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83:

743, 1013.10)

τούτην τὴν γῆν ὅπου πατεῖς θέ νά τὴν ἔχης στρῶμα *Alfan. II 18*

5.1.5 θά

	Restricted
Simple	θά γράψω
Continuous	θά γράφω

The future particle θά, now the SMG formation for the future, makes its first appearances in texts from Crete towards the end of the 16th c.,²⁴ and begins to spread to other areas

²⁴ As many editors do not seem to be aware of the relatively late appearance of θά, there are quite a few examples in earlier texts that, upon closer scrutiny, prove to be phantoms. They are either the result of editorial intervention (e.g. three instances of θά in the late-13th-c. *War of Troy* 1816, 8796 and 8972 and one instance in Lambros's edition of the Oxford version of *Logos Parigoritikos* 291), or simple mistakes, as in the 15th-c. *Hymn on Death*: καὶ ποῖα ψυχὴ δὲν θά θλιβῇ *Rim. Than. 61*, where the ms clearly and unmistakably reads θῆ θλιβῇ (Marc. gr. IX 17 (coll. 1247), f.94r; ms dated 14/05/1493); or: τί θά πῃ *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd. 28*, in the same ms (f.74r), which clearly reads τί νά πῃ; in the *Logoi Didaktikoi* of Defaranas: τὸ τί θά φᾶσι *DEFAR., Log. did. 312*, whereas the Venetian edition of 1543 clearly reads: τὸ τί νά φᾶσι. There is ostensibly a very early example from Yemen in the *Rasûlid Hexaglot*, an Arabic–Persian–Turkic–Greek–Armenian–Mongol glossary composed by or at the behest of Al Malik al Afdal, king of Yemen (1363–77), written in Arabic script: *ladopise* (14th c., Yemen, GOLDEN 2000: 82.3); however, from an earlier publication by the editor on the Greek text of the *Hexaglot* (GOLDEN 1985: 93, s.v. θά (θαννᾶ)), it becomes clear that in the Arabic transcription of this phrase the scribe did not use any diacritical marks on the Arabic characters. Here the editor transcribes this phrase as “*lad bysy ... θά τὸ ποιῆσε* or *θά νά ποιῆσε*”). The first character, depending on the number and position of the diacritical dots, can represent /b/, /v/, /θ/ or /n/ in word-initial and medial positions (personal communication Caroline Janssen, Ghent University). A reading νά τὸ ποιεῖ is therefore much more likely.

soon after; in the 17th c. it reaches the Heptanese and the northern mainland, and by the late 17th c. it can already be found in areas as remote as Transylvania. It is likely to be the result of univerbation of *θέ* and *νά* (see above) (see PAPPAS/JOSEPH 2001 for discussion and bibliography), similar to forms such as *μπορά* (4.1.2.1), *θελά* (5.1.4.5), *μελλά* (5.1.2) and *πά* (5.1.7). For non-futurative use of this particle (e.g. volitive, as in: *ὁ Κάης τότες ἐξήλεψε, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θά μοιάση* *P&N Diath.* 1270; or epistemic: *δεκάξι χρόνοι σήμερο θά προπατοῦ, ἃ δὲ σφάνω* *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.570), see 2.4 s.v. (ἐ)θέλω. The distinction between futurative and volitive use is not always easy to make. For instance, the following example can have either a futurative or a volitive interpretation: *᾽ς τόσον κακὸν ποῦ θέ γενεῖ ἄλλην βουλὴν θά πιάσω* *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 793. *θά* is used with an aorist subjunctive for the simple future and with a present subjunctive for the future continuous, to express progressiveness, habit or repetition.

θά + Aorist Subjunctive

- ἀποῦ θά κτίσης τὸν Μέγαν Ἀντώνιον (1590, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 6, 30.8)
 σήμερο θα σε στερευτώ *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.15; καὶ κορασὲς ἀνήμερες θάνατο θά τοῦ δώσου *id., Erot. Prol.* 126; θα τὴ ρωτήξω *id., Katz.* III.330
 καὶ θά υπογράψει καὶ ἀτός του (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 82, 111.23–4) (hapax)
 θά τὰ ἰδοῦμε *Pist. voskos* II 1.169; τί θά κάμου στὰ παιδιὰ μας *ibid.* I 4.215; θά μοῦ δώσουν *ibid.* IV 5.49
 τὰ τορνέσα ὅπου θά τοῦ δώσει (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 273, 265.12); θά βάλου (1611, *ibid.* 703, 607.10)
 τ' ἀρνὶ ὅπου θά σφάξωμε *Thysia Avr.* 264 app. crit. (M); θά τὰ δοῦμε *ibid.* 570 app. crit. (M); εἰς δ,τι θά μιλήσετε *ibid.* 592 app. crit. (M)
 ξεύρεις τί θά γεννήσῃ ἡ αὐριανὴ ἡμέρα *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §30.22; τί θά πάθουν *ibid.* IV §1.25; τί καλὸν θά κάμεις *ibid.* IV §5.19 (only these three instances)
 δὲ θά σ' ἀναθιβάνω *TROILOS, Rodol.* I.351; θά δῶ *ibid.* I.644
 θά σὲ πάρω *P&N Diath.* 14; εἶδε πῶς θά γεννήσῃ *ibid.* 2069
 ὦ πῶς θά μὲ πειράξεις *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* E8r.30
 ἐτότε θάρθουνε καράβια (1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 306.14)
 θά πάγῃ δουλευτὴς *MONTSEL., Evgena* 127; σκουλήκια θά σᾶς φᾶσι *ibid.* 721
 φουντελομάνικα ἀπὸ τὸ στιάδι ποῦ θά ᾽φάνουν (1687, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 16, 285.26)
 ἀπόκρισιν θά δώκῃς *Alfan.* II 32
 θά τὴν περάσῃς *Diig. Vefa* 6
 θά σοῦ γένῃ ἕνα φοβερότατο κρίμα *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 26.4; θά τὰ μεράσουνε *ibid.* 42.21; θά σᾶς-ε πῶ καὶ ἕνα κακό *ibid.*, 48.1–2
 τὰ κάτω ποῦ θά ᾽ποῦμε *VATATIS, Periig.* I 560

θά + Present Subjunctive

- θά πιάνει *CHORTATIS, Erot.* I.103; θά κρᾶζουσι *ibid.* I.191; δὲ θά μιλεῖ *ibid.* I.354
 θά βράζῃ μέσα *Stathis* II.248
 θά κείτουνται *P&N Diath.* 1209
 παντοτινά θά κλαίγῃς *Thysia Avr.* 656 app. crit. (M)
 θά στέκομέσθα *Pist. voskos* II 1.159
 θά λέσι *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.16
 σὲ φύλαξῃ θά σὲ κρατῶ *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 145.12; καὶ μέρα νύκτα θά μιλεῖ ἡ γλώσσα μου *ibid.* 510.12; ὅλοι θά τὰ θωροῦσι *id., Kat. ofel.* 149; θα στέκουσι δεμένοι *ibid.* 392; στήν κόλασιν θά καίονται *ibid.* 408
 καὶ θά τὰ παίρνῃ (1690, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 2, f.38v.25)

θάμασμα θά τὸ κρατῶ μεγάλο *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1370; τρεῖς εἶχε ποῦ θά πολεμοῦν *ibid.* II.1271

ὁποῖος τοὺς ἐγελάσει, θά εἶναι συχωρεμένος ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 43.4–5

An added final /n/ to *θά* before voiceless stops is graphematic, indicating that the stop of the following enclitic word (typically a 3rd-person pronoun) was pronounced as /d/ rather than /t/. Examples have been found in *Evgena*, whose author was from Zakynthos, and in *Pistikos Voskos*, which is held to be of Cretan provenance:²⁵ *θάν τότε δοκιμάσω Pist. voskos* I 3.214; *θάν τὴν ἀναπάσῃ MONTSEL., Evgena* 119.

5.1.6 εἶμαι

	General	Restricted	Rare
Simple		εἶμαι νά γράψω εἶναι/εἶν/έν νά γράψω	εἶμαι τοῦ νά γράψω εἶμαι διὰ/γιά νά γράψω

5.1.6.1 εἶμαι νά + Aorist Subjunctive

The combination *εἶμαι νά* + aorist subjunctive can have future reference, usually translatable as “I am (going) to” or “I am about to”.²⁶ The construction can also have modal connotations (deontic, potential), without, however, ceasing to have future reference (for this construction see also LIOSIS 2012):

- εἶναι νά γινεῖ μέγαν σκάνταλον *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 276.5; εἶναι νά τραβενιάσει εἰς τὴν χώραν πολλὴν κακὸν *ibid.* 276.11–12
 ὅτεν εἶσαι νά ἐβγάλῃς τούτους τοὺς πόντους (16th c., DELATTE 1946: 495.19–20)
 ἀδυναμίζεις καὶ εἶσαι νά ἀρρωστήσῃς *MOREZINOS, Klini* 44.32–3
 νά ἐρωτήσουν ἕαν εἶναι νά σηκωθεῖ *DAM. STOUT., This., Logos* 18, π7v.8–9 (1561)
 ἃ μᾶς νικήσῃ, δὲν εἶναι νά ἀφήσῃ ψυχὴ (1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 271.10)
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι νά κάμω τὸ ὅσον κάνει *χρεῖα Bertoldos* 66.14
 εἶναι νά πιτῇ φαρμάκι *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.1436
 με τὴν παρὸν μου εἶμαι νά ἀποκριθῶ τὴν αὐθεντία σου (1695, Ioannina, MICHAILARIS 1976: 4 [Δ'], 256.7)

Variations on this construction have been found in Ermoniakos, who has an articular *νά* clause, whereas others substitute *διὰ/γιά νά* for *νά*:

²⁵ Cf. the addition of final /n/ to the conjunction *νά* in texts from Zakynthos, other southern areas, and certain Cycladic islands (Naxos, Andros); see I, 3.7.2.1.3 and I, 3.8.3.1 for details.

²⁶ Note that the same construction, both personal and impersonal, with a present subjunctive does not have future reference: *ἐνὶ νά βιγλίξῃ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ κουστοῦμιν τοῦ καθενὸς Assizes* A 274.4–5 (generic; deontic) (“[a good judge] should consider the life and customs of each [defendant]”); *ζητάτε πρᾶμαν ἀπού δὲν εἶναι νά ᾽χετε VOUSTR. Chron.* A 202.5–6 (potential: *δὲν ἠμπορεῖτε* in B and M); *σίγησ' ἀνὲν καὶ ὀρίξῃς BERGADIS, Apok.* A 284 (present reference) (“be quiet, if you please”); *οὐδὲν σοῦ εἶναι νά κρίνῃς τὸν ἄνδρα σου Diig. Alex.* F 191.14 (Konstantinopoulos) (“it is not your place to be judging your husband”).

(ὁ δὲ Σίσυφος καὶ Νέστωρ ...) εἶναι γοῦν τοῦ νάπεθάνουν ERMON., *Ilias* 17.245
 διὰ νά μάθουσιν ἂν ἐνι διὰ ν' ἀποθάνη SACHLIKIS, *Peri filon* 130 app. crit. (P) (Wagner)
 κι ἂν εἶσαι γιὰ νά σύρεις (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 64.37)
 ἀν δὲν το κάμω ... εἶμαι γιὰ νά παγώσω ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 125.12
 εἶναι διὰ νά ἱερωθεῖ (1698, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 7, 60.38)

5.1.6.2 εἶναι/εἶν/ἐ(ν) νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal εἶναι/εἶν/ἐ(ν) νά + subjunctive can be found mainly in two contexts:²⁷ (1) in conditional clauses with future reference introduced by ἂν (in which νά is often replaced by καί)²⁸ and (2) in negative environments. Complementation with the aorist subjunctive is more common than with the present.

εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νά + Aorist Subjunctive

ἀνὲν καὶ ἔλθῃ (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 13.11)
 ἀνὲν καὶ ἀνοίξεις τινός, θέλειν σε ἐβγάλειν διὰ παράβουλον VOUSTR., *Chron.* M 265.7
 εἰς τὰ ἔπραξες ἀνταμοιβὴ δὲν εἶναι νά σοῦ λείψῃ SKLENTZAS, *Ymn. Ag. Frang.* 38
 τοὺς ποίους δὲν εἶναι νά τοὺς ἀνοματίσω VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.14
 κι ἂν ἐν καὶ χίλιες φορές ξηψυχῇσω *Cyp. Canz.* 69.13
 ἂν ἐνε καὶ πορέσῃς | αὐτὸν τὸν ἄλυ ποταμόν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 31–2
 ἀνὲν καὶ σὺ περάσῃς | αὐτὸν τὸν ἄλυ ποταμόν VENDRAMOS, *Istor. Filarg.* 31–2
 γιὰτὶ φοβοῦμαι βέβαια, ἂν εἶν' καὶ μὲ νικήσου BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 499.9
 ἂν εἶν' καὶ κάμῃς το αὐτὸ KONDAR., *Paidēs* 131
 ἂν εἶναι νά φανερωθῇ KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1991

εἶναι/εἶν/ἐν νά + Present Subjunctive

δὲν ἐν' νά κράζω τὸ λοιπὸν τες Μοῦζες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, | μὰ στὴν Τριάδα τὴν ἀγίαν τὴν κεφαλὴν
 μου κλίνω DEFAR., *Log. did.* 3
 ποῖος εἶ νά μας γυρεύει *Apoll. Rim.* A 1213 and N 1213 (ἐν' νά in V and E)
 μηδένας εἶναι νά ἀμφιβάλλῃ MAX. PELOPON., *Kata loud.* 317.31–2

It is likely that the future particle ἐννα/εννά, which exists among others in modern Cypriot,²⁹ derives from this use of ἐν, as noted by SYMEONIDIS (2006: 218, 240), who rightly points out that the traditional etymology, from θε(λ) νά (MENARDOS 1969: 15; followed by AERTS 1983, YANGOULLIS 2002 s.v. εννά, PAPPAS/JOSEPH 2001 and others), leaves unexplained why the word-initial fricative /θ/ would be deleted.³⁰ See also LIOSIS 2012: 414. Three

²⁷ But cf. future in the past: ἦτο νά σκοτωθοῦν πολλοί MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 96.33, see 5.2.4.1.

²⁸ After ἂν ἐν became lexicalized, it started behaving like a “proper” conjunction, even appearing without καί or νά, followed by a bare subjunctive, at least in Cypriot and Cretan texts, e.g. ἂν ἐνι τὰ σκοινία τοῦ σαμάτου κοποῦν *Assizes* B 325.15–16; ἀνὲν βρεθοῦν πεντήκοντα δικοὶ σου δουλευτάδες CHOUNMNOS, *Kosmog.* 1068; ἀνὲν κουσεντιάσωμέν του MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 596.7; ἀνὲν ποτέ θελήσουσιν τούτοι νά σ' ἀδικήσου *Diig.* *Apoll.* 467; ἀνὲν τακάρου οἱ Τοῦρκοι πλιὸ ἐτούτῃ μας τὴ χώρα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* III.20; ἀνὲν πεθυμᾷς κι ἐσύ *ibid.* III.773; ποῦ χίλιοι χρόνοι ἀνὲ διαβοῦ καὶ χίλιοι ἀνὲν περάσου KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1106.

²⁹ BĂNESCU (1915: 85–6) mentions *e'enna* in parts of S. Italy, implying it derives from ἔχει νά, as does KAP-SOMENOS (1953b: 344).

³⁰ In LMedG/EMG, fricative deletion typically occurs intervocalically (see I, 3.6.1.1), not word-initially, which makes an etymology from θέλω problematic, unless we were to hypothesize that the fricative deletion occurred intervocalically in the form ἐθέλω rather than θέλω, through no fewer than three unattested intermediary stages: ἐθέλω νά > *ἐθέλ' νά > *ἐθέλννα > *ἐέννα > ἐννα. Furthermore, fricative deletion in Cypriot/Dodecanesian normally involves the voiced fricatives /v θ γ/ and not the voiceless fricatives /f θ x/; see I, 3.6.1.1 for details.

instances have been found in a 17th-c. Cypriot text: γιὰτ' ἐν νά παρπατοῦσιν KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 194, 406 and 698 (spelled γιὰτὲν νάπαρπατοῦσιν 194 and 698; γιὰτὲν νάπαρπατοῦσιν 406).

In several Cypriot and Rhodian texts the negated construction occurs with syncopation, through which the phrases δὲν ἐν /'ðenen/ and δὲν ἐν νά /'ðene na/ become δὲν (= δὲ 'ν) and δὲ νά (= δὲ 'ν' νά) respectively (see DAWKINS 1932: II 37; LIOSIS 2012: 413; see also 4.8.1 for examples not involving the future periphrasis):³¹

καὶ δένα τοὺς ὁμολογοῦν (1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.7)
 καὶ δὲν νά σὲ κοξήσουν LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 227
 καὶ δὲ νά 'φεληθῇς MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V. 642.31–2
 δὲν νά τὸ νικήσῃ Fior 130.13
 δὲναυρέθῃ / δένα βρεθῇ VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 290.9 app. crit. (same in M 291.7)

5.1.7 πά

In texts from insular areas a shortened form πά + (νά) + subjunctive occurs that in a way expresses futurity, although the idea of motion is never absent. Invariable πά + subjunctive, in which the conjunction νά has been omitted, or incorporated into πά (cf. θελά (5.1.4.5) μπορά (4.1.2.1) and μελλά (5.1.2.3)), occurs occasionally.

πά νά + Subjunctive

καὶ τὸ νερόν ποῦ πά νά πιῶ *Peri xen.* 243
 μαντάτο πά νά δώσω KONDAR., *Paidēs* 16

πά + subjunctive

πά κτυπήσω | τὴν πόρτα Zinon Prol. 153–4
 καὶ πά διαβῶ VEST., *Paid. Makkav.* 1601
 ἄς πά διαβοῦμεν PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 331

5.2 The Conditional

This section includes constructions that are morphologically the past-tense counterparts to the future periphrases (see 5.1). These constructions make use of the imperfect of the same auxiliary verbs as the future, namely μέλλω, ἔχω, (ἐ)θέλω and εἶμαι. They have a wide variety of complementations (infinitive, subjunctive, νά + subjunctive, participles; for details see below) as well as a wide range of uses.

Periphrases with ἔμελλον had been in use to express so-called “future in the past” since AG and throughout subsequent periods (MARKOPOULOS 2009a). In the period covered by this Grammar ἔμελλον/ἔμελλα constructions mainly express future in the past, an event/action that is posterior to the moment of reference, which is located in the past, e.g.: ἀντὸν ἔμελλεν νά ἀποθάνει, ἐκράξεν τὴν κόρην τῆς VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.2–3 (“when she was about to die, she called for her daughter”). As in previous periods, the construction can

³¹ Note that futurate νά cannot be negated with δὲν; cf. the following example with a conditional: ποτέ μου δὲ νά σ' ἔλλαξα *Katal.* 505, where we should clearly read ποτέ μου οὐδὲ with synizesis (ποτέ μουδὲ in the ms, which can be consulted at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_8241_f192r).

occasionally have conditional readings, e.g. counterfactual deontic, as in the following example: ἀντί τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλον ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς τοῦ | ποιῆσαι τάχα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μᾶς ἐποίησεν αἰσχύνην *Pol. Tr.* 183–4 (“instead of the respect he, and his people, ought to have paid us, he brought us shame”).

The εἶχον + infinitive construction, which in AG expressed obligation-in-the-past, began to be used in conditional contexts expressing ability/possibility-in-the-past (counterfactual) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 70–2). The past future meaning that is predominant with the ἔμελλον construction is the exception rather than the rule with the εἶχον periphrasis (see MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 101–4, who has found very few, isolated examples).³² In fact, in the LMedG period the periphrasis develops in a diametrically opposite direction, namely to anteriority in the past, for which see 5.3.

In the period covered by this Grammar conditional εἶχα + infinitive constructions are used in both protasis (subordinate clause) and apodosis (main clause) of neutral and counterfactual conditional sentences with present and past reference, e.g. καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς λέγει πρὸς τὴν ὥραιαν: | σιώπα, λέγω, ὁμμάτια μου, καὶ ἐμὲν μὴ φοβερίζῃς | ἂν οὐ σέ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ᾽χα *Achil. N* 1569–71 (“and, angry, Achilles said to the fair maiden: | Be silent, my love, and don’t give me grief; | if I didn’t love you as much as I do, I would kill you now”); ἂν εἶχε λείψει ἡ δύναμις ... | γοργὸν ἐπαλαμβάνε τὸν θάνατον ἐκεῖνος *Pol. Tr.* 665–7 (“if it had not been for the power [of Medea’s good advice], [Jason] would soon have died”). It is used only rarely with future reference: ἔκαμεν ὄρκον εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι ἂν εἶχεν τὸν πιάσει, νὰ κάμει πάραυτα νὰ τὸν φουρκίσουν *Bertoldos* 65.16–17 (“he swore to God that, if he were to catch him, he would immediately have him hanged”).

The construction is also used in counterfactual main clauses without conditional clause, in unrealized wishes/commands: νᾶχε σχιστῆν καὶ διχαστῆν ἡ γῆς *Byz. Il.* 261 (“would that the earth had split and opened”); ἂς εἶχες θυμηθῇ κι ἐμὲ *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 138 (“if only you had thought of me”); ἂς εἶχε πάει στ’ ἀνάθεμα *FOSKOLOS, Fort. I*.151 (“she would have been better off dead”); in polite requests: ἄρχισεν νὰ τὴν παρακαλεῖ, ὅτι νὰ τοῦ εἶχε κάμει τὴν χάριν νὰ τοῦ ἀνοίξει *Bertoldin.* 94.30–2 (“he started to plead with her that she would be so good as to open the door for him”); and in rhetorical questions: ἂν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιερότη σου, ἴτα (= ἴντα) εἶχα ἐγὼ γίνεи στὸ κόσμος; (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16) (“if it weren’t for you, my lord, what would have become of me?”).

Its use in other types of subordinate clauses is rare. The following example contains two uses in temporal clauses (as well as one in the main clause with νὰ, expressing a command): ἔστοντας νὰ γρικήσει πὼς ἐκεῖνη ἐπρόσταξεν τοὺς σκυλοφύλακας τῆς, ὅτι πάραυτα ὅπου ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν ἔμπει εἰς τὴν Αὐλήν, αὐτοὶ νὰ εἶχαν ἀφήσει τὰ σκυλιά νὰ ὑπᾶν καταπάνω του, διὰ νὰ τὸν εἶχαν ξεσκίσει ἀσπλαγχνα *Bertoldos* 54.10–13 (“because [Bertoldos] knew that [the queen] had told her dogkeepers to set their dogs upon him, viciously to maul him to death as soon as he would enter the Court”).

³² To the two examples listed by Markopoulos, we may add two more: ἐπιφωσκούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ὀγδόης, ἡμέρα κυριακή, ὅτε εἶχεν ἀπολούσασθαι *Life of St Pelagia the Penitent* 41.263 (5th c.; ed. Flusin); τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ἧ εἶχεν ἐξελθεῖν, φαίνεται αὐτῇ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ μάρτυς Γεώργιος *George Sykeotes, Life of St Theodore Sykeotes* 5.11 (7th c.; ed. Festugière).

The construction ἤθελον + infinitive originally expressed volition only, and continues to bear that meaning throughout the MedG period. Due to a lack of sources, it is difficult to ascertain at what point during the MedG period this construction acquired future-in-the-past and conditional uses alongside the volitional one. The first unambiguously non-volitional ἤθελον + infinitive treated in MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 210 is a counterfactual use (against 19 volitional ones) in Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 292.23–4 (ed. Litavrin): ... λαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν νομίσματα οὐχ ὅσα ἤθελον δοῦναι εἰς τὴν ἐπιπρεῖαν τοῦ στόλου, ἀλλ’ ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι (“[the greedy naval commanders] take from them not as many *nomismata* as one would pay in requisitions for the navy, but double the amount”), an 11th-c. text that has been transmitted in a sole 14th-c. ms. However, there are a few ambiguous EMedG examples, which may not prove that ἤθελον obtained these meanings as early as that, but which at least illustrate how the semantic shift from volition-in-the-past to future in the past and (counterfactual) condition could occur.

An early ambiguous example has been found in the 5th-c. theologian Ammonius of Alexandria, in his *scholia* on the Gospel of John, transmitted in a late 7th-c. *Catena*: ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὖν ἐδίδασκεν ὡς διδάσκαλος, ὅπερ πολὺ αὐτοὺς ἔδακνε, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπίασεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐπω ἦν καιρὸς καθ’ ὃν ἤθελεν παθεῖν Ammonius, *On John* fragment 275 (ed. Reuss), in which the pluperfect of *John* 8, 20 (οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ, “His time had not yet come”) is rendered with ἤθελεν παθεῖν. To the modern eye, a future in the past interpretation seems the most plausible (“... because the time for him to suffer had not yet come”); however, a more complete version of the passage (ed. Cramer, 275.25) makes clear that Ammonius intended the construction to be volitional: τὸ δὲ “οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ,” τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι οὐδέπω καιρὸς ἦν ἐπιτήδειος, καθ’ ὃν ἤθελε σταυρωθῆναι, ὥστε καὶ τότε οὐ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἔργον ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ἐβούλοντο αὐτόν ἀποκτεῖναι, οὐκ ἴσχυον δὲ, αὐτοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, in which Christ not being crucified at that moment in time is clarified with αὐτοῦ μὴ βουλομένου (“for it was not his will”). The following example from Olympiodorus’s *Commentary* on Plato’s *Gorgias* (6th-c. text; 9th-c. ms) seems to favour a counterfactual interpretation, even though a volitive reading cannot be excluded entirely: ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Διογένης ἐωρακὼς ἀτακτοῦν μεῖράκιον τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἔτυψεν (εἰ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἐκεῖνος φροντίζειν, οὐκ ἠτάκτει), οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων Olympiod., *In Platonis Gorgiam* 43.2 (ed. Westerink) (“just as Diogenes struck the teacher when he saw the pupil being undisciplined (for if [the teacher] had paid due attention, [the pupil] would not have been undisciplined), the same applies here”, is perhaps more likely than a volitive interpretation: “... for if [the teacher] had wanted to pay due attention ...”, since what is in question here is not so much the teacher’s willingness to do his duty, but whether or not he did his duty).

As noted, these isolated ambiguous examples do not allow for firm conclusions. What is clear, however, is that from the 13th/14th c. onwards ἤθελα + infinitive is used increasingly to express future in the past and counterfactuality, e.g. ὅταν ἤθελες δοξασθῇ παρ’ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν, | τὰ πάντα προσάπλωσας *Dig. G* II.81–2 (“and when you were about to be honoured by all Syria, you destroyed everything”); εἰ δὲ εἶχεν παραδιαβῇ ἡ α’, οὐδέναν ἤθελεν εὐρεθῇ (post 1356?, Bera/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18) (“for if the first [day] had passed [without anyone taking action], not one [book] would have been saved”).

Constructions with *ἤθελα* are also routinely used in neutral and counterfactual conditional sentences with present and past reference, in both the protasis and the apodosis, e.g. *μ' ἂν ἤμουνε Σιλβίος ἐγὼ, σὰν σοῦπα ἤθελα κάμη* SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A4v.19 (1658) ("but if I were [you,] Silvio, I would do what I just said I would do"); *φακῆν μοῦ εἶπες καὶ φακῆν ἔψησα. Ἄν ἤθελες μοῦ εἰπεῖν φακές, ἤθελα βάλειν πολλές* Vios Aisop. I 260.1–2 ("you said 'lentil', so I cooked a lentil. Had you told me 'lentils', I would have cooked many"). The constructions are also used in non-conditional counterfactual main clauses: *πολλοὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦς ἤθελαν πνιγῇ* Pol. Tr. 3099 app. crit. (BV) ("many of them would have died"); in polite requests: *γράφω τοῦ σιὸρ Φοσκάρδη ... πῶς τὰ ὅσα μετὰξια ἔχει στὰ χέρια του ... νὰ ἤθελε τὰ φορτώσει σὲ πρῶτο μπαστιμένο* (1715, Venice, LIATA 1975: 3, 122.6–8) ("I'll write to Mr Foscardi ... that all the silk he has in stock ... he would do well to ship it out on the first freight ship"); and in less polite requests: *καλὰ ἤθελες κάμης νὰ σωπαίνεις* (1689?, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 868, 1160.3) ("you'd better keep your mouth shut"); in rhetorical questions: *ποῖος οὐδὲν ἤθελε καταγελάσει καὶ νὰ καταπτύσει πολλοὺς πατέρας* SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 101.29–30 ("who wouldn't ridicule and spit on many a father?"); as well as in constructions expressing unrealized wishes, e.g.: *ὅς μὲ ἤθελες τελειώσει* FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 138 ("if only you had ended my misery").

In addition, conditional constructions can be used as future-referring conditionals.³³ It is quite common with *ἤθελα*, but can regionally also be found with *εἶχα* and sporadically with *ἔμελλα*. It is clearly a feature of LMedG/EMG "legalese": it features in future-referring clauses to set up mere hypotheses ("in the event that ...") rather than situations envisaged as actually occurring, thus covering all conceivable times and situations, e.g.:

ξεκαθαρίζοντας καὶ, ἀνίσως καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ ἤθελεν φανεῖ τοῦ λεγομένου Μιχάλη νὰ μισέψη ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ μετόχι διχῶς νὰ ᾔχη ἀφορμὴ ἀπὸ τὸν ἀνωθεν ἄρχο, νὰ χάνη ὅλα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀγομμένα ὅπου ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα, γῆ πούρι ἀνίσως καὶ ἤθελεν εὔρεθῃ ἢ γιὰ φορμὴ ἀπὸ τὸν ἀνωθεν ἄρχο, νὰ μπορῇ νὰ τὰ πλερώνεται ὁ ἀνωθεν γονικάρης ὅλα του τὰ ἀγομμένα ὅπου ἤθελεν κάμει (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.8–11) ("stipulating that, if at any time Michalis were to decide to leave the *metochi* through no fault of the above-mentioned nobleman, he shall lose all [rights to] the improvements he may have made; or, if the above-mentioned nobleman is responsible, the above-mentioned farmer shall be reimbursed for all the improvements he may make") (also note *ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα*, the same construction for the future perfect, for which see 5.5.2)

νὰ μπορεῖ ὁ ἄρχος τση, ἂν ἤθελε ζεῖ, νὰ οὐζουφρουτουάρεῖ τσι αὐτοὺς τόπους (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 51.102)

Ἰνκάζο ἤθελε ἀποθάνει ὁ ἀνωθὲς μου κουινιάδος (1660, Zakynthos, BOUBOULIDIS 1957: 2, 116.26–7) ("in the event that my afore-mentioned brother-in-law were to die ...")

ἂν ἤθελε ἔρτει εἰς τὴ μεριά τοῦ Δραγαμέστου ... νὰ ἔχει πάντα τέρμενο ἕως τε νὰ εὔρει καιρὸ νὰ τόνε φέρει εἰς τὴν Κεφαλλονιά (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.14) ("if he were to come to Dragamesto ... he should always be given a certain period of time in order to return [the slave] to Kefalonia")

A similar use of *εἶχα* is illustrated by the following examples, which, incidentally, all appear in Heptanesian texts (for a similar use of the construction as a futurative subjunctive see 5.7.1.3). No examples have been found before the 17th c.:

³³ According to MARKOPOULOS (2009a: 214), this use is possibly influenced by Venetian, which also has the construction.

ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε ἀναπαγεῖ ἡ γυναῖκα μου καὶ μένουν τὰ παιδία μου ἀνύπα<ν>τρα (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 41.33) ("in case my wife dies and my children remain unmarried")

ἂν εἶχα χάσει τὴ γυνή μου καὶ νὰ πῶ νὰ μπαντρευθῶ καὶ κάμω παιδί, νὰ μεράζουμε πάσα ἓνας τὸ μερτικό του (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 73, 82.17); ("If I lost my wife and were to re-marry, and have [another] child, they should share [the inheritance]")

καὶ ἂ δὲν εἶχε τὴν ἀτενδέρει καὶ τελειώσει, νὰ μὴν εἶναι σοτοπόστος ὁ Signor Λούζης νὰ τοῦ πλερώνει τὴν δούλεψη (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.22–5) ("and if he does not honour and fulfil this [agreement], Sir Louzis shall not be obliged to reimburse him for his work")

In the prose version of *Digenis* *ἔμελλε* (unusually with *ὅτι ... νὰ* instead of *νὰ*) is used to convey a similar meaning; *Digenis*'s maternal grandmother orders her five sons to go and retrieve their sister, who has been abducted by the emir: *ἔὰν ἔμελλε ὅτι καὶ οἱ πέντε νὰ ἀποθάνετε, καὶ τότε ἂς τὴν ἐπάρουν* [VLASTOS], *Dig.* P 318.31–2 ("In the (unlikely) event all five of you were to die, well, then let them have her").

Similarly, in indefinite relative clauses with future reference *ἤθελα* and *εἶχα* constructions are sometimes used to stress the hypothetical character of the condition (whoever = if any one person; whenever = if at any time):

εἴ τις ἤθελεν εὔρεθῃ νὰ τοὺς διασείσει, νὰ ἔχει τὴν κατάραν τοῦ Θεοῦ (1571, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 7, 127.16–17)

ἀκόμη καὶ ἀπὸ ζωντανὰ τὰ ὅσα πού νὰ ἤθελαν μοῦ εὔρεθούν καὶ αὐτὰ ἐδικάν του τοῦ υἱοῦ μου (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.16)

καὶ ὅποιος ἀπὸ ἀπροσεξίας του ἤθελεν κόψει κανένα φύλλον, νὰ ἔχει τὰς ἀράς τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων (1678, Laconia, POLITIS/POLITI 1991: 1917. 1, 41.5) ("also, whoever cuts a leaf [from the book] by accident, shall have the curse of the Nicaean Fathers")

ὅποιος εἶχεν φανεῖ ἐναντίον εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν μου διάταξιν, νὰ ἔχει τὴν κατάραν τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.26)

εἴτι τάβλες εἶχαν χρειαστεῖ ... νὰ τὰ δίδει ὁ Sr Φαράντος (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970: 1, 251.12–13)

ὅποιος εἶχε εἰπεῖ νὰ τὴνε χαλάσει ἢ μὲ ἔργο ἢ μὲ λόγο ἢ μὲ ἄλλη κακὴ πράξη, νὰ εἶναι ὀμπλιγάδος ὁ βιολατόρος εἰς τὴν πλερωμὴ (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.16–17) (τὸ παιδί μου ...) *νὰ τὸ θρέψει καὶ νὰ τὸ πανδρεύσει σὲ ὅ,τι καλύτερα εἶχε τῆς φανιστεῖ* (1677, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 3, 289.36–7); *καὶ αὐτὸς εἴτι εἶχε κρίνει, νὰ τὸ κρατοῦμεν βέβαιον καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτον* (1670, *ibid.* 4, 290.17–18)

ἔχει νὰν τὰ ἐπιστρέφει ... τόσον τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὥσάν καὶ ὅποιος ἄλλος εἶχε πρεζεντάρει τὸ παρόν (1693, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 3, 163.10)

In indefinite relative clauses referring to the past, *ἤθελα*-constructions may denote habituality, in which *ἤθελα* stresses the potentiality (comparable to the use of *θα* + imperfect in SMG, for which see HESSE 2003: 65), e.g. *πλέον δὲν ἐσηκώνετον ὅστις ἤθελε πέσει* DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 352 ("whoever would fall [on the battle ground] would never get up again").

In case of verb serialization, the infinitive is often replaced with a *νὰ*-clause with the second and any subsequent verbs: *ἂν ἦτονε δυνατόν, ὅλοι <οἱ> Κυδωνιάται ... ἤθελαν γράφει, νὰ προσκυνήσουν καὶ νὰ παρακαλέσουν τὴν ἀρχιεροσύνην σου νὰ σβήσεις καὶ νὰ παύσεις ἐτοῦτον τὸ σκάνδαλον* (1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 7, 176.30–3). From the 16th c. onwards the *ἤθελα*-construction is also used as a pluperfect, for which see 5.3.2.

Different constructions with the same use often appear side by side, as the following examples illustrate: ποιὸς ἄνθρωπος μοῦ τό 'θελε παινέσει | καὶ ποιὸς θεὸς μοῦ τό 'χε συγχωρέσει; *Vosk.* 65–6 (“which man would praise me for it, and which god would forgive me for it?”); ἂν ἤθελα σταθῇ ἔδεκεῖ γῆ ἂν εἶχα ἀκροστολάρει ... *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* II.73 (“If I had stayed there or if I had just waited a while ...”). For a discussion of conditionals in general see also IV, 3.3. In the following table and description, no distinction is made between the active and the passive voice, unless the construction is different: ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο (act.), ἤθελα εἴσται(ν) γραμμένος (pass.). For the use of some of these constructions as periphrastic subjunctives, see 5.7. Conditionals of the SMG type θα εἶχα γράφει have not been found in the texts examined (for the relatively late appearance of θα see 5.1.5). For conditional constructions throughout the history of the Greek language see HORROCKS 1995; for conditional constructions in MG dialects see TSOLAKIDIS 2009, 2010 and 2011.

5.2.1 ἔμελλον/ἔμελλα

	General	Restricted	Rare
	ἔμελλα νὰ γράψω ἔμελλε/ἤμελλε νὰ γράψω	ἔμελλον γράψαι ἔμελλετο(ν) νὰ γράψω	ἔμελλον γράφειν ἔμελλα νὰ γράφω ἔμελλε νὰ γράφω ἔμελλε γράψω ἔμελλε νὰ ἔγραφα/ ἔγραφα

5.2.1.1 ἔμελλον + Infinitive

The construction ἔμελλον + infinitive is used as the past counterpart to the simple future, and just like its future equivalent it is clearly residual by the beginning of the LMedG period. The preference for residual endings (e.g. ἔμελλον rather than ἔμελλαν) and often for equally residual forms in the infinitival complementation (aorist middle infinitives, and aorist active infinitives in -αι), as well as the fact that the construction occurs only in mixed- and higher-register texts, confirms this. The complementation is usually perfective, although sometimes present infinitives are used instead. The selection of the present infinitive after ἔμελλον is more often an aspectual one than in the case of μέλλω + present infinitive for the future tense (see 5.1.2), as a durative or iterative interpretation is the most likely for the example below.

ἔμελλον + Aorist Infinitive

ἔμελλον ... πλησιάσαι *Dig.* G IV.841

ἀντὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς του | ποιῆσαι τάχα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μᾶς ἐποίκειν αἰσχύνην *Pol. Tr.* 183–4; ἐξ ὅ,τι τοὺς ἔμελλεν ἔλθει κέρδος *ibid.* 6620

τούτους ἔμελλεν γὰρ κτείνειν *ERMON., Ilias* 3.171; ὅρα δὲ ἔμελλον σφάζει τὴν Πολυξένην *ibid.* 23.159 *tit.*

καὶ ἔμελλε τοῦτο γενέσθαι *KANANOS, Diig.* 535

ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 108.12

καὶ ὅταν γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς ἔμελλες τῆς Συρίας *Dig.* A 662

ὅτι καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τῶν ἔμελλον καταλάβειν [*ANDR. PALAIOL.*], *Kallim.* 999

ἔμελλον + Present Infinitive

ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔσθθαι τὴν ἀγάπην ἔμελλεν κλαίειν *NIKON, Logos* 2 150.9 (durative deontic/counterfactual: “for he should have been weeping while eating the Agape Meal”)

5.2.1.2 ἔμελλα νὰ + Subjunctive

Substitution of νὰ + subjunctive for the infinitival complement (ἵνα among those authors who aim for a higher register), a widespread phenomenon certainly not restricted to auxiliary verb constructions (for details see IV, 2), occurs with ἔμελλα, as with μέλλω (see 5.1.2.2), from at least the 15th c. and throughout the remainder of the period covered by this Grammar. Due to the nature of the construction, expressing what was about to happen or should have happened, perfective complementation (aorist subjunctive) is much more common than imperfective complementation (present subjunctive), which is limited to inherently stative verbs such as “to be”.³⁴ In the case of 3 sg. complementation it is not always possible to tell whether the construction is personal or impersonal (see ἔμελλε below). In the following description, 3 sg. examples are considered to be personal, unless the text offers examples of unambiguous impersonal use as well.

ἔμελλα νὰ + Aorist Subjunctive

ἔμελλες νὰ μὲ πληρώσης *Assizes B* 413.11; ἔμελλαν νὰ τὸ φέρουν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν *ibid.* 427.31

ἔμελλεν τὸ κάστρο νὰ ἐπάρη *Chron. Toc.* 2529

τὰ ἔμελλε νὰ πάθῃ *Byz. Il.* 161

ἔμελλαν καὶ τὰλλα κάτεργα νὰ πᾶσιν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 274.36

ἀντὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔμελλε νὰ δώσῃ πλεοτέρας *LIMEN., Velis.* (A) 465

ἔμελλον νὰ τὴν σηκώσουν δύο ἄνθρωποι *Vios Aisop.* E 213.13

ἡ δὲ πόλις ὥς ἔμελλεν νὰ ἐπαρθεῖ (16th c., Peloponnese, *SCHREINER 1975/79: 34.I, 271.20.4*)

ὥς δὲ ἔμελλεν ἵνα γένηται σεισμός *Hist. Imp.* IIb 265

ὅταν ἔμελλαμεν νὰ ὑπᾶμεν *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 20, τ7v.21 (1561)

ἔμελλαν νὰ φύγουν *ANDONIOS, Vios Sym. Styl.* 243–4.14, 1

εἰς τὸν διωρισμένον τόπον οὗ ἔμελλε νὰ γένη ἡ Ἐκκλησία *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 43

ἐκεῖνα οὗ ἔμελλαν νὰ τὸν συνέβουν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Mark.* 10.32

τὸ πρῶτον κακὸν οὗ ἔμελλον νὰ πάθουν οἱ Τούρκοι *IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali* 6379 *tit.*

³⁴ The following line: ἔμελλον νὰ ἐξολοθρεύουσιν καὶ νὰ ἀφανίζουσι παντελῶς *Hist. Imp.* I 2815–16 has been misread by the editor, who offers no alternative readings in her critical apparatus. One of the mss (C), which can be consulted online at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/bbb/0596/> clearly reads ἐξολοθρευθῶσιν and ἀφανισθῶσιν (f. 46r). The same holds true for the reading διότι ἤμελεν ὅτι νὰ καταλυθῇ τότε ἡ Τριὰς on f.33v of ms C, which is rendered διότι ἔμελλεν ὅτι νὰ καταλυθῇ τότε ἡ Τριὰς in the edition (*Hist. Imp.* I 2046–7), and the nonsensical ὥς γὰρ ἔμελλον νὰ σφάζουν εἰς τὸν τόπον *ibid.* 2380, for which ms C offers ἔμελλεν νὰ στραφούν (f. 39r), whereas the edition's app. crit. offers only a variant reading ἐπιστρέψαι in mss A and V. This text deserves a new edition.

δοθεν ἔμελλεν νά ἀπεράσῃ ὁ βεζήρης (1666 post, Gortynia, YANNAPOPOULOU 1972: 51, 316.6)
 πῶς οὗτοι ἔμελλαν νά πληρώσουν ὅλες τες ἐξοδες *Ist. Enet.* 418.39–40

ἔμελλα νά + Present Subjunctive
 ἔμελλε νά εἶναι τὸ θέατρον τοῦ πολέμου *Ist. Enet.* 418.39

5.2.1.3 ἔμελλε(ν)/ἤμελλε(ν) νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal ἔμελλε (regionally ἤμελλε, see 3.1.2.2) is found from the 14th c. and throughout the EMG period, in literary and non-literary texts. The deontic quality that is so characteristic of impersonal μέλλει (see 5.1.2.3) is usually present in ἔμελλε, though it appears to be less pronounced with the future in the past than with the simple future (see the examples from *Assizes* and especially those from Kitros, Gortynia and Ps.-Dorotheos). Impersonal ἔμελλε νά is used mainly for the simple future in the past and is thus complemented by an aorist subjunctive. Imperfective complementation is very rare; in fact only one example has been found, in a 16th-c. Saint's Life: ἐβλεπεν εἰς ονειράτα ἐκεῖνα οὔ ποῦ ἔμελλε νά γίνονται *Vios Iosif* 270.2–3 ("he saw in dreams all the things that were going to happen"), in which the present γίνονται is triggered by the verb of perception βλέπω: in his dreams he saw things happening just as they were going to be happening.

τὸν καιρὸν οὗ ποῦ ἔμελλε νά ἔλθουν *Chron. Mor.* H 885; ἂν ἔμελλε στὸν τόπον νά ἀποθάνω *ibid.* 4134

ἔμελλεν νά σφάξουν τὸν πατέρα του *Assizes* B 438.24
 ἂν ἤμελλε νά τὸ στείλῃς (1453, Kitros, DARROUZÈS 1963: 1, 79.14–15)

τὰ πράγματα ... τὰ ἔμελλε νά ἐνὶ τῶν τέκνων τοὺς *Assizes* A 188.5–6

ἂν ἔμελλεν τὰ κράτα μου νά τὰ μελοκοπήσουν *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 2022 (< κριάτα < κρέατα)

κ' ἔμελλεν νά δῶ τὸ φῶς μου *Cypr. Canz.* 127.18

ὥς τὸ ἔμελλε νά πάθῃ *Theseid* V.94,5 (1529)

ἔμελλεν νά ἔλθῃ *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.20; ἔμελλεν νά ζήσεις *ibid.* 410.33–4

τί σοῦ ἔμελλε νά πάρῃς *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.292

τῆς συνόδου οὗ ποῦ ἔμελλεν νά κάμουν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 230.20; ὅταν δὲ ἔμελλεν ὁ πρίντσιπος νά σηκωθεῖ *ibid.* 231.7–8

ἤμελλεν νά τοῦ σύρῃ *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 289

ἤμελλε νά σκοτωθῇς *KORNAOS, Erot.* IV.1927

Sporadically ἔμελλε(ν) can be found with a bare subjunctive (cf. 5.1.2.3): τὴν πρᾶξιν γὰρ καὶ τὴν στρατείαν οὗ ποῦ ἔμελλεν ποιήσουν *Chron. Mor.* 3702 (hapax).

5.2.1.4 ἔμελλε(ν) νά + Aorist Indicative/Imperfect

In counterfactual environments ἔμελλε(ν) νά can sometimes be found with past-tense complementation, either imperfect or aorist indicative: νά μοῦ ἐβάρει ἔμελλε *Pol. Tr.* 9098 (μοῦ ed.; τοὺς or τὸν in the mss); ἂν ἔμελλε δλη μου ἡ ψυχὴ νά ἐγίνῃ αἱματωμένη | ὅς τὸν Ἀδὴ νά ἐκατέβηκεν δλη κατεκομμένη *Theseid* I.59,7–8 (Follieri); ἰσχεδὸν ἂν ἔμελλε νά μὴ ἐβγαῖνα

ἐδῶθεν, | οὐδὲν ἤθελα βλάψιμον διὰ νά ᾔχει τὸ κορμί του *ibid.* V.8,5–6 (1529); τὸ τί ἔμελλε νά γίνετον *ibid.* V.11,4.

5.2.1.5 ἐμέλλετο(ν) νά + Subjunctive

In the period covered by this Grammar, passive impersonal ἐμέλλετο(ν) can be found complemented with a νά clause. It appears to be a south-western feature, found in texts from Crete and in certain mss of the *War of Troy* (cf. μέλλεται 5.1.2.4): οὕτως γὰρ τὸν ἐμέλλετον νά ἐξέλθῃ τοῦ βίου *Pol. Tr.* 14041 (reading of mss AX); ἐμέλλετο νά σμίξετε *CHORTATIS, Panor.* V.335; καὶ νά τὴ χάσει ἐμέλλετο *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 528.6.

5.2.2 εἶχα

	General	Restricted	Rare
	εἶχα γράψει(ν) εἶχα γράφει(ν)	εἶχα εἴσται(ν) γραμμένος (pass.) εἶχα νά γράψω εἶχα γράψω εἶχε γράψω εἶχε ἔγραφα	εἶχα ἔχει γραμμένο(ν) εἶχα εἴσται(ν) -μένος (act.) εἶχα γράφω εἶχε ἔγραφα

5.2.2.1 εἶχα + Infinitive

As mentioned in the introduction to 5.2, εἶχον + infinitive started to be used in conditional contexts expressing ability/possibility-in-the-past (counterfactual) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and it continues to be used in this way until well into the EMG period, occurring in both the protasis and the apodosis. The complementation of εἶχα is usually perfective (aorist infinitive), though imperfective complementation (present infinitive) can sporadically be found as early as Late Antiquity to express counterfactuality with present reference.³⁵ In the period covered by this Grammar, the present infinitive is used in three

³⁵ Often with the inherently imperfective verb "to be", for instance in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (PG 65, col. 176) (example quoted in JANNARIS 1897: 554): εἰ ἦς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σου, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος πολλάκις καὶ κεφαλὴ πολλῶν εἶχες εἶναι· νῦν δὲ ὡς ξένος καθέζη ὧδε ("if you were in your country, you would for instance be a bishop, a leader of many people, but now you are staying here, as a foreigner"); similar later examples include: κρινῶ, διὰ τοῦ ι, κρινῶ γὰρ ὁ μέλλων· εἰ δὲ διὰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, κρενῶ ἂν εἶχεν εἶναι ὡς κείρῳ κερῶ *Etym. Gud.*, s.v. κρινῶ (11th c.) ("κρινῶ is spelled with ι, as the future is κρινῶ; had it been spelled with a diphthong [the future would have been] κρενῶ, if it had been like κείρῳ, κερῶ"); though examples with verbs that do have perfective morphology can also be found: καὶ πάντως εἰ περιώρισέ σε τις ἐν μιᾷ πόλει, ἀγωνιᾶν εἶχες καὶ ἀδημονεῖν τοῦτο παθῶν *Kekaumenos, Strategikon* 296.13–14 (ed. Litavrin) ("and surely, if somebody had confined you to a city, you would be in agony and in anguish over what had happened to you").

environments: (1) with stative verbs for which no perfective forms are available, such as *εἶμαι*, *ἔχω* and *ξεύρω* (for both present and past reference); (2) to express durativity in the present: *καὶ ἂν οὐδὲν ἦτον ἢ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη πάντα εἶχε ὑπαγαλνῆναι* *Dig. E* 260 app. crit. ("had it not been for the sea, he would still be on his way"); (3) with specific verbs such as *λείπω* and *ζῶ* (past and present reference). In these cases the choice for perfective or imperfective complementation is a semantic one, as the following examples illustrate: *ἔαν εἶχε ζῆ ἔως ἐδᾶ, ἤμεθεν νικημένοι* *Pol. Tr.* 5310 ("if he were still alive today ..."), cf. *ἂν εἶχε ζήσει, λέγω σας, μόνον καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν* *ibid.* 5335 ("if he had lived only one day longer"); *καὶ νὰ ᾿χες ζῆν, καὶ μὴ ᾿χες ἀποθάνειν* *Alosis* 821. Imperfective forms of the verb *ζῶ* express the durative meaning of "being alive", whereas perfective forms mean "to survive", "to stay alive". Similarly, imperfective forms of the verb *λείπω* mean "to be absent": *καὶ ἂν εἶχεν λείπειν τὸ δένδρον, ἐπνίγετον ὁ Ἀκρίτης* *Dig. E* 1538 ("had the tree not been there, Akritis would have drowned"), whereas perfective forms mean "not to occur": *ἤθελα νὰ ᾿τον ἔμπορετόν τοῦτο νὰ σου ᾿χε λείψει* *Apoll. Rim.* V 1451 ("I wish you could have been spared that [bad news]"). For the development of this construction into a pluperfect see 5.3; for the regional use of this construction as a futurative subjunctive see 5.7.1.3.

εἶχα + Aorist Infinitive

- οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μάς ποτε εἶχετε πορευθῆναι* *Dig. G* 1.275
εἰ δὲ εἶχεν παραδιαβῆν (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18)
ἂν εἶχε ἐπάρει ὁ πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην *Chron. Mor.* H 4876
νὰ τὴν εἶχαμεν ἀπεβγάλιν *Dig. E* 1020 app. crit.; *καὶ πῶς τοὺς εἶχες τρέψειν* *ibid.* 1223
ἂν εἶχεν δώσειν τίποτες *Assizes B* 369.12
καὶ ἔαν οὐκ εἶχε συντριβῆ *Pol. Tr.* 990; *ἔαν τὸ εἶχε καὶ τιμήσει* *ibid.* 1127
νομίζω νὰ εἶχες διαρραγῆν *Liv.* V 1147
ἂν γοῦν εἶχεν εὐεργετήσῃ ὁ Θεὸς (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.8)
ὥσάν νὰ μὴ εἶχαμεν φάγειν *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 3β6r.34 (1561)
ἀνέμενα νὰ ᾿χατέ μου πέψει τὸ ἐδικό μου (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 1, 359.2)
κάλλιον ἦτον νὰ μὴν εἶχα γεννηθεῖ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* IV §3.23
Λήνκος ἂν ἤμουν κ' ἐγώ, καμ' εἶχα σὰν κ' ἐσένα *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* A4v.20 (1658)
ἀνίσως καὶ εἶχε γεννηθῇ κανένας φόνος ... ὅπου ὁ Θεὸς νὰ μὴ τὸ δώσῃ (1666, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 4, 192.55–7)
ὦ Ξερξῇ, ἂν εἶχες φθάσῃ *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* 147
ἂν ἡ Ἀρετούσα εἶχε βαλθῇ ἐσένα ν' ἀγαπήσῃ *KORNAPOS, Erot.* I.181; *ἄς εἶχα κάμει ὄξω τοῦ νοῦ* *ibid.* III.969

εἶχα + Present Infinitive

- ἔαν εἶχε λείπει ὁ Ἐκτορας* *Pol. Tr.* 3779; *ἔαν εἶχα εἴσται μετ' ἐσέν* *ibid.* 4262
ἂν εἶχεν εἴσταν ἐνοχος *Assizes B* 445.27
ἂν τὸ ᾿χα ξεύρει, δίνωμε, ὅτι φιλεῖς καὶ ἀνῶσαι *Katal.* 487; *τὸ φῶς μου ἂν εἶχες τὸ ζητᾶν* *ibid.* 537
ἂν εἶχεν θέλιν, ἔπαιρνέν τὴν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 106.17
ἂν εἶχεν τὸ ξεύρειν *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 32.7; *ἂν εἶχαν λείπειν οἱ ἀνθρώποι* *ibid.* 241.14–15
ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς νὰ ᾿χεν θέλιν νὰ ᾿τον χωσμένα *Fior* 105.36
ἂν τῶχα ἤξεύρει *Peri xen.* 256 app. crit. (A)
ἂ σοῦ ᾿χα θέλει κάκητα *Rim. kor.* A 49
ἂν εἶχαν ἔχει κάτεργα *Velis.* ρ 327

ἂν εἶχες λείπεσθ' ἀπ' ἐκεῖ *KORONAIOS, Pittakin* 34

ὥσάν νὰ τὸ ᾿χε βλέπει *Theseid* III.73,4 (1529); *ἂν εἶχες ξεύρει ἔτσι αὐτὴ ἤθελε καταντήσῃ* *ibid.* IV.13,7–8

ὥσάν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν εἶχεν ἔχει *MOREZINOS, Klini* 56.6; *ὥσάν νὰ εἶχασιν τηγανίζεσται* *ibid.* 235.16

ἀπὸ εἴτι φρούτο εἶχε πέμπει ὁ πανάγαθος Θεὸς (1649, Kefalonia, PENDOGALOS 2008: 1, 51.19–20)

ὅποτε τῷ καιρῷ εἶχε ἔχει ἀπὸ κανεῖνε καμμία πείραξῃ (1695, Zakynthos, MAVROS 1984: 359.6–7)

ποιά νὰ ᾿χε στέκει δυνατὴ *KORNAPOS, Erot.* I.884; *κι ἂν εἶχε λείπει ἡ πεσματιά* *ibid.* II.1739

εἶχα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction *εἶχα* + passive perfect infinitive (*εἴσται* + perfect passive participle, see 5.4.3) expresses a counterfactual action/event with emphasis on the resulting state. For the active voice examples have only been found in Romanos's grammar.³⁶

Active

εἶχα ἔχει γραμμένα ... εἶχες ἔχει γραμμένα, etc. *ROMANOS, Grammar* 22.8–9

Passive

καλλίον καὶ μέινετε νηστικοί, παρὰ νὰ εἶχετε εἴσται σκοτωμένοι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 396.31 ("it is better that you were hungry than that you had been dead")

ὥσάν νὰ μὴ ᾿χαμ' ἔσται σὰν αὐτοὺς γεννημένους *Theseid* I.30,6 (Follieri) ("as if we had not been born (i.e. 'human'), just like them"); *ὥσάν νὰ εἶχαμ' ἔσται βγαλμένες ἀπὸ πέτρες* *ibid.* I.30,7 ("as if we had been made of stone")

εἶχα εἴσθαι γραμμένος ... εἶχες εἴσθαι γραμμένος, etc. *ROMANOS, Grammar* 22.13

However, *εἶχα* + passive perfect infinitive can be found for the active with certain intransitive verbs, such as verbs of motion (cf. the pluperfect (5.3.1.2) and the perfect (5.4.1.2)): *εἶχα εἴσθαι παγεμένος* *ROMANOS, Grammar* 62.21.

5.2.2.2 *εἶχα* νὰ + Subjunctive

The construction *εἶχα* νὰ + subjunctive, expressing future in the past, has been found in a handful of texts of southern provenance. No examples of a present subjunctive have been found.

ἐθάρρου | πῶς εἶχασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου νὰ πάψου *CHORTATIS, Erot.* IV.160–1

ἀνήμενὲ τὸ στεφάνι, ὅπου εἶχε νὰ λάβει ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόν *RODINOS, Mart. Ag. Mam.* 218.37

τὸ μέλλον ὅπου εἶχε νὰ γένη *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 37.33–4

ἐκεῖνος ὅπου εἶχεν νὰ γένει γαμπρός *Bertoldos* 66.11

διὰ τοὺς Τούρκους που ᾿χασιν με τοὺς Φρατζέζους λόγον | πῶς νὰ βαρέσουν εἶχασιν οἱ δύο
τον Βενετσάνον *ΙΟΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΥΠΡ., Pali* 2724–5

δὲν κατέχοντας τί εἶχε νὰ μᾶς ἀπανέβει *Diig. Sant.* 55.52

³⁶ As there is no context, it is uncertain whether the form *γραμμένα* is an invariable participle or whether a neut. pl. object is implied. Romanos calls this form a "second pluperfect", but it is very likely to be a conditional, as this construction has not been found for the pluperfect (see 5.3).

5.2.2.3 εἶχα + Subjunctive

The auxiliary εἶχα complemented by a bare subjunctive has been found in EMG texts of south-western provenance (cf. 5.3.1.6). The aorist subjunctive expresses a simple action or event, whereas the present subjunctive is used for repeated/habitual actions/events (εἶχα ξερνώ, εἶχες ἀφουκρᾶσαι) and with stative verbs (typically εἶμαι). The construction occurs in both the protasis and the apodosis:

εἶχα + Aorist Subjunctive

- ἐάν εἶχασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες σταθοῦσιν *Pol. Tr.* 9452 app. crit. (V)
καὶ μ' ἴντα ἀπονη καρδιά εἶχα σας λησιμονήσω *MONTSEL., Evgena* 1273
μ' ἂν εἶχα μᾶς τὰ γράψουσι *Rim. Sant.* 163
ἂν ἐμαζώνουνταν, λίμνην εἶχαν γιομίσου *ΔΙΑΚΡ., Diig. Pol.* 1085
εἶχα θρέψω *Pist. voskos* III 5.39 app. crit.; λιγώτερα καὶ σὺ νὰ ἔχες κατέχεις *ibid.* V 5.294
ἂν τὰ παιδιά μου εἶχαν ξαποτιπιωθοῦν τὸν πατέρα τους (1705, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS* 1995: 7, 167.22–3); ἂν εἶχαν γεροκομίσουνε ... τὸν πατέρα τους (*ibid.* 167.29–30)
ἂν εἶχανε ἐγνωρίσουν (1708, Peloponnese, *ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ* 1976: 6, 124.25–6)
παρακαλώντας σε πολλὰ ... | νὰ μοῦ ἔχες γένεις βοηθὸς *KATSAITIS, Thyest.* V.599–600; δὲν ἀνίμεναν τὸ ἔχε τοὺς λάχη *id., Klathmos* II.550; εἶχες μου βαρεθῆς *ibid.* III.15
εἶχαν κάνουν τὰ ἄνωθεν κλεψιμιά *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 111.21–2
καὶ δὲν εἶχαν σκλαβωθοῦν *Paidi stavr.* 3; ἄχ, καὶ ἄς εἶχας πινηγοῦσι *ibid.* 4

εἶχα + Present Subjunctive

- κι' ἄς εἶχα ἔχω γνώση! *CHORTATIS, Katz.* IV.88
καὶ τσι βουλές μου τσι καλές ἄς εἶχες ἀφουκρᾶσαι *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.1090
ἂν τὰ παιδιά μου ... δὲν εἶχαν τὸν εὐχαριστοῦν (1705, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS* 1995: 7, 167.22–3); ἂν εἶχαν ... εὐχαριστοῦνε τὸν πατέρα τους (*ibid.* 167.29–30)
κάλλιο μοῦ τὸυν νὰ ἔμαι βυθισμένη | εἰς τ' ἄγναφα τῆς γῆς, μέσα θαμμένη | νὰ ἔχα ξερνώ φωτιά, μέγα καμίνι *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.533–5 (“it would have been better for me to be buried deep inside the earth, spitting fire like a large furnace”); σὰ νὰ ἔχα τοῦ ἔμαι φυσική του μάννα *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.854

5.2.2.4 εἶχε(ν) + Subjunctive

Impersonal εἶχε(ν) with a bare subjunctive has been found in the Kefalonian Katsaitis's *Lament for the Peloponnese*,³⁷ which was written a few years after the period covered by this Grammar (1716) (cf. 5.3.1.7): μ' ἀνίσως τὴν ἐξιά μου ἤθελά ἔχα, | ἤθελες τὸ γνωρίσεις τὸ ἔχε κάμω *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.102–3 (ἐξιά = ἐξουσία) (“if I had my strength, you would learn what I would do”); ὥσάν δλον τὸν κόσμον νὰ ἔχε πάρουν *ibid.* I.724; ἀνίσως κι' ὁκ τὸ εἶδωλο δὲν εἶχε φωτιστοῦμε *id., Ifig.* II.148.

5.2.2.5 εἶχα/εἶχε(ν) with Past Tense Complementation

In counterfactual environments εἶχα/εἶχε can sometimes be found with past-tense complementation (usually the imperfect); in the first two examples from *Velthandros*

³⁷ The same construction also appears in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: νὰ εἶχ' ἔρθεις στὰ κουρνιάσματα *Gouzelis, O Chasis* I.77 (ed. Synadinos); εἶχε τὸν πᾶω δέροντας *ibid.* II.69.

accommodation of the metre may have played its role (ἐγεννήθην and εὐρέθην for γεννηθεῖν and εὐρεθεῖν at the verse end), but that does not necessarily render the construction invalid:

νὰ μὴ εἶχα ἐγεννήθην *Velth.* 427; ἄψυχος νὰ εἶχα εὐρέθην *ibid.* 428

τὰ ζώδια τὰ λαξευτὰ οὐ μὴ ἔχα τὰ ἐσκόπουν *Velth.* 434

τ' ἀμμάτι' ἀποῦ ἔχεν ἦτονε καλύτερ' ὀγιά μένα | πολὺ καιρὸ πρωτύτερα νὰ ἔχα ὅσαι

τυφλωμένα *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.193–4

ὥσὰ νὰ εἶχε ἦτονε σαρκικός ἀπὸ τὴ σάρκα μας (1641, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 239, 193.11)

ἂν εἶχεν ἦτονε παρὼν *BOUBOULIS, Limbon.* Epil. 65

εἶχε ἦμουν *SPANOS, Grammar* 42.12

5.2.3 ἤθελα

General	Restricted	Rare
ἤθελα γράφει(ν) ἤθελα γράφει(ν)	ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο (act.) ἤθελα εἴσται(ν) γραμμένος (pass.) ἤθελα γράψω ἤθελα νὰ γράψω ἤθελα νὰ γράφω ἤθελα ἔγραφα ἤθε(ν) γράψω ἤθεν εἴσται(ν)/ἦμουν	ἤθελα γράφω ἤθελα ἔγραψα

5.2.3.1 ἤθελα + Infinitive

As mentioned in the introduction to this section (5.2), it is not entirely clear when ἤθελα + infinitive constructions acquired non-volitional meanings, but they are well-established by the 13th/14th c., since they are even used in not-very-vernacular texts such as the Grottaferrata version of *Digenis* and the *Tale of Sevastokrator Thomas*. Perfective complementation (aorist infinitive) denotes a simple action or event, whereas the present infinitive is used to denote durativity or repetition: it presents the action/situation expressed by the verb as ongoing or repetitive. Imperfective complementation is not restricted to verbs that lack a perfective stem or are inherently durative such as e.g. εἶμαι, ἐξεύρω and ἔχω. As noted, ἤθελα + infinitive occurs in both the protasis and the apodosis.

ἤθελα + Aorist Infinitive

δταν ἤθελες δοξασθῆν παρ' ὄλην τὴν Συρίαν *Dig. G* II.81

(ἐάν ...) ὕστερον οὐδὲν ἠθέλησεν πληρῶσαι τὸν γάμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 229.97)

οὐδένα [sc. βιβλίον] ἠθέλεν εὐρεθῆ (post 1356?, Berat/Albania, *ALEXOULIS* 1892: 1, 276.18)

πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῆ *Chron. Mor.* H 2818

εἴ τινὸς ἀπὸ ἐμᾶς τοὺς ἐκτητόρους ἠθέλε εἰλεῖ θάνατος (1414, Corfu, *MALTEZOU* 1991a: (1), 316.12)

- εἰς ὅποιαν σταυροφόρον πλώρην σὰς ἡ παντιέραν ἤθελε τύχει (1415, Skyros, LEMERLE et al. 1979: App. XVII, 216.13)
- ἐὰν τὸ εἶδες, ἤθελες εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔναι ζωντανοῦ ἀνθρώπου στόμα *Achil.* L 528
- εἰς δ,τι ἤθελεν κάμειν (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.12)
- δὲν ἤθελες κατεβεῖ, εἰάν πρῶτον δὲν ἤθελες ζητάσει πῶς νὰ ἀνέβεις *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 2.12
- εἰ τις ἤθελε ἀντιτείνει (1547, Mani, SKOPETEAS 1950: I, 70.16–17)
- δ,τι πρόβατον μεγάλον ἤθελεν χαθῆν (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 9, 87.16)
- ἂν ἦσουν σιμὰ πούπτετα ... ἤθελα σηκωθῇ νὰ ἔλθω (1565, Prousa, PATRINELIS 1988/89: 1, 47.10–11)
- ὅπου νὰ μὴν ἤθελα γεννηθῇ (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.53)
- ἂν τὲς ἤθελα ἐφθάσει ἐδῶ ὅλες τὲς ἔκαιγα (1615, Lefkada, PENDOGALOS 1977b: 2, 148.21)
- ἤθελεν σηκωθῆν (1635, Nisyros, TSIRPANLIS 1982: 1, 13.7)
- κόλλιον ἦτον νὰ μὴν ἤθελετε γεννηθῇ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §36.197; καὶ τότες νὰ ἐκοίταζες τί ἤθελα κάμει *ibid.* II §7.5
- ὅποιος ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐδικούς μου ἤθελε προτιμήσει νὰ γενῇ ἱερέας (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.3–4)
- ἤθελεν τοῦ λάχει (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395, 821.32)
- καὶ περάσσοντας οἱ 10 ἡμέραι καὶ δὲν ἤθελε γυρέψει τὰ δικαιώματά του, νὰ τὰ χάνει (1695, Sytos, DRAKAKIS 1967: 1, 302.16)
- πολλὰ ἤθελε μανίσει *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1865; κι ἂς ἤθελα σ' ἀφήσει *ibid.* III.969
- ἤθελα + Present Infinitive**
- ὅτι ἤθελεν εἶσταν ἀνῆξευρον τὸ παιδίον ποίου ἀνδρὸς ἔνε (ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 227.52)
- ἤθελαν ἔχει καὶ ὀλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφὰς καὶ ἤθελαν γράφειν καὶ πλατύτερα (1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9)
- ἤθελεν ξεύρει ποῖα ἐν' αὐτῇ *SKLENTZAS, Ymn. Mar. Magd.* 36
- καὶ ὅπου διαβαίνει καὶ πατεῖς ἤθελα σπέρνει μόνον *Katal.* 6
- ἤθελεν ἔχει ὁ εἰς διάφορος *Assizes A* 46.27–8
- ἤθελαν καταλύεσθαι *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.19
- ἂ σοῦ 'θελά 'χει κάκητα *Rim. kor.* V 49
- ἤθελα βλέπει κελίην *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)
- νὰ τὰ τρώγῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὅπου 'θελεν λειτουργᾶν τὸ μοναστήριον (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.18)
- ἂν πολλάκις καὶ δὲν ἤθελαν ἔχει ἀρνιά (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 16, 94.16)
- ἂν ἤθελαν κοιμάσται, νὰ ρουχαλίζωμεν, ἤθελαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὄνειρον ἐθωρούσαμεν *Vios Aisop.* I 269.37–8
- ἂν ἤθελε πολεμᾶ καὶ ὁ Λουνυάδης ὡς ἀν ἐπολεμούσαν οἱ Λέχοι, ἐσκοτώναν τὸν σουλτάν *Μουράτη Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 73.12–13
- ἂν ἤθελεν ἡξεύρει ὁ αὐθέντης τοῦ σπιτίου εἰς ποῖαν βίγλαν τῆς νυκτὸς ἔρχεται ὁ κλέπτης, ἤθελεν ἀγρυπνᾶ καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν ἀφήσει τὸ σπῆτι του νὰ τὸ τρυπήσουν *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth.* 24.43
- ὅποιος δὲν ἤθελε μὲ λογιᾶζει (1656, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1983: 6, 164.40–1)
- τὸ εἶτι ἤθελε μαζώνει νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττει εἰς τὰς χεῖρας του (1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10)
- κανένα δὲν ἤθελε πρέπει εἰς τὴν Ἰωάνναν Γκουτιέρζ *Don Kis.* 44.12

ἤθελα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction ἤθελα + perfect infinitive (ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle for the active and εἶσται + perfect passive participle for the passive, as well as for the active of

certain intransitive verbs such as μισεύω; see 5.4) expresses a counterfactual action/event with a strong emphasis on the resulting state.³⁸

Active

- ἂν εἶχε δείξει ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τότε τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὸν κύρ Μπλάζιον, ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἤθελεν ἔχει ἱατρεμένον· ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἀνιάτρευτον *CHEILAS, Chron.* 354.1–2
- τὰ ἀγομένα ὅπου ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.10)
- ἀνίσως καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν τὸ 'χει φυτεμένον τὸν Μάρτη (1625, Crete, VLACHAKI 1986: 22, 446.21)
- καὶ ἂ δὲν ἤθελα ἔχει καὶ τὰ σπῆτια μου ταμένα τοῦ λιγόχρονου μου γιοῦ (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.29)
- ἤθελα ἔχει γραμμένα ... ἤθελες ἔχει γραμμένα, etc. *ROMANOS, Grammar* 28.24–5

Passive

- ὀρίζει γοῦν ὅτι, εἴπερ ἦν καταδοχή ... γενέσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην πράξιν, πάντες ἤθελον εἶσθαι ὑπογεγραμμένοι (1375, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 32, 125.43–4); καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἤθελεν εἶσται τὸ διαλυτὸν ἐρρωμένον (*ibid.* 125.45)
- πιασμένος γὰρ ἤθελεν ἡ σκοτωμένος εἶσθαι, | ἂν ἔλειπεν ὁ Μενεστεύς *Pol. Tr.* 4082 (ὅπου ...) νὰ ἤθελα εἶσται πεθαμένος (1612, Monemvasia region, BROUSKARI 1981: 315.53)
- ὡς ἀν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν ἔθελαν εἶσται καμωμένα (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 48.16)
- ἤθελα εἶσθαι γραμμένος ... ἤθελες εἶσθαι γραμμένος, etc. *ROMANOS, Grammar* 28.24–5

5.2.3.2 ἤθελα + Subjunctive

The construction ἤθελα + bare subjunctive appears from the 14th c. onward in texts from various areas (Heptanese, Crete, Peloponnese, Epirus, Macedonia, certain Aegean islands). It usually has perfective complementation, but examples of present subjunctive have also been found, with durative and habitual readings:

ἤθελα + Aorist Subjunctive

- ἂν ἤθελες βάλεις λίτρες δέκα σαλμίτριο (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22)
- ἂ δὲν ἔθελαν τῆς δοθοῦν τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπέρπυρα (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.61)
- εἰδεμὴ καὶ ἔθελαν ἀποθάνουν (1529, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 5, 25.18)
- τὶ κορασὲς δεῖς ἤθελες *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.444 app. crit. (N)
- φόρσα νὰ 'θελα ντεσπερarisτῶ (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.14–15) (< Ven. *desperar*)
- τὰ ὅσα πού νὰ ἤθελαν μοῦ εὔρεθουν (1634, Paros, ALIPRANDIS 1974/75: 2, 111.16)
- νὰ ἤθελα ξεψυχῆσω *MONTSEL., Evgena* 914
- εἰσὲ δ,τι λάδι ἔθελαν κάμου (1671, Naxos, SFYROERAS 1963a: 2, 494.26)
- μὲ δ,τι μόνον ἤθελαν μπορέσου (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.8–9)
- ὡς καθὼς ἔθελαν μιλῆσου (1673, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 15, 30.12)
- τάχατες πόσοι ποντικοὶ νὰ θέλανε σμίξουν *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1795 app. crit.

³⁸ Due to the late appearance and rarity of the perfect periphrasis ἔχω + infinitive (see 5.4.1.6), no examples of ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) + infinitive have been found. The following example from *Bertoldinos*: ἂν καλὰ καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν εἶσται τὸσον πανούργος καὶ πονηρὸς ὡς ὁ ὄντων Μπερτόλδος ἤθελεν ἔχει κάνει τὸ ὀλιγότερον καμπόσον ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνη τὴν γνώσιν καὶ ἀπλότητα *Bertoldin.* 92.24–5 is nonsensical, unless we read ἤθελεν ἔχει κανι (< κανε = κάν), τὸ ὀλιγότερον, καμπόσον ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνη τὴν γνώσιν καὶ ἀπλότητα ('he would at least, at the very least, have some of [Bertoldos's] wisdom and craftiness'), which is the reading of Kechayoglou, who edits the same passage in his *Anthology* (KECHAYOGLU 2001: 372).

τὰ ζᾶ ὅπου ἐθέλασι τῆς εὐρεθοῦ (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 463, 687.5)
 τὰ δσα ἤθελαν πωληθῶν (1697, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 30, 24.62)
 ἤθελες τὸ γνωρίσεις KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* I.103; λογιᾶζω δὲν ἤθελες γροικῆσεις *ibid.* I.698; δὲν ἤθελαν ἐμποῦν *ibid.* II.293
 καὶ ὅποτε καιρὸ ἤθελα τοὺς δώκω τ' ἄ<σ>πρα τοὺς (1716, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 38, 140.7–8)

ἤθελα + Present Subjunctive

ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ὅπου ἤθελαν ἐξουσιάζουν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως μας (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 3, 68.14)
 νὰ ἤθελεν ἀγοράζει ὁ ἄνωθεν ἱερεὺς ... τόσο κριθάρι (1537, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 31, 35.10)
 ἂν πολλάκις δὲν ἤθελαν τὸ δουλεύουν καλὰ (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 20.10)
 τοῦ ἤθελες ἔχεις χάρη CHORTATSI, *Katz* I.194
 δ,τι ἤθελε φαίνεται νὰ μοῦ χρωστοῦσιν (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 51.114)
 ὅπῳτα δὲν ἤθελα εἶμαι καλὰ γεροκομημένος (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 1, 29.37)
 ἐκείνη ὅπου ἤθελεν τὸ ἐπιμελιέται (1692, Siatista, PANDAZOPOULOS/Tsourka-PAPASTATHI 1974: 23, 17.49)
 ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη δ,τὶ λεγα ἂς τὸ ἤθελες θυμᾶσαι KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.1089

5.2.3.3 ἤθελε(ν) + Subjunctive

The same construction as the previous one, but with impersonal ἤθελε(ν), can be found occasionally from the 16th c. onwards in texts from various areas (Heptanese, Aegean, Kastoria).³⁹ It usually has perfective complementation. Imperfective complementation has been found with the stative verb ἔχω.

δσα ἤθελεν συμφωνήσουν (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.10)
 τὴν ὥραν παρευθὺς ὅπου ἤθελε τὸ φᾶμεν VEST., *Prol. Theot.* 45
 ἤθελε σβηστοῦν ἢ καν ἤθελε ελαφρώσουν Kaloandros 405.9–10; ἤθελε χαρῶ *ibid.* 405.39
 μὲ δ,τι μὸδον ἤθελαν μπορέσου (1671, Mykonos, ZERLENDIS 1918b: 3, 220.8–9)
 καὶ ἂν ἤθελε κανέναν καιρὸ τ' ἀφήκουν (1692, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 170, 102.6);
 κεραμίδια δσα ἤθελε χρειαστοῦν (1713, *ibid.* 322, 211.3)
 (ἀνίσως ...) καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι ἤθελαν ἀπεθάνουν (1696, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 47, 140.9
 facts.) (misread as ἠθέλει in the ed.)
 π' ἂν ἤθελ' ἔχω ἄνδρα κακό KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.746

³⁹ The construction also occurs in the late 18th-c. Zakynthian comedy *O Chasis*: πιλάλα τὸν κυνήγησα, μ' ἂν ἤθελε τὸν πιάσω, | μὰ τὸ ψωμί, τὸν κερατὰ, βρε νὰν τὸν τεταρτιάσω Gouzelis, *O Chasis* II.21–2 (ed. Synodinos); ἂν ἤθελ' ἔχεις ἄρματα, σ' ἔδερνε ὁ κλεφτάτσος; *ibid.* II.95; ἂν ἤθελ' ἔχετε ντροπή *ibid.* III.313.; in the early correspondence of Korais, vol. 1, e.g. letter 1 of 1774 (writing to Chios): ἤθελε μὲ παρακαλέσωσι πολλοί (3.14), ἤθελε ... ἐκλέξω (3.14–15); in letter 11 of 1783 (writing to Smyrna): ἤθελε τὰ καταστήσω κοινὰ (27.11); but e.g. in letter 260 of 1802 (writing to his friend Alexandros Vasileiou): ἤθελα σὲ προβάλλει (51.30–1); it also occurs in the memoirs of Kolokotronis (1836) (see PANDELIDIS 2004: 8).

5.2.3.4 ἤθελα νὰ + Subjunctive

Just like its non-past counterpart θέλω (see 5.1.4.4 for discussion), ἤθελα νὰ + subjunctive is usually used to express volition. However, similarly to θέλω νὰ + subjunctive, though not as frequently, ἤθελα νὰ + aorist subjunctive is occasionally used to express future in the past. The examples with a present subjunctive (ἤθελε νὰ ᾔναι, ἤθελες νὰ ἔχεις) are counterfactual conditionals with present reference.

ἔσῳθη τὸ καράβι εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἤθελεν νὰ ὑπάγει (15th c., Unknown, SEARBY 2003: 8, 696.2–3)
 ἐξηλώθην ἡ ἄρμάδα τοὺς ἀφέντες ἀπὸ ἡθελαν νὰ ᾔρουν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 162.15 (Pieris/ Nikolaou-Konnari) (ἔμελλε νὰ κατεβεῖ in V)
 μα ἤθελε νὰ ᾔναι πλειότερη φωτιά στα σωθικά μου CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.184
 κι ἂς ἤθελα σὲ τρόπο ν' ἀποθάνω *Pist. voskos* I 2.78
 διότι ἤθελεν νὰ πᾶση ὅλο τὸ σπῖτι PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §19.16; τί καρδίαν ἤθελες νὰ ἔχης
 τώρα καὶ τί στενοχωρίαν *ibid.* IV §11.21

5.2.3.5 ἤθελα (νὰ) with Past Tense Complementation

In counterfactual contexts both ἤθελα and ἤθελα νὰ can sometimes be found with past-tense complementation, usually imperfect, sporadically aorist indicative, especially, though not exclusively, in Heptanesian texts:

δὲν ἔθελεν εἶστον εἰς τὸν κόσμον περίτου ὁμορφον πράμαν *Fior* 109.7 (for the form εἶστον/ ἦστον see 4.8.2)
 ὅποιος ἤθελεν παρακούσει καὶ ἤθελεν ἔπαιρνε τίποτε κρυφὰ (1578, Trikala, SOFIANOS 1992: 6, 236.119–20)
 νὰ τοῦ δώση μία γελάδα ὅπου νὰ ἤθελε ἦστον δικιολογημένη (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.10)
 ἤθελ' ἤμουν GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.11
 καὶ ρήγας νὰ ἤθελ' ἦτονε DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 49; νὰ ἤθελε ᾔτονε κακὰ *ibid.* 1249
 ἤθελε ἦτον πολλὰ χρήσιμον (1698, Sinai, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 7, 60.25)
 ἐτοῦτο ἤθελ' ἦτανε ἄδικα καμωμένο KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* IV.171; μ' ἀνίσως τὴν ἐξιά μου ἤθελα ᾔχα *id.*, *Klathmos* I.102 (ἐξιά = ἐξουσία); σὰν νὰ ἤθελ' ἦτον γνήσιο παιδί μου *ibid.* I.856
 ἂν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα | ... πολλὰ ἤθελαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ ἀκοῦσιν
Chron. Mor. H 2816–18
 ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ εἶχα τὸ ἕναν μου πόδιν εἰς τὸ μνημα, ἔθελα νὰ ᾔμαθα *Fior* 110.14

5.2.3.6 ἤθε(ν) with Various Complementations

A shortened form ἤθε(ν) for ἤθελα/ἤθελε is not uncommon in texts from southern areas (Heptanese, Peloponnese, Crete, Cyprus) and from certain islands in the Aegean (Chios, Naxos) (see also 2.4 s.v. (ἐ)θέλω);⁴⁰ it is usually complemented by a subjunctive, and

⁴⁰ A single example in *Assizes*: ἤθεν χάσει ἐκεῖνον τὸ νὰ ἔδωκεν μὲ δίκαιον *Assizes* A 69.11 should be read as ἤθεν χάσει.

sporadically by the imperfect or infinitive of εἶμαι (3 sg. only). In the case of 3 sg. the subjunctive is usually indistinguishable from the infinitive, even when final /n/ is present (for addition of final /n/ to 3 sg. pres. ind. see 4.1; see also I, 3.7.2.1.3); the spelling of the ending with <ει> or <η> is a choice by the modern editor. Given the fact that for all other persons the subjunctive is normally used, it would perhaps be preferable to consider 3 sg. forms to be subjunctives as well.

- όπου και αν ἦθεν ἔβρεθεί *Apoll. Rim. A* 934; να το ἔθεν κατέχει *ibid.* 949
 αν πολλάκις ἦθε ἔρθει (app. crit.) (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 8, 221.8–9)
 ἦθεν πειρακτῇ *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 287; ἦθεν δώσειν ὄφελος *ibid.* 1197
 δέν ἦτον μπορεζάμενο ἐκεῖνο νά ἔθεν πάρης; *Alfav.* 11 48
 αν ἦθε ἔχει λουμπάρδες *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 129.32 app. crit.
 ἦθε γράψω *GERMANO, Grammar* 99.18; ἄς ἦθε σωπάσω *ibid.* 99.29; νά ἦθε γράψεις *ibid.* 101.7
 ἄς ἔθεν τοῦ πῆς, ἀφέντη μου, τύφλες καὶ σφάκιολά του *KONDAR., Paidēs* 973
 αν ἦθε φάγω τὸ φαγί *PROSOPSAS, Peri tyflou* 105; αν ἦθε πιῶ καὶ τὸ πιστόν *ibid.* 106
 δστις ἦθε γροικῆση *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 1399; αν ἦθεν πᾶ *ibid.* 1630; νά ἔθεν εἶν ἄλλοι τόσοι *ibid.* 2667
 σέ δ,τιν βιάντζον ἦθεν τὸν ἐφωτίσειν ἀφέντης ὁ Θεός καὶ σέ δ,τι διάφορον ἦθεν κάμει (1680, Naxos, RODOLAKIS 1994: 8, 582.10–11) (βιάντζον < Ital. *viaggio*)
 καὶ εἴτι ἄλλη ἦθε χρειαστῇ πάσης λογῆς ξυλή (1713, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 322, 211.3)
 ὡς ἦθε δουλεύουν οἱ δεκαρχῖτες (1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.13)
 σὰ νά ἔθεν εἶσται λίθος *Imb. Rim.* 458
 ὅποιος ἦθε εἶσταιν (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 60, 124.12)
 ὅσαν νά ἔθεν ἦταν ἑταίρι *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 2938

One example has been found of a shortened 2 sg. form ἦθες: εἴτι μᾶς ἦθες εἰπεῖν *CHOUMNOS, Kosmog.* 144 (reading of ms M: εἴ τι μᾶς εἰ θές).

5.2.4 ἦτον/ἦμουν

Restricted	Rare
ἦμουν/ἦτον (διά) νά γράψω ἦμουν/ἦτον (διά) νά γράφω	ἦτον νά ἔγραψα ἦτον νά ἔγραφα ἦτον νά εἶχα γράψει

5.2.4.1 ἦμουν/ἦτον νά + Subjunctive

Impersonal ἦτον νά + subjunctive can be used to express future in the past and counterfactuality with both present and past reference. The construction can also have modal (deontic, potential) connotations (cf. its future counterpart with εἶμαι, and impersonal εἶναι, 5.1.6). Perfective complementation is the most common, though sometimes the construction can

be found with a present subjunctive, with stative verbs (λείπει in *Damaskinos Stouditis*) or to express durativity (βράζει in the second example from *Falieros*).

- δέν ἦτον νά γλιτώση *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 82; κι ἡ τόση λάβρα ποῦ μέ καὶ αν ἦτον νά σέ βράζει *ibid.* 565
 αν ἦτον νά γράψω τές γιάσες του ὡς τοῦ νάζουν δέν ἔφταννα *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 32.33–4; θωρῶντα ὁ ρήγας, ὅτι ἦτο νά σκοτωθοῦν πολλοί *ibid.* 96.33–4
 αν δέν εἶχαν νώσειν οἱ βαχλιώτες, ἦτον να σκοτώσουν τον αποστολὲν *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 28.8–9; ἦτον νά γινεῖ μέγαν σκάνταλον *ibid.* 242.3
 ἐκ τὴν πολλή του τὴν πρικιά ἦτονε νά πλαντάζει *Alex. Rim.* 882
 αν ἦτον νά λείπει τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ... ἦθελε φανεῖν ὁ Θεός ὅτι δέν ἦξευρε πρῶτα τὸ καλόν του *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 10, k2r.36–7 (1561); καὶ πλέον κανεῖς δέν ἦτον νά μέ ἐμποδίσαι ὡσάν τὴν πρώτην φοράν *ibid., Logos* 27, Γ7r.13–14
 ἐτοῦτο ἦτον ... νά γένῃ *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 39.31
 καὶ τότε ἦτον νά ἰδῆς τὸ πῶς ἐπεριπάτειν τὸ πρόβατον μέ τὸν λύκον *PAPASYNAD., Chron. I* §16.12
 ἐπρονοοῦσεν ἀκόμη ὅταν ὁ χρόνος ἦτον να γένει με ευθυνίαν ἢ με πείνα *Don Kis.* 72.25–6; ὅτι ἦτον να τον θάψουν ἐδῶ *ibid.* 88.15–16

Sporadically (δ)διά νά is substituted for νά: ἐπήγασιν τονε εἰς τὸ νοσοκομεῖον, ὅχι νά ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα νά ἰαθεῖ, διότις οὐδετινάς δέν τοῦ ἔδιδεν ζώην, οὐδὲ ἦτονε ὁδιά νά ζήσει *MOREZINOS, Klini* 273.8–10.

With a personal form of εἶμαι one example has been found (assuming that in the 3 sg. examples above ἦτον is, in fact, impersonal): δέν ἡμεστέν διὰ νά προκόψομεν σέ τούτην τὴν αὐλήν *Bertoldin.* 108.35.

5.2.4.2 ἦτον νά with Past Tense Complementation

In counterfactual contexts the construction ἦτον νά can also be found with past-tense complementation: μ' αν ἦτον νά μὴ ᾔχ'σται | ἡ φλόγα τῆς ἀγάπης σου *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 589–90; αν ἦτονε νά πῆγαινε στὸν Ἀδην ἄλλος γι' ἄλλον *PIKAT., Rima thrin.* 307; δίχως αὐτὴν δέν πάμενε, ξεῦρε, στὴν Ῥωμανία, | αν ἦτο νά σφαγήκαμεν ὅλοι μας μέ μανία *PETRITSIS, Dig. O* 391–2.

5.2.5 ἦρτα + Various Complementations

Restricted
ἦρτα νά γράψω ἦρτα γράψει(ν)

The construction ἦρτα followed by either νά + subjunctive or an infinitive has been found in two Cypriot texts (cf. 5.7.4 for the use of ἐρχομαι in a futurate context). The construction is likely to have been influenced by Italian; see GIACALONE RAMAT/SANSÒ 2014: 24–34 for the use of *venire* as an auxiliary (though complemented by a participle or adjective) expressing a “change of state” in Old Italian vernaculars: παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζάλη

καὶ ἦρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.13 (ἦρτα = ἦρταν); ὁ,τι γιωργήσου τὰ ἄνωθεν χωράφια, ὁ,τ' ἦρτεν γενεῖ (1674, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 10, 25.9–10).

5.3 The Pluperfect

The AG monolectic pluperfect originally expressed an action/event completed in the past, with special focus on the result of this action within the past time frame (KÜHNER/GERTH 1904: 150). In post-classical Greek the pluperfect had started to be used to express simple temporal anteriority in the past (BLASS et al. 1961: 177–8; MOSER 2009: 216–17). In Late Antiquity it had disappeared from the spoken language altogether and had come to be replaced with periphrastic, or auxiliary verb constructions. The most widespread of these constructions consisted of the imperfect of εἶμι and a perfect or an aorist active participle for the active voice and the imperfect of εἶμι + a perfect passive participle for the passive voice (AERTS 1965: 36–51; 76–90), although for simple anteriority in the past the aorist and the imperfect were the most commonly used tenses.

In written texts, however, the monolectic pluperfect continued to be in use for many centuries after its demise. As it was by then a “dead” category, it was not necessarily used in the AG way, and an increased use of residual monolectic pluperfects instead of aorists and imperfects may be observed in high-register Byzantine literature (though not in low-register texts), providing writers with variant forms useful to accommodate metre and rhythm, or to make the style more elevated (HINTERBERGER 2007). Due to its complicated morphology, the monolectic pluperfect is hardly ever found residually in LMedG and EMG mixed-register and higher-register texts (see also 4.9.3.3).

In the period covered by this Grammar, the aorist and the imperfect are still widely used to express anteriority in the past, even after periphrastic constructions have manifested themselves in this function. Sometimes the anteriority is made explicit through the use of adverbs such as πρῶτύτερα or πρὶο μπρὸς.

In the following example the countess dies (aor. ἀπέθανε) in v. 8001, but her having first been married to the ruler of Karytaina in line 8004 is expressed by an imperfect (ἦτον) and her giving birth to a son by her second husband in line 8006 is rendered by an aorist (ἔποικεν).

διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα,
τοῦ κόντου ντὲ Μπριένε ἡ γυνὴ ὅπου ἦτον αὐταδέλφη
τοῦ δοῦκα γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, μισὶρ Γυλιάρμου ἐκείνου,
ἐνῶ ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ στρατιώτου,
τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, ὡσὰν σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήθην.
Ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ ἀρχόντισσα ἔποικεν μὲ τὸν κόντον
υἱόν, ἐξαίρετον παιδί, τὸ ὠνόμασαν Γατιέρην

Chron. Mor. H 8001–7

(... after a little while the countess died, count De Brienne's wife who was the sister of Mr Guillaume, the duke of Athens, while she had first been the wife of that marvellous soldier, the ruler of Karytaina, as I have told you. Now this noble lady had had a son with the count, and they had named him Gautier.)

In the next example the tower collapsed, just as the old woman had predicted (aor. εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν):

καὶ ἔπεσε ὁλος κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἐγένεν ἔτσι ὡς καθὼς εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γράια
KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.9–10

In the next example the second εἶδα clearly precedes the first chronologically; similarly, the woman must have given birth to the child (ἔκαμε) before she could be holding him:

ἐκεῖ εἶδα καὶ μία γυναῖκα πόρνην, τὴν ὅποια εἶδα μίαν φορὰν εἰς τὸ παζάρι ὅπου τὴν
ἐπόμπευαν καὶ τὴν εἶχαν καὶ ἐκάθετον ἀπάνω εἰς ἓνα γαῖδαρον καὶ ἐκράτειεν καὶ ἓνα
παιδίον ὅπου ἔκαμε παστάρδικον ΡΑΡΑ-ΛΑΥΡ., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.14–18

(“there I saw a prostitute whom I had seen once before when they paraded her on a donkey while she held the bastard child she had had”)

In this example, ἔπιασαν is clearly anterior to ἡῦραμεν:

καὶ ἡῦραμεν τοὺς ἄλλους σκλάβους συντοπίτες μας, Μανιάτες, ὅπου τοὺς ἔπιασαν
πρὶο μπρὸς ἀπόξω ἀπὲ τὴν Κόρσικα (1681, Genoa, ΒΑΥΑΚΑΚΟΣ 1988: 506.16–17)

(“and we found the other slaves, Maniots just like us, whom they had captured earlier before the coast of Corsica”)

In the following examples an aorist + adverbial (ποτέ του, ἄλλη φορὰ) is used in an environment that in SMG would automatically trigger a pluperfect (εἶχε φάει, εἶχε ξαναπάει):

ὁ δὲ ξένος ἐπειδὴ ποτέ του δὲν ἔφαγε πίτες, ἐμάζωνεν αὐτὰς καὶ ἔτρωγέν τεσ ὡσὰν ψωμὶν *Vios Aisop.* D 227.4–5

(“since the stranger had never eaten pies before, he tucked in and ate them as if they were bread”)

(κράζου ...) ὀγιά γενεραλίσμο Φραντζέσκο Μορεζίνη | ποὺ στάθηκε κι ἄλλη φορὰ καὶ ξεῦραν
τον ἐκεῖνοι BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 469.21–2

(“as *generalissimo* [the Venetians] called for Francesco Morosini, who had been there before, and [therefore] they knew him”)

In the LMedG period certain periphrastic, or auxiliary verb constructions start to be used as pluperfects. The construction εἶχα + infinitive had existed in Greek since Ancient times and had gone through a development from potential in AG to counterfactual conditional some time in the EMedG period, a use the construction continues to have throughout and beyond the LMedG and EMG periods (for details see 5.2). Chatzidakis's theory that the pluperfect εἶχα + infinitive developed from this conditional use is now generally accepted (CHATZIDAKIS 1905/07: A 598–609; so too AERTS 1965; MOSER 1988; HORROCKS 1995: 169–70; HORROCKS 2010: 300–1). Contexts such as the following show how the semantic shift from conditional to temporal anteriority, via hypothetical anteriority, could quite easily occur: ἐθρήνησεν ὡςπερ νὰ εἶχεν χάσει | τὸ ρηγᾶτον *Chron. Mor.* H 8179–80 (“he lamented as if he had lost the kingdom”). As a pluperfect the construction appears in writing from the 14th c. onwards, and given the broad geographical spread of the first examples, it is

likely already to have been well established in the spoken language.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that in certain texts the construction is used only for the conditional and not as a pluperfect, e.g. in Dellaportas, Falieros and in Chortatsis's *Panoria* (though, oddly, not in *Katzourbos* and *Erofilis*) and in *Thrinou Kyprou*. Kornaros, on the other hand, uses the construction as a kind of pluperfect in specific environments only. Also note that in certain texts the same construction is used to express the aorist or imperfect indicative (see 5.6 for details).

The second auxiliary verb construction to be used to express anteriority in the past is *είχα* + perfect passive participle. This construction is used mainly with transitive verbs, usually with an overt direct object, with which the declined participle displays full gender, number and case agreement. Before the LMedG period this construction represented a stative past, describing a state in the past rather than an action/event in the past that is anterior to another action/event in the past (AERTS 1965: 161–7; MOSER 1988: 239–46) and was therefore equivalent to an imperfect. In the LMedG and EMG periods this stative use continues to exist, especially in constructions in which *έχω* can easily be interpreted as “to have/keep in a certain state”, e.g. *σκάβον οὐ σκάβαν όπου είχαν τον πόδαν θλασμένον Assizes B 432.10* (“a male or female slave who had a broken leg” rather than “who had broken their leg”); *έβάστα και χαρτόπουλον, είχαν γραμμένα ταῦτα Liv. V 395* (“he held a letter that read as follows”, rather than “he held a letter, in which he had written the following”).

The same holds true for the passive equivalent of this construction with the auxiliary *είμαι* and a perfect passive participle that agrees with the subject. This construction, too, often expresses a stative past of “to be”, with the participle functioning as an adjective: *οὐχ' ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον ἐσφαλμένον ἦν ΝΙΚΟΝ, Prol. 26.23–4* (“not that the first was wrong”, rather than “had been mistaken”); *εἶδεν ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμῶν ... πῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆθεν ... νὰ ἦτο ἐλευθερωμένο τὸ ... κελί (1371, Corfu, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 5: 3, 68.4–5)* (“we established that from the very beginning the monastery had been exempt from taxes”, rather than “had been relieved of taxes”); *ἐφειδὴν ἦτον κρατημένος νὰ συμβουλέψη Assizes B 279.6* (“because it was his duty to advise”, not “because he had been obliged to advise”); *καὶ μέχρι δέκα ἡμερῶν ἦταν συναθροισμένοι | ὁμόδειπνοι Achil. N 719–20* (“for ten days they were gathered around the same table”). It can even be found with verbs that do not have passive morphology apart from a verbal adjective in *-μένος* (see 2.3.2): *ὡς ἦσαν μαθημένοι Chron. Mor. H 1151* (“as was their custom”, rather than “as they had been taught”); *ἦτον μεθυσμένος PETRITSIS, Dig. O 2143* (“he was drunk”); *ἀπάνω στὰ*

⁴¹ However, the earliest example quoted in MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 158: *ἀπὸ τὸν εὐγενὴν ἄνθρωπον ... εἶχεν δοθῆν γῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Οἰκονόμου (MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 6: CII, 239.1–2)* cannot provide conclusive proof for a 13th-c. dating. The document is a Greek translation of a 1296 (not 1295) Latin original (= MM VI, App. I, 1, 387–8) (for the date see MALTEZOU 1970: 351). It is unknown when the Greek translation was made, and although it cannot be excluded that it is contemporary to the Latin original, it has only come down to us in a 17th-c. ms.

τουφέκια τῶς ἦτον ἀκουμπισμένοι BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 454.18 (“they were leaning on their muskets”).

In the LMedG period *είχα* + perfect passive participle starts to be used to denote anteriority in the past, and it is not difficult to understand how this shift in meaning could occur, when one considers the following Late Antique and MedG examples. In these examples the construction is not a periphrasis and the participle is used in apposition; the subject of the verb is not necessarily the agent of the action expressed by the participle.

συκὴν εἶχεν τις πεφυτευμένην ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ Luke 13:6 (“somebody had a fig tree planted on his land”)

ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἶχες οὐδὲν ἡμελημένον Pisides, Exp. Pers. II.206 (7th c., ed. Pertusi) (“because you left nothing undone”)

καὶ τοὺς κυβιστητῆρας, ἀνδρας γεννάδας, | οὓς εὖ κυβιστᾶν εἶχεν ἐξησκημένους, | λαβεῖν σιδηρᾶς ἐν χεροῖν λέγει σφύρας Prodrimos, Rhod. & Dos. VI.8–10 (12th c.; 13th-c. ms) (“and his divers, the brave men whom [Helios] had [at his disposal], well trained to dive with agility, he ordered to grab iron hammers”)

εἶχε δὲ δρόμοντας παρασκευασμένους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ στρατηγός (...) καὶ [ὁ τόπαρχος] εἶχεν ἀνδρας γενναίους παρασκευασμένους ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Kekaumenos, Strategikon 172.9–13 (11th c., 14th-c. ms) (“the general had light vessels ready at sea ... and [the toparch] had brave men waiting in ambush”)

In these examples *είχον* + participle denotes a state in the past, but it is easy to see how the stative use could in due course come to be interpreted as more dynamic: “somebody had a fig tree planted on his land” > “somebody had planted a fig tree on his land”; “because you left nothing undone” > “because you had overlooked nothing”; “he had divers, trained to dive with agility” > “he had trained them to dive with agility”; “he had vessels ready” > “he had prepared vessels”.

Early examples of the construction that clearly express an action/event that is anterior to another action/event in the past, rather than purely a state in the past, have been found in documents from S. Italy, but it is noteworthy that this use is absent from all other early texts: no examples have been found for instance in the writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain, nor in Glykas, the three oldest versions of *Spaneas* (V, P and Va), the Ptochoprodromic poems, the collection of proverbs in KRUMBACHER 1893, *Logos parigoritikos* L, nor in any of the versions of *Livistros*. If and when the construction occurs in these works, it is always stative, equivalent to an imperfect. In fact, with the exception of the examples from S. Italy (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1), no examples have been found before the 15th c., and all early examples are from areas that by then had been under Western rule for quite some time (Crete, Heptanese, Rhodes, Cyprus), making it likely that contact with Romance languages may have attributed to the appearance of the construction as a pluperfect towards the end of the LMedG period (HORROCKS 2010: 297–301). This supposition is reinforced by the fact that LMedG and EMG, just like Italian/Venetian (see FERGUSON 2007: 143), use the auxiliary *είμαι* to form active pluperfects of certain intransitive verbs, such as verbs of motion: *ἄλλου ἦτον διαβασμένος Chron. Mor. H 2147* (“he had gone elsewhere”). In the EMG period the construction can also be found with past participles in *-δος*

(Venetian loanwords): ἤτονε σαλπάδοι (1667, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 19, 90.14–15) (“they had set sail”).

However, it must be stressed that, in contrast to the εἶχα + infinitive construction, even when εἶχα + perfect passive participle is used to express anteriority in the past, it seldom expresses just that and almost always displays a clear focus on the state resulting from the anterior action/event, not only in the earliest example found, τὴν παράδοσιν ἦνπερ εἶχεν παραδομένην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 209.33) (“the delivery he had delivered”, in other words, that was now in the possession of the buyer), but throughout and beyond the period covered by this Grammar (for its use in MG see MOSER 1988 and MOSER 2009): τὸ πλῆθος ὄλον τῶν ὀρνέων εἶχεν το καλεσμένον *Poulol*. 3 (“he had invited the whole throng of birds”, in other words, they were now gathered there); ἐπειδὴ εἶχε ἀποκλεισμένη τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολι, ἀπέθανε πολὺς λαὸς ἀπὸ τὴν πείνα *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 35.34–5 (“because [Bayezid] had blockaded Constantinople, many people died from famine”, in other words, he kept the City under siege); τὶς χωρὲς τοῦ Μορέως ὅπου τις εἶχε παρμένες ὁ Τοῦρκος *ibid.* 102.1 (“the parts of Morea that the Turks had taken”, i.e. that were in Turkish hands); τὸ χωράφι ὅπερ εἶχε ἀγορασμένο (1661, Gortynia, YANNAROPOULOU 1972: 42, 315.2) (“the piece of land he had bought”, i.e. that was now in his possession). The following example from Kartanos, in which the two constructions alternate, beautifully illustrates the difference between simple anterior actions (εἶχεν ὑπάγει, εἶχαν θεμωνιάσει) and states resulting from past actions (εἶχαν θερισμένα, εἶχαν σκορπισμένα): ὁμπρὸς παρὰ τοῦτο εἶχεν ὑπάγει εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους νὰ πολεμήσει, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἠύρισκε καὶ εἶχαν θερισμένα τὰ σιτάρια τους καὶ εἶχαν τα σκορπισμένα ἀκόμη εἰς τὰ χωράφια, διότι ἀκόμη δὲν τὰ εἶχαν θεμωνιάσει KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.24–6 (“before that he had gone to fight the Palestinians, and there he found that they had finished reaping their wheat, but still had it lying scattered around the fields, because they had not yet stacked it”).

The construction ἤθελα + infinitive, which, just like its counterpart with εἶχα, was widely used to form conditionals (see 5.2.3.1), also begins to be used for the pluperfect, as first noted by KRIARAS (1936: 51–7); see also VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 27 and MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 222. It is used as a pluperfect from the 16th c. onwards and is geographically confined to southern areas. For its use as an aorist or imperfect indicative see 5.6.

Various regionally differentiated complementations can be found for εἶχα, ἤμουν and ἤθελα such as the subjunctive, the gerund, verbal adjectives and nouns (see below). For constructions with the gerund, see also GIANNARIS 2011.

Different constructions can often be found side by side in the same text, e.g. ὁ ἥλιος εἶχε μου τὸ φανερώσει | ὅπου τὸ φῶς του ἤθελε θαμπώσσει KATSAITIS, *Klathmos* II.179–80. In the following overview no distinction will be made between the active and the passive voices, unless they make use of different constructions. For the morphology of infinitives see 4.6, for gerunds see 4.7 and for participles see II, 3.2.1.

	General	Restricted	Rare
Active	εἶχα γράψει(ν) εἶχα γραμμένο(ν)	εἶχα γραμμένα εἶχα -δο(ν) εἶχα γραπτό(ν) εἶχα + noun εἶχα γράφοντα(ς) ἤμουν/ὑπῆρχα γράφοντα(ς) ἤθελα γράψει(ν) ἤμουν -μένος	εἶχα γράψω εἶχα γράφω εἶχε γράψω εἶχα γραπτά εἶχα γράφοντα(ς) ἤθελα γράφει(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένα ἤμουν -μενος ἤθελε γράψω ἤθεν γράψω ἤτον νὰ γράψω
Passive	εἶχα γραφθῇ(ν)/ γραφθεῖ(ν) ἤμουν γραμμένος	ἤμουν -δος ἤμουν γραπτός	ἤθελε ἤμουν γραμμένος

5.3.1 εἶχα

5.3.1.1 εἶχα + Infinitive

εἶχα + Aorist Infinitive

The construction with εἶχα + an active or a passive infinitive expresses anteriority in the past, usually without special emphasis on the result of the action/event (as is the case with εἶχα + perfect passive participle; see below), though there are examples in which there is focus on the result, e.g. καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὄλον τὸν κόσμον, ὅπου πούπετες δὲν εἶχεν μείνει ὅπου νὰ μὴν ἔβρεξε KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.23–4, in which εἶχεν μείνει means “there was not” rather than “there had not remained”. The first examples found are from texts dating to the 14th c. In subsequent centuries, the construction appears in a variety of texts from all areas, with the exception of peripheral areas such as S. Italy and Pontos. Some representative examples are:⁴²

⁴² For LMedG S. Italian see CARACASI, *Lex.* s.v. ἔχω. In these areas the construction is unknown even in modern times. For the pluperfect in modern S. Italian see AERTS 1965: 115–20; for Pontic see OIKONOMIDIS 1958: 285–6. The same is likely to hold true for Cappadocia and surrounding areas, for which MedG and EMG evidence is extremely scarce, but which in modern times do not have the construction either (DAWKINS 1916: 60–1, 147 and 191). Also note that the *Rasūlid Hexaglot* (Yemen, 14th c.), the informant for which was probably from Asia Minor, does not have the construction.

ὅτι εἶχεν ἀποστελεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγιασμένος Σουλτάν ὁ Μελέκ Νάσαρ (1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/ NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 97.8–9)⁴³
 καθὼς τοὺς εἶχε ὁμόσει *Chron. Mor.* H 81; τὸ σκαμνὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει *ibid.* 623; οὕτως τὸ εἶχασιν συμβουλευτεῖ *ibid.* 6640
 καὶ εἶχεν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν *Assizes B* 267.11–12
 εἶχεν δώσει καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Εὐδοκία τέλος (1406, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1951: 37, f.149v.4)
 εἶχεν ἐγκρεμισθῇ ἀπὸ ἑνα παραθύρι *Chron. Toc.* 308
 ἀκόμη εἶχα γράφειν εἰς στήν μεγάλην σου αὐθεντίαν (1486, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 4, 50.15);
 εἶχεν στείλει φρέρην (1487, Chios?, *ibid.* 13, 77.15–16)
 τί τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγίνετο, σάν εἶχασιν ἀλλάξειν | τὲς φορεσίες τὲς στολισίες μὲ ἐρωτίας τάξιν | ὥσαν
 τὸν ἥλιον λάμπασιν ... LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 156–8
 εἶχα διορθώσει καὶ ἀφήσει πάντα μου τὰ ἀγαθὰ (1497, Corfu, KARYDIS 1999b: 1, 305.13)
 δὲ μοῦ εἶχε δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν ... (1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7)
 ὁ αὐθέντης εἶχεν σώσει εἰς τὴν Μοθώνην εἰς τὲς δέκα τοῦ Ἰουλίου, καὶ ἐπολέμησέ τὴν τριάντα
 ἡμέρας (16th c., Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 36.II, 295.30.8–9)
 εἶχεν ἀποθάνει εἰς τὲς ἰβ' τοῦ νῦν μηνὸς Αὐγούστου (1513, Zakynthos, MANOUSAKAS 1967: (a), 222.10)
 τὸ ὅποιον περιβόλι τὸ εἶχεν πάρειν (1527, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 4, 52.6)
 τὰ τορνέσα τοῦ τὰ ἔδωσα ἐγὼ, ὅπου μοῦ τὰ ἔχει φέρει ὁ ἀνωθεν Μιχάλης (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 214.26)
 καθὼς τὸ εἶχαν κάμει (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 26, 165.15)
 τὴν πρώτην συμφωνίαν ... ὅπου εἶχανε κάμει (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 68, 56.5)
 εἶχεν ἐγλυτώσει κάποιον Τοῦρκο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.2; ἐτζί τὸν εἶχεν παραγγεῖλει *ibid.* I §30.10
 τὸ χρέος | ποῦ εἶχεν ἀναλάβει (1671, Mykonos, PETROPOULOS 1960: 1395, 821.19–20)
 εἶχι κριθῇ (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI 2011: A 4, f.40r.6); τοῦ εἶχι ἀφήσει (*ibid.* A: 4, f.40r.12) (= εἶχε, see I, 2.5.4)
 τὰ μετρητὰ ποῦ εἶχε ἀφήσει ... ὁ πατέρας μου (1696, Ioannina, MICHAELARIS 1976: 2 [B'], 253.21–2)

In *Erotokritos* the use of εἶχα + aorist infinitive is especially interesting (cf. ἤθελα + aorist infinitive for the same use). Apart from their regular use as conditionals (see 5.2.2.1), Kornaros also employs them as a kind of pluperfect, but only in specific environments (in other environments he generally uses εἶχα + perfect passive participle for the pluperfect, see 5.3.1.2): temporal clauses introduced by ὡς, σάν and τό and relative clauses introduced by ὅπου or ὅπου (“wherever” or “whoever”) that express anteriority in relation to an imperfective, habitual/repetitive main clause:⁴⁴

τό ᾗχα ξυπνήσει, ἐφώνιαζα KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.995; εἰς ποῦ ἔτρεμεν ὡς σ' εἶχε δεῖ *ibid.* I.1601; ὡς
 εἶχε βάλειν εἰς τὸν νοῦ κι ὡς ἤθελε λογιᾶσει | ποιά στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατεῖ ... χολικιασμένη
 ἐπόμενε *ibid.* I.2091–5; ὡς εἶχε ρίξει κοπανιά, πάντα του τὸ σκουτάρι | με το σπᾶθι

⁴³ Sonja Schönauer, who is preparing a new edition of Kantakouzinou's *Historiae*, kindly confirmed that this is the reading of the oldest (14th-c.) manuscripts.

⁴⁴ When the main clause does not express habituality/repetition in the past, Kornaros uses the aorist indicative in the temporal clause: Γλυκάρτος ἐκράζετο κι ὡς ἤρθε ὅπου ἴσα οἱ ἄλλοι, | μὲ σπλάχνος ἔχαρῆτησε KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.291–2; σάν τση τ' ἀπομνήσασιν, ἡ κόρη ἀναδακρῶνει *ibid.* V.337; τό 'κουσεν ὁ Ρωτόκριτος τ' ἀναθίβανει ἡ μάνα, τὰ λόγια τση σὲ λογισμούς μεγάλους τὸν ἐβάνα *ibid.* I.1857–8; μὰ κάτεχε κι ὅπου λαχα ποτὲ δὲ μ' ἐνίκησα *ibid.* II.1424.

ἐσυνητρόφιαζε *ibid.* II.1099–100; μὰ σάν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῇ, περίσσα ἐτυραννᾶτο *ibid.* III.21;
 τό ᾗχες γροικῆσει ἄλλοῦ νὰ πῇ λόγο γιὰ πόθου ὁδύνη, | τὸ πρόσωπο ἐκοκκίνιζες *ibid.* III.1155–6; καὶ τό ᾗχε δεῖ κ' ἐβράδιαζε καὶ πῶς ὁ ἥλιος κλίνει, | ἐμίσειε σπουδαχτικά κι
 αὐτὸς τὴν ὥρα κελνῇ *ibid.* IV.943–4; μὰ πάλι ὡς εἶχε θυμηθῇ ποῦ γέρνεται, ποῦ μένει | γιὰ
 λόγου του μιά του κερά ἀκριβαναθρεμμένη, | ἐγροῖκα μέσα στήν καρδιά μαχαίρι *ibid.* V.57–9

ὅπου εἶχε δεῖ ὁμορφο δεντρό, μὲ τ' ἀνθη στολισμένο: | “εἶν' τσ' Ἀρετούσας τὸ κορμί, τ'
 ὁμορφοκαμωμένο” | ὅπου ᾗχε δεῖ τὰ λούλουδα τὰ κοκκινοβαμμένα, | ἤλεγε ... KORNAROS,
Erot. I.125–9; κι ὅπου ᾗχε πεί νὰ τ' ἀρνηθῶ, ἦτον ἀντίδικός μου *ibid.* I.978; κι ὅπου ᾗχε δεῖ
 λινόξυλα ἐκεῖ ἦβανε τὸ ἀπύρι *ibid.* IV.744; μὰ ὅπου ᾗχε σώσει, θάνατον ἤδιδε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ibid. IV.1116

A single example that resembles this use of εἶχα + infinitive occurs in the following text from Cyprus: ντάν νὰ ᾗχεν βάλειν ἀνθρωπον κάτω νὰ ᾗχεν παιδεύγει, | τοὺς δελοίπους τὸ αἷμάν τους ἀρχνίζεν νὰ φεύγει KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 265–6 (“whenever he would tie a man down to torture him, all the others would become very scared”).

εἶχα + Present Infinitive

The construction with εἶχα + present infinitive expresses durativity in the remote past, a situation in the past that is anterior to some other situation/action/event (cf. εἶχα + subjunctive below). The construction is not restricted to verbs that lack perfective morphology, such as ἔχω and ἐξεύρω:

ἀν τὸχα ξεύρειν, ψυχούλα μου, ... | ὁ Ἔρωσ νὰ μὲ φόνεψεν *Achil.* L 1305–6
 ἡῦρεν κρυμμένα χρήματα πολλά, ὅπου εἶχαν ἔχη οἱ πρώην βασιλεῖς *Diig. Alex.* F 238.15–16
 (Lolos)
 δὲν εἶχανε ἡξέρει ἀκόμη τὸ κακὸ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.26
 μὲ πέρνε εἰς τὸν τόπο ἀπού ᾗχε πηγαίνει | συχνὰ ἡ νεράϊδα τούτη *Pist. voskos* II 1.141–2 (read μ' ἐπαῖρνε)
 μ' ἀλλότες εἶχε πράσσει | εἰς τὰ ταξίδια, καὶ ἐρχοντας μιά φούστα ν' ἀγοράση, | μέσα στὴ
 φούστα μ' εὔρηκε κι ἐμένα FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* II.201–2 (“once upon a time he had been a travelling merchant, and when he came to buy a boat, he found me in it”)

5.3.1.2 εἶχα/ἦμουν + Participle

εἶχα/ἦμουν + Perfect Passive Participle

As mentioned in the introduction to 5.3, with the exception of the ones from S. Italy no examples of εἶχα/ἦμουν + perfect passive participle have been found before the 15th c., and all early examples are from areas that had been under Western rule for some time (Crete, Heptanese, Rhodes, Cyprus), making it likely that contact with Romance languages encouraged the appearance of the construction towards the end of the LMedG period. Even in later centuries, the construction appears mainly in texts from southern areas, and only rarely in texts from the northern mainland; the few northern examples all have a particularly strong emphasis on the resulting state (εἶχε δεμένα, εἶχα βαλμένο).

The following list of examples does not include examples that are purely stative and therefore do not express anteriority in the past, such as τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμούς ὁ Ἰασοὺς πάντα κλεισμένους εἶχε *Pol. Tr.* 654 (“Jason still kept his eyes closed”) (see the introduction to 5.3).

Active

- τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν περ εἶχεν παραδομένην (1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 209.33)
 πρὶν τῆς θανῆς αὐτοῦ εἶχεν αὐτὰ ἀφιερωμένα εἰς τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν μονὴν (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 97.19–21)
 τὰ σκρίτα ὅπου εἶχε πλερωμένα (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 46.22–3)
 τὰ εἶχεν δομένα εἰς ἐνέχυρον (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 81, 188.4)
 διὰ πολλὰ πράματα τὰ εἶχαν ἀγορασμένα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 150.19–20
 εἰς τὰ ἔχε καμωμένα LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 415
 τὲς χώρες μας ποὺ εἶχαμε χαϊμένες | ὅλες μᾶς τὲς ἐστρέψασι *Theseid* X.21,3–4 (1529)
 τὴν φυτεῖαν ὅπου εἶχαμε ἀναστημένη (1550, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 27, 66.2–3)
 αὐτὸς ἐμένα ἐμπροτύτερα εἶχε με βασιλέα καμωμένον καὶ ἐσὺ με ἀτίμωσες *Diig. Alex.* V 74.1
 καταπῶς τοῦ τὸν εἶχε ταμένο εἰς τὸ προυκοχάρτι (1573, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 4, 13.8)
 καὶ τοῦ τὰ εἶχεν δοσμένα (1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 68, 56.6)
 τὴν εἶχε ἀρρεβωνιασμένη με ἕναν ἀφέντη χριστιανόν *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 32.2; τὸν ὅποιον τοῖχον τὸν εἶχανε κτισμένο οἱ Μοραῖτες *ibid.* 51.19
 τὰ χωράφια ... τὰ εἶχε ὁ πεθερός μας παρμένα καὶ τὰ ὠρρίζαμε ἐμεῖς (1631, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1972: 13, 175.4)
 καὶ εἶχαν δεμένα τὰ χερίά του, καὶ αὐτός: “μὴν μὲ δένετε· ἐγὼ μοναχὸς σεβαίνω εἰς τὴν φλόγα” PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §1.12–13
 ἀζίκια τὰ εἶχαν γεμισμένα IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 2740
 εἰχέν τῆς ὁ Καίρης ἑκατὸ ρεάλια δοσμένα (ante 1662, Sifnos, TSELIKAS 1986c: 2, 31.9)
 καὶ εἴτι ροῦχα εἶχε φερμένα ἐδικὰ τῆς (1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.16)
 τὰ παλληκάρια | ποὺ μαθημένα τὰ ἔχεν νὰ σύρνουν τὰ κοντάρια PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1603–4
 τὸ μισὸν μαγαζίν ὅπου τῆς εἶχεν ὁ ἄνδρας τῆς γραμμένον καὶ χαρασμένον (1677, Proikonnisos, KAMBOURIS 1976: A. 6, 198.8–9)
 τὰ ὅσαν τῆς εἶχαν πουργοταμένα (1685, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 610, 841.19)

With an invariable participle form in -α the construction has been found in texts from Crete, the Aegean and the southern mainland. It is used with intransitive verbs (μιλῶ) and when the direct object of the phrase is a complement clause, in texts from southern areas (Crete, southern mainland): κ' εἶχαμε μιλημένα γιὰ τὸ γάμο Vosk. 400; εἶχα γραμμένα τῆς πανιερότης σου πῶς ... (1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.20); καθὼς ... εἶχασι ἀποφασισμένα νὰ κάμουν EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.19–21.

Examples of the construction with a nominal direct object have been found in Cretan texts and in texts from the Aegean (Andros) (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1). The single example from the *Lament of Cyprus* is probably rhyme-induced; as the construction has not been found in other Cypriot texts.

- διότις χαρτί δὲν τοὺς εἶχαν καμωμένα (1581, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 11, 25.19)
 δὲν εἶχε μαθημένα τὸν κόπον νὰ δουλεύει MOREZINOS, *Klini* 172.5
 τὸ σπαθὶ δὲν εἶχ' ἀκονισμένα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.86; μὰ τὸν Πανάρετο θωρῶ, σὰν τοῦ ἔχα μηνυμένα *id.*, *Erof.* II.372
 γιὰτὶ δὲν εἶχεν καμωμένα σιγουριτὰν (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 140, 153.13–14)
 τὸ ὅποιον χωράφι εἶχε πουλημένα (1612, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 178, 170.7)
 εἶχα γραμμένα GERMANO, *Grammar* 98.14
 ἔβγηκα πὸ τὴν συντυχίαν, ὅπου ἔχα ἀρχισμένα *Thrinis Kypr.* 498

An indeclinable participle in -ο is very rare (but cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1, for which a few more examples have been found): μία καρὶνα ὅπου εἶχαν ἀγορασμένο (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 53, 67.6).

In texts from the Heptanese, and possibly the wider south-western area, the εἶχα + participle construction can be found with the intransitive verb γίνομαι as a transitive construction with an overt direct object, semantically equivalent to εἶχα καμωμένο(ν) (cf. the perfect and the future perfect, 5.4.1.1 and 5.5.1): ὁ αὐτὸς Κράμππος εἶχε γεναμένη μία γραφή (1606 [late 17th-/early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 521.11–12).

Passive

The passive counterpart of the εἶχα + participle construction is formed with the imperfect of εἶμαι + perfect passive participle. It is mainly used with transitive verbs, and the participle is in full gender, number and case agreement with the subject. As noted in the introduction to 5.3, this construction often represents a state in the past, equivalent to an imperfect, and purely stative examples (e.g. ἦτον φορεμένος φορέματα χρυσὰ PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.16–17 (“he was wearing gold-embroidered garments”, rather than “he had dressed himself in gold-embroidered garments”)) have not been included in the following list of examples. The construction usually does have a strong emphasis on the state resulting from the action/event that is anterior to it:

- ἦν καὶ πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφανισμένον (1363, Athos, KRAVARI 1991: 6, 84.9)
 τὸ κάστρον ἦσαν ἔρημον, ἦτον χαλασμένο *Chron. Mor.* H 1691; ἀπέκει ἐσηκώθησαν ὅπου ἦσαν μαζωμένοι *ibid.* 968
 ἀρα ἔβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὡς ἦτον τεταγμένος *Anak. Konst.* 112
 τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ τὰ Ἰωάννινα, ὅπου ἦσαν χωρισμένα *Chron. Toc.* 3026
 εἶπαν τοῦ ἀποστολέ εκείνον τὸ ἦτον ορισμένοι ἀπὸ τὴν ρήγαιναν VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60.16–17
 αὐτὰ τὰ δύο κτίσματα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦτον καμωμένα DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 2, β5r.32 (1561)
 πιδέξια καὶ πιτήδεια ἦσαν βολμένα Vosk. 165 app. crit.
 ὅπου ἦτον πρῶτύτερα τυφλωμένος καὶ ὑστέρου ἦλθε τὸ φῶς τοῦ *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.27–8; (το τεῖχλο ...) καλὰ καὶ ἦτον μεταφτεισμένο *ibid.* 91.7–8
 ἦτον τὸ ταμπόρι τοὺς ὑπέρκαλα ὀρδινιασμένο PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §13.4–5
 ἦτον ἀναθρεμμένος ἐπὰ (1636, Crete, TSELIKAS 1985: 11, 83.7)
 ἕναν λέοντα εἶδεν καὶ ἦτον σφασμένος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1435
 καὶ ἦταν τὰ μαλλιά τοῦ τρογύρω μπαρμπερεμένα *Reb. Enr.* 103.9; ἦτον θανατωμένο καὶ ὀχι πνιμένο *ibid.* 104.9–10
 ἦτον γεννημένη εἰς εκείνον τὸν τόπον *Don Kis.* 3.7

Passive with Active Meaning

The construction ἦμουν + participle is also used for the active voice of intransitive verbs, not only of deponent verbs (ἔρχομαι) but also of active verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology (διαβάζω, μισεύω, παγαίνω). The participle in -μένος or -δος (Venetian loanwords) is in full case, number and gender agreement with the subject of the verb. In all examples found, the verbs are verbs of motion, but cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.2, for which examples of another intransitive verb (πηγαίνω) have been found. This use appears to be restricted to south-western areas (Peloponnese, Crete, Santorini, Heptanese):

ἀλλοῦ ἦτον διαβασμένος *Chron. Mor.* H 2147

οἱ προφῆται δὲν ἦτον ἀπερασμένοι δλοῖ *DAM. STOD.*, *This.*, *Logos* 2, β5v.23

ἦτονε στὴν Ῥώμην παγωμένος *ACHELIS, Malt. Pol.* 578; ὁποῦτον ἐλθωμένος *ibid.* 1888

γιατὶ δὲν ἦτο ἐτότες ἐκ τὸν Ἄδην | στὸν κόσμο ἢ Περηφάνεση ἐρχωμένη *CHORTATIS, Erof.* II.482–3⁴⁵

καὶ ἦτονε προτύτερας παγωμένος (1606, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 392, 364.10)

τὸ καράβι ἀκόμα δὲν ἦτονε μισεμένο (1612, Monemvasia region, *BROUSKARI* 1981: 314.21)

ἦτονε μισεμένος (1628, Crete, *VARZELIOTI* 2000: 2, 332.8–9)

ἦτονε σαλπάδοι (1667, Santorini, *TSELIKAS* 1985: 19, 90.14–15) (< Ven. *salpado*, departed)

ἀπείτις ἦτονε μισεμένος (1670, Crete, *TSELIKAS* 1986c: 3, 36.10)

ἦτον σχεδὸν ἀπερασμένοι χρόνοι εἴκοσι *GAVRILOP.*, *Diig. panouklas* 94.33

ἦμουν παγεμένος, ἦσουν παγεμένος *ROMANOS, Grammar* 62.20

In texts of south-western provenance ἦμουν + passive participle is also used with the intransitive deponent verb γίνομαι; cf. the perfect (5.4.1.2) and future perfect (5.5.1). Given the general confusion regarding the morphology of γίνομαι, the aorist middle participle γενόμενος and its innovative variant γενάμενος surely have the same meaning as the innovative perfect passive participles γεναμένος, γινάμενος, γενομένος, γινωμένος, etc. (for AG γεγονώς) (see also 2.4):

μετὰ χαρᾶς τὸ ἤθελα νὰ ἦτον γεναμένον *Pol. Tr.* 3708 app. crit. (A)

τὴ διαλαλιὰ ἀκούσαμεν ὁποῦ ἦτον γεναμένη *Alex. Rim.* 1464

ἀκόμη τὸ Πάσχα δὲν ἦτον γινάμενον *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 363.28; οἱ ψυχές ἦσαν γινόμενες ὁμπρὸς παρὰ τὰ κορμιὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων *ibid.* 411.13–14

εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὁποῦ ἦτον γενάμενη (1581, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 21, 33.10)

ὥσαν νὰ ἦτανε γεναμένο εἰσὲ ἄττι δημοσίου νοταρίου (1737, Zakynthos, *BOUBOULIDIS* 1957: 8, 125.2–3)

A semantic shift from passive to active may be observed in this construction with the active verb κερδένω/κερδαίνω/κερδίζω (cf. 5.5.1 for a similar example of νικῶ):⁴⁶ κ' ἐκεῖ ποὺ στέκαν ἀφοβα κ' ἦτονε κερδεμένοι, | γυρίζοντας ἀποδεκεῖ ἦτονε σκλαβωμένοι *BOUNIALIS M.*, *Diig. Pol.* 426.2–3.

This construction has also been found with a present passive participle of deponent verbs. In these examples the choice for the present participle does not appear to be aspectual (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.1): ὡς καθὼς ἦτον ἐκπαλαι ὑποσχόμενος (1590, Corfu, *KARYDIS* 2004/06: 3, 49.10–11); ἀνκαλὰ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἦτονε ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμο *MOREZINOS, Klini* 11.30–1.

εἶχα/ἦμουν + Past Participle in -δος

The same construction, with εἶχα for the active and ἦμουν for the passive voice, can also be found in Venetian-ruled areas (Heptanese, Cyclades, Crete) with past participles in

⁴⁵ The form ἐρχωμένη in this example from *Erofilis* looks like a present participle, but the stress indicates that it is a perfect. Of course, the difference between pres. ἐρχόμενος and perf. ἐρθωμένος is only one letter. There appears to be some confusion between the perfective and imperfective stems of ἐρχομαι, cf. the noun ὁ ἐρθωμός in *TROILOS, Rodol.* II.178 and V.21 and ὁ ἐλθωμός in Hierotheos Anavatos's *Χριστιανικὴ Διδασκαλία* 104 (references from *KRIARAS, Lex.* s.v. ἐρχομός).

⁴⁶ Cf. the same active meaning of κερδεμένος in other constructions: ἦρτεν ἡ ἀρμάδα τοὺς βενετικούς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμόχουστον, κάτεργα ξ'. Καὶ ἦρταν κερδεμένα *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 162.4–5; ἐβγήκε κερδεμένος *Thysia Anv.* 1074. The construction still has this meaning in SMG.

-δος borrowed from Venetian.⁴⁷ These participles show full adaptation to Greek adjectival morphology, with some variation in the fem. sg. (see also II, 3.2.1). Examples have only been found in non-literary texts:

Active

μηδὲ εἶχεν τὸ κανενὸς ὁμπλιγάδο (1538, Naxos, *VISVIZIS* 1951: 7, 18.24) (< *obligār*)

(τὸ ὁποῖον ἀμπέλι ...) τοῦ τό ἔχεν ἀσενιάδο καὶ δοσμένο (1603, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 182, 194.9); ἔστοντας καὶ ... νὰ εἶχεν μαλτζιπάδο ... τὸν υἱὸν του (1610, *ibid.* 653, 569.2) (< *mancipār*)

ἔφυγεν ἡ ἀρμάδα τοῦ Τούρκου, τὴν ὁποῖαν εἶχεν σεντιάδη ἡ ἀρμάδα τῶν χριστιανῶν (1667, Crete, *DIMITRAKOPOULOS* 1995: 542.5–6) (< *sedīār*)

τὸ ὁποῖο εἶχαμε ἀκβιστάδο ἀπὸ τὴν ποτὲ κερα-Γιαννοῦ (1685, Cythera, *ANDRITSAKI-FOTIADI* 1982: 71.30) (< *acquistār*)

τὰ εἶχεν ἱμπαρκάδα (1686, Mykonos, *KATSOUROS* 1948: 7, 20.35) (< *imbarcār*)

ἀπ' ὅ,τι εἶχε παγάδο (1699, Kefalonia, *EVANGELATOS* 1995: 5, 165.29) (< *pagār*)

Passive

τὰ ὁποῖα ἦσανε, ὡς λέσι, ὑποτεκάδα τῇ αὐτῇ κερα-Φρατζισκίνας (1612, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 825, 721.4) (< *ipotecār*)

5.3.1.3 εἶχα/ἦμουν + Verbal Adjective

Constructions with a verbal adjective in -τός, with εἶχα for the active and ἦμουν for the passive voice, have mainly been found in documents from S. Italy and Venetian-ruled areas, mostly of the verb ἀγοράζω:

Active

τόπον ... τὸν ἄπερ εἶχε ἀγοραστὸν ἐκ τὸν Ὀσβέρνον (1142?, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XI: 9, 523.3–4)

εἶχε τὸ δὲ ἀγοραστὸν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰπικέρνην *Chron. Toc.* 1041

τὸ χωράφιον ὁπερ εἶχε ἀγοραστὸν ὁ πατήρ του (1599, Kefalonia, *ALEXOPOULOU et al.* 2009: 15, 12.2)

τ' ἀμπέλι ... ὁποῦ εἶχα ἀλλακτὸ ἀπὸ τοὺς παρπάδες τοὺς Σταματέλο καὶ Θωμά (1638, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 100, 102.23)

κατὰ τὴ γραφὴν τῆς ποτὲ του πεθερᾶς ὁποῦχεν τὸ πρᾶμα ἀγοραστὸ (1680, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARARA et al.* 1982/83: 86, 241.11); καθὼς τὸ εἶχαν καὶ αὐτοῖν ἀγοραστὸν (*ibid.* 88, 243.12)

λογιάζω νὰ εἶχες ἀκουστήν ... τὴν περίφημον ἐκείνην γυναῖκα *SKOUFOS, Grammat.* 78, 273.3
τὸν εἶχε στιχητὸν με ρόγαν διὰ ἀσλάνια 40 (1698 [later copy], Sibiu, *TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI* 2011: B 11, f.171r.23) (< στιχῶ, "to hire")

Passive

τὸ ὁποῖο πατητήρι ἦτονε ἀγοραστὸ τοῦ ἀνωθεν ποτὲ μισέρ Τζώρτζη ἀπού τὸ ποτὲ κυρ-Μανολά (1610, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 12, 33.6–7)

With an invariable adjectival form in -α, it has been found, for the active voice only, in south-western areas such as Crete, the Peloponnese and Santorini. In the Cretan text it is used with a nominal direct object; in the other two texts with a complement clause as direct object (cf. εἶχα + indeclinable perfect passive participle above):

⁴⁷ For Venetian participles in -ado/-adho see *FERGUSON* 2007: 96.

τὸ ψυχικὸν ὅπου ... εἶχεν ἀφητὰ, ὑπέρπυρα 4' (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 146, 159.6–7); τὸ ψυχικὸν ὅπου τοῦ εἶχεν ἀφητὰ ἡ γυναῖκα του (1611, *ibid.* 696, 602.6) ἀπὸ παλιόθεν εἶχαμε ἀκουστὰ πῶς ἦταν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1644, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 4, 122.10–11)
 ὅσοι εἶχαν γροικιστὰ πῶς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἦψε φωτῖα *Diig. Sant.* 55.71

5.3.1.4 εἶχα + Noun

Sometimes εἶχα can be found with a noun expressing the action of the related verb. The auxiliary retains some of its possessive meaning, and therefore the construction is only used with certain nouns, e.g. εἶχα ἀγορά ('I had bought, I had in my possession'), but not *εἶχα πούλησιν ('I had sold') (cf. the perfect 5.4.1.4).⁴⁸

καθὼς εἶχα το ἀγορὰν (1264, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 33, 15.9)
 ὅπερ εἶχε κάκεινος ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Μοσχοπουλίνης (1415, Limnos, LEMERLE et al. 1979: 164, 167.11)
 καὶ πυρσούς γὰρ ἀνυψώνουν | τὰ πρὸς ἐνδειξιν Ἑλλήνων, | ὅπερ εἶχαν συμφωνίαν *ERMON., Ilias* 22.209–11
 καταπῶς τὴν εἶχασιν ἀγορασιά (1544, Syros, ZERLENDIS 1923a: [2], 7.10)
 ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸ χαράτζιον ὅπου εἶχαν συμφωνίαν *Vios Aisop.* D 240.35
 σοῦ εἶχα ὀρδινίαν ὅτι νὰ μὴν κάμεις καμμίαν ἱεροπραξίαν (1637, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969e: 61.14)
 ἐνα χωράφι ὅπου εἶχεν ἀγορά ἀπὸ τὸ Στουπᾶ (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.42)
 τὴν ὅποια τὴν εἶχασιν ἀγορά ἀπὸ τὸν μποτε μισερ Ἰάκωβον Διασίντην (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 179.22–3)
 ἐγὼ τοῦ εἶχα παραγγελία ... <νὰ> τοῦ τὰ ἀφήσει (1694, Lvov?, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 5, 57.15–16)

5.3.1.5 εἶχα + Present Gerund

The construction εἶχα + present gerund is used only for the active voice and does not appear to have a passive counterpart (cf. the perfect, 5.4.1.5). With a present gerund it has been found in S. Italy and in Cretan texts, and with an aorist gerund it appears in version T of the *Chronicle of Morea* and in three of the four rhymed versions of *Apollonios*. Insofar as the limited number of examples allows for conclusions, there does not always appear to be an aspectual difference between imperfective and perfective complementation: see e.g. the variant readings of *Apollonios*. However, in the example from S. Italy the construction denotes a situation in the past that is viewed as completed – “the land that used to belong to my father” (who is now dead) – whereas in the example from Falieros the present gerund denotes a situation that is ongoing in the past, when it is interrupted by the action expressed by the historical present βλέπω “I saw”: “and she had not entirely finished speaking when I saw a glow”.

⁴⁸ These examples resemble pluperfects and they are different from examples with other nouns such as the following: τὸ ὅποιο εἶχαμε καὶ γραφή, γεναμένη ὑπὸ χειρὸς ... (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 16, 40.26), in which τὸ εἶχαμε γραφή means “we had it in writing”, “on a piece of paper” (but afterwards the document was lost).

τὰ χωράφια τὰ εἶχε κρατῶνταν ὁ πατ<έ>ρας μου (1113, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 75, 97.17) καὶ οὐκ εἶχε λέγοντα σωστὸν καὶ βλέπω μιὰ λαμπάδα *FALIEROS, Ist. On.* 395
 αὐτὸς <τον> εἶχε σφάζοντα, στο χώμαν ἀπὸ κάτου *Apoll. Rim.* V 1604
 τὰ γονικά ὅπου ἔχα τοῦ υἱοῦ μου στὶς Μάλλες δίδοντα (1524, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 31.70)
 ὅποιο ἀμπέλιν σοῦ εἶχεν δίδοντα (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 1, 41.10); τὰ ὑπέρπυρα ... ὅπου ἐμεῖς τὰ ἔχαμε αὐτουνοῦ δίδοντα (1547, *ibid.* 35, 66.8–9)
 τὸ εἶχασιν χαλάσσοντα ὁμπρὸς οἱ Βενετικοὶ *Chron. Mor.* T 1692⁴⁹
 αὐτὸς τον εἶχε σφάζοντα, στο χώμαν ἀποκάτω *Apoll. Rim.* A and E 1604 (σφάζοντας in N)

There is one example of ἦμουν + present gerund, which, however, does not have a passive but an active meaning, involving the verb of motion πηγαίνω (cf. ἦμουν + participle, above): καὶ τὰ νερά ἦτον πγαίνοντα καὶ λειψοντα ὡς τὸ μῆνα τὸν δέκατο *Pent. Gen.* 8.5.

5.3.1.6 εἶχα + Subjunctive

Εἶχα complemented by a bare subjunctive has been found in south-western texts of the EMG period (cf. the conditional, 5.2.2.3). The aorist subjunctive expresses a simple action or event, whereas the present subjunctive is used for repeated/habitual/progressive actions/events that are expressly situated in the remote past (cf. pres. inf. above):

ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔχαν πᾶσι Αἰτολὸς, *Ais. Myth.* 125.4
 ποὺ ἔχαμε πρωτοποῦμεν *Rim. Sant.* 669; μᾶς εἶχασιν εἰποῦσι *ibid.* 694
 δλὰ ἔχασιν δοθοῦν σὲ κακὲς πράξεις *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.651; δὲν εἶχανε τὸ στοχαστοῦνε *ibid.* I.757; λίγους σολδάδους εἶχασιν ἀφήσουν *ibid.* II.17; δὲν εἶχαν πάγου *ibid.* II.84; εἶχες τὸ μετανοιώσεις *id., Ifig.* II.282

γιατ' εἶχασιν θαρροῦσι *Rim. Sant.* 755
 τὸ μεγάλο θάμασμα ποὺ ἔχες ἔχεις | τότες *Pist. voskos* I 1.213
 λέγω γιὰ μερικοὺς ὅπου ἔχαν πέβουν | π' ἄλλο δὲν ἔκαμναν παρὰ νὰ κλέβουν *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.715; ἔνανε ποὺ ἔχε κλέπτει νὰ τοὺς δίνῃ *ibid.* I.735; σὰν γνήσια μητέρα εἶχες πράσσεις *ibid.* III.89

5.3.1.7 εἶχε(ν) + Subjunctive

Impersonal εἶχε(ν) + subjunctive has not been found before the 18th c. (cf. the conditional, 5.2.2.4). It is listed in Kanellos Spanos's grammar (1749) as equivalent to εἶχα γράφει:⁵⁰ εἶχε γράψω, -ψης, -ψη εἶχε γράψωμεν, -ψετε, -ψουν *SPANOS, Grammar* 35.4; εἶχε φιληθῶ *ibid.* 40.21.

⁴⁹ The Copenhagen ms of the *Chronicle* has εἶσασιν χαλάσσει, a construction that has not been attested elsewhere (though cf. past-tense complementation in the active conditional, 5.2.2.5).

⁵⁰ The construction also occurs as a pluperfect in the early correspondence of Korais, vol. 1, to recipients in Chios/Smyrna: εἶχε στελωσιν (1782, letter 8, 21.20); δὲν εἶχεν ἰδῶ ποτέ μου (1791, letter 54, 193.30) (but εἶχα δώσειν e.g. in letter 773 of 1818 (80.4)).

5.3.2 ήθελα

5.3.2.1 ήθελα + Infinitive

From the early 16th c. onwards the conditional construction ήθελα + infinitive (for which see 5.2.3.1) can be found used as a pluperfect in texts from southern areas (Peloponnese, Heptanese, Crete, Cyprus). It is complemented by an aorist infinitive expressing a simple action or event (for this construction complemented by a present or aorist infinitive, but used as an imperfect or aorist indicative respectively, see 5.6):

ήθελα + Aorist Infinitive

κάτι γυναίκες όπου έκλαϊαν ἄλλην γυναίκαν όπου ήθελεν πεθάνειν *Fior* 84.41–3
λέγοντες πώς τὸ ήθελεν χάσει πρώην καιρὸν τῆς συχύσεως (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 5, 58.5–6); διὰ τὸ δαμάλι τὸ δικό του όπου τοῦ ήθελε λαβώσει ὁ ρηθεις κυρ-Νικολός (ibid. 25, 83.7–8)
σκάπτοντας κάπου γεωργός ήθελεν εὖρει πλούτον ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 82.1
θάνατον εἶχα πλιά καλλιὰ νὰ δώσω τοῦ κορμιού μου | παρὰ ἀπὸ κείνο νὰ 'χα βγεῖ πού μ' ήθελεν ὀρίσει *CHORTATIS, Erot.* I 248–9
τὴν ἀγορὰν όπου ήθελεν κάμειν ἀπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν Μουσταφὰν παχιά Ἀμοχούστου (1640, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 4, 13.15) (the Pasha is deceased at the time of writing)
ἐκεῖνος πού τσ' ἐννιά ἐριξε, στή γῇ ήθελε ξαπλώσει *TROILOS, Rodol.* III.504; μὴδ' ἄνθρωπος τὸν ήθελε γνωρίσει ibid. III.512
τοῦτος πλιὸ πρωτύτερα ήθελεν ἔμπει μέσα *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.31; κι ἤκουσα πὼς ἓνας τ' ἄλλου ἐθέλασιν ἀμόσει ibid. IV.347
εἰς τοὺς 1470 ὁ Μωάμετ Δεύτερος ... ἀφόντις ἐγκρέμισε τὴν δευτέραν φορὰν τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Κορίνθου, όπου οἱ Βενετσιάνοι ήθελεν ξανακτίσει *Ist. Enet.* 417.8–10
ἓνα θηρίον ὃ Ἡρακλῆς ήθελε θανατώσει | κι ἄφηκε μὴμην εἰς τὴ γῇ γιὰτ' ήθελε γλυτώσει *BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol.* 498.3–4
ἐτούτους ὅλους ήθελε τοὺς βγάλει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* I.161; ὃ γκενεράλες πού 'θελε τὸ μάθει | ἐτρόμαξε ibid. II.135–6; τέτοιαις λογῆς ήθελε πολεμήσει ibid. I.319

In *Erotokritos* the use of ήθελα + aorist infinitive is especially interesting (for the same use cf. εἶχα + aorist infinitive, 5.3.1.1). Apart from their regular use as conditionals (see 5.2.3.1), Kornaros also employs them as a kind of pluperfect, but only in specific environments (in other environments he generally uses εἶχα + perfect passive participle for the pluperfect, see 5.3.1.2): temporal clauses introduced by ὡς, σὰν and τὸ and relative clauses introduced by ὅπου or όπου ('wherever', 'whoever') that express anteriority in relation to an imperfective, habitual/repetitive main clause.⁵¹

ὡς ήθελε λογιάσει | ποιά στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατεῖ ... χολικιασμένη ἐπόμενε *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.2091–5; τὸ 'θελες κλάψει καὶ νὰ δῶ τὸ δάκρυο νὰ προβάλῃ, | μ' εὗρισκε γιὰ τὸ κλάμμα σου παρατροπή μεγάλη ibid. III.99–100; τὸ 'θελε δεῖ τὸ βασιλὶδὸ μὲ λογισμό νὰ κάτση | τῇ

⁵¹ When the main clause does not express habituality/repetition in the past, Kornaros uses the aorist or imperfect indicative in the temporal clause: κι ὡς ἐμπερδεύτη στὴ φιλιάν, ἐψύγη κ' ἐμαράθη *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.1318; τὰ μάτια του όπου ἐστρέφονταν ... | δὲν εἶδαν ὁμορφύτερη ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρετούσα ibid. I.1756; τὸ 'κουσεν ἴντ' ἀπόφαση τοῦ Πεζοστράτου ἐδόθη, | μεγάλο πράμαν ἦτονε τὸ πὼς δὲν ἐλιγώθη ibid. III.1047–8; μὰ σὰν τὸν εἶδε ὁ Ἀριστος τῇ χέρα πὼς σηκώνει, | τὸ κοφερό του τὸ σπαθὶ ἀμπώθει ὅσον ἐμπόρει ibid. IV.1704–5.

θυγατέρα τῇ ἤψεγε καὶ τὰ καμώματά τῇ ibid. IV.745–6; μὲ τὰ χορτάρια ἐκάτεχε, σὰν τὰ 'θελε μαλάξει, | νὰ κάμη τ' ἄσπρο μελανό, τὴν πρόσοψη ν' ἀλλάξη ibid. IV.893–4; κάθε ταχιά ἐσηκώνετο κι ὡς ήθελε γροικῆσει | ν' ἀντιλαλήση ἡ σάλπιγγα, βούκινο νὰ κτυπήσῃ, | ἐκαβαλίκευγε ὡς αὐτὸς ibid. IV.931–3

ὅπου 'θελε βρεθῇ κιανεῖς, γιὰ τὸ Σκλαβοῦνο ἐγροῖκα ibid. II.2170

ήθελα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction ήθελα ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle has been found in legal texts from the Aegean (Skyros), the Heptanese (Kefalonia) and Crete and in the oldest version of *Varlaam and Ioasaf* (provenance unknown). The perfect infinitive is used to stress the fact that the action was completed in the remote past.

ήθελα ἔχειν ἄλλη διαθήκη καμουμένην πρώτη ἀπὸ τούτῃ (1562, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 9, 23.22)
τὸ ὅποιον ἄνωθεν χωράφι ήθελεν τὸ ἔχει πουλημένον ὁ πατέρας τοῦ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Δήμου (1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 1, 20.5)
ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ήθελεν ἔχει πουλημένα, ὡς λέγει, σὲ χρόνους περασμένους μὲ τὴν κερα-Τζανέτα Βλαστοπούλα, τῇ μάνα του, δύο κομμάτια χωράφι (1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 215.2–3)
ἔστοντα όπου ήθελε τὸν ἔχει δακωμένον ἓνα θηρίον *Varl. & Ioas.* (Pantel.) 503

With an invariable participle form in -α it appears in documents from Crete: ἔστοντας καὶ εἰς καιρὸν περαζόμενο νὰ ήθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα ὁ ἄνωθεν καλόγερος προυκοχάρτι διὰ ὄνομαν τῆς ἐγγόνῃς του (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 18, 38.3–4); ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ 'θελεν ἔχει εἰσε καιρὸν περαζόμενον καμωμένα μίαν κομεσιὸν γεγεράλε (ibid. 38, 58.3–4).

5.3.2.2 ήθελα + Subjunctive

With a bare subjunctive, ήθελα appears in the work of Katsaitis (17th/18th c.), who was from Kefalonia. For the conditional this construction has a much broader geographical spread (see 5.2.3.2): ὁμέτρητοι ήθέλαν ἀπεράσου *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.331; ὅπου οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ήθελαν φύγου ibid. II.334; στὸ σπλάχνος τὸ πολὺ πού 'θελες κάμεις ibid. III.85.

The construction with the shortened form ήθε(ν), not uncommon for the conditional (see 5.2.3.6), can sporadically be found as a pluperfect: καὶ ἓνας μῶρος, ὁπῶκεῖ πρῶτα ἦθεν κονέψει | ὡς εἶδενε τὸν Διγενῆ ... *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1914–15.

5.3.2.3 ήθελε ἦμουν + Perfect Passive Participle

ήθελε ἦμουν with a perfect passive participle has a somewhat broader geographical spread for the conditional (see 5.2.3.5). Used as a pluperfect, it has only been found in Katsaitis's *Lament for the Peloponnese*: οἱ Τοῦρκοι ήθελ' ἦτανε μπασμένοι | πρωτύτερα στὸ κάστρο ἀνεβασμένοι *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* II.373.

5.3.3 ἤμην/ἤμουν

5.3.3.1 ἤμην/ἤμουν + Aorist Gerund

The Koine construction ἤμην + declined aorist participle that is in agreement with the subject has been found in documents from S. Italy, and should be viewed as an archaism given the fact that the aorist active participle was clearly residual by the beginning of the period covered by this Grammar. No passive examples have been found.

ἦν προσφιερῶσα ἡ αὐτὴ μοναχὴ Δομνέλλα (984, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 9, 8.5–6)
 ὅπερ ἦσαν ἀρπάξαντες οἱ προῦ ἐμοῦ αὐθέντες (1182, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 22, 424.6)

An innovative variant with an aorist gerund in -οντα(ς) (see 4.7) has been found in S. Italy, where ὑπῆρχα is sometimes substituted for ἤμουν, from the 12th c. onwards. From the 14th c. onwards it also occurs in texts from the Peloponnese and Cythera. Active gerunds are more common than passive ones (ἀποσταθόντα, ἀρχιστῶντα, for which see also 4.7.2).⁵²

ὅπερ ἦτον καταρπάζοντα αὐτὸ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος Καρβούνης (1156, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 28, 160.19); τὰ ἡμίσια ὅπερ ὑπῆρχε προαγοράσοντα ἡ ἀγία ἐκκλησία ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων (1165–6, ibid. 33, 181.11–12); προῦπῆρχε ἡγοράσοντα (ibid. 33, 181.19)
 ἤμην δώσοντα (1192, Sicily, RE/ROGNONI 2008: 2, 144.10)
 ἦσαν ἐπάροντα τὸν σταυρὸν *Chron. Mor.* H 391; ἦτον ποιήσοντα ibid. 2421; τὸν ἦτον ἀποστείλοντα κυρ-Θεόδωρος ὁ Δοῦκας ibid. 3827; ἦτον ἀφήκοντα εἰς Μορέαν ... τὸν μισὶρ Ντζά ντὲ Καταβᾶ ibid. 4689–90; ἦσαν ροβολέφοντα ibid. 6653; [ἡ δούκισσα] ἦτο ἐγνέας χηρέφοντα ibid. 8022; καὶ ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα ἡ πρώτη του γυναικῆ ibid. 8073; εἶχαν ἄλογα ἔρημα, τὰ ἦσαν ἀποσταθόντα ibid. 9090⁵³
 εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπου ἦτον ἀρχιστῶντα *Pol. Tr.* 9204; αὐτὸς μοῦ ἦτον μηνύσοντα ibid. 9875; ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦτον πέσοντα ibid. 10052; κάλλιον του νὰ ἦτον φύγοντα ibid. 14244
 ἦτον κομίσοντα τὸν εὐγενέστατον Ἀρτάλην (1404, S. Italy, GIUNTA 1968: 130.3)
 ἦτον δώσοντα (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 102, 78.32–3); ἦσαν ἀναθρέφοντα (1588, ibid. 297, 249.12)

5.3.3.2 ἦτον νά + Subjunctive

The construction ἦτον νά + subjunctive is rather more common for the conditional, expressing future in the past (see 5.2.4.1). As a pluperfect it appears in the same passage in two versions of the *Life of Aesop*: ἀκόμη δὲν ἦτον νά τὸ πλουσι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔβγαλαν τὸ νερόν με τὰ σύκα μαζί *Vios Aisop.* D 210.14; ἔβγαλαν τὸ νερόν ἐπίσω ἀντάμα με τῶν σύκων τὰ σπυρία, ὅτι ἀκόμη δὲν ἦτον νά τὰ χωνεύσουν *Vios Aisop.* I 248.29.

⁵² The following form in the *Chronicle of Tocco* is likely to be a writing mistake for -ας, which is the normal ending for the gerund in this text: αὐτὸς ἦτον μηνύσοντος *Chron. Toc.* 2189. A single instance of ἦτον + present gerund with a progressive meaning (“the water was flowing”) occurs in *Pentateuch*: τὰ νερά ἦτον πγαίνοντα *Pent. Gen.* 8.5. This is a Hebraism according to JOSEPH (2000b: 147).

⁵³ It is noteworthy that the 16th-c. Parisian ms of the *Chronicle* changes all these forms into aorists. For the differences between the two mss see AERTS 1998.

5.4 The Perfect

The monolectic perfect of AG had started gradually to disappear from Hellenistic times onward, and in Late Antiquity the whole category of “perfect” had fallen into disuse, and its uses had been taken over by the aorist indicative (CHANTRAINE 1927) (for the residual monolectic perfect see also 4.9.3.2). It is noteworthy that most EMG grammars do not have a category of “perfect” at all (MANOLESSOU 2012). The same holds true even for most grammars of the 18th and 19th c. (e.g. Katartzis, Christopoulos, Darvaris, David, Possart). In the period covered by this Grammar the aorist indicative is often still used instead, sometimes with a temporal adverbial (ἄλλη φορά, ποτέ μου), e.g. in expressions corresponding to the standard MG usage of ἔχω ξανα(κάνει)⁵⁴ we find aorist constructions such as καὶ νὰ ἴδῃς εὐμορφίαν ὅπου δὲν τὴν εἶδες ποτέ σου *Vios Aisop.* I 256.6–7 (“and you will see a beauty you have never seen before”); διότι τὸ ἔργος ἐτοῦτο δὲν ἔγινε ἄλλη φορά, διὰ τὸ ὅποιον θέλει τοὺς φανῇ δύσκολο *SOUMAKIS, Rebelio* 37.2–3 (“because this has not been done before, and therefore it will seem difficult to them”). In LMedG periphrastic constructions emerge consisting of an auxiliary (ἔχω for the active and εἶμαι for the passive voice) and a participle (usually perfect passive, occasionally present passive).

The perfect active construction ἔχω + passive perfect participle in -μένος or past participle in -δος (Venetian loanwords) is used mainly with transitive verbs, usually with an overt direct object, with which the declined participle displays full gender, number and case agreement. In SMG ἔχω + passive perfect participle is not a “true” perfect but represents a stative *passive* present, as it describes a state in the present rather than an action/event in the past with a result in the present.⁵⁵ The participle functions, in fact, as an adjective, as an object predicate (MOSER 1988: 182–3). The sentence ἔχω τὸ σκύλο δεμένο does not mean “I have tied down the dog”, but rather “I have the dog tied down”; it can be paraphrased as κρατῶ τὸ σκύλο δεμένο. Similar examples can be found in EMG; for instance the following example from Papasynadinos does not mean “he is standing there and has drawn his sword”, but rather “he is standing there with his sword drawn”: στέκεται ... καὶ ἔχει ξεγυμνωμένο τὸ σπαθὶ *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* III §7.41–2; in the following example from the rhymed version of the *Tale of Alexander*, the construction is clearly passive as well: ἐκάλεσ' ἕναν ἐξ αὐτούς, ... | κ' εἶπε του τὴν ἄθιβολή, νὰ τὸ 'χη ξηγημένο *Alex. Rim.* 165–6 (“[Philip] called for one of his [sorcerers] ... and told him the story [of his dream], so that he would have it explained”). Note that when an adjunct of time is present, the construction is not a perfect, as the adjunct of time is the object of ἔχω and the participle is clarificatory (cf. TABACHOVITZ 1926: 52; AERTS 1965: 164–5; MOSER 1988: 107; *pace* TONNET 2003: 174 and MOSER 2009: 219), e.g. σῦρε εἰς τὴν Ἐλισάβετ τὴν συγγενάδα σου, νὰ τὴν ἴδῃς ὅπου καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχει τῶρα ἔξι μῆνες ἐγγαστρωμένη *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* I, α1r.15–17 (1561) (“go to your cousin Elizabeth, to see that she, too, is now six months pregnant”, literally: “that she, too, has now six months [that she is] pregnant”).

⁵⁴ This use of (ἐ)ξανα- is absent from LMedG and EMG texts, in which the prefix (and the adverb) only mean “again”, “once more”, but not “(n)ever before”.

⁵⁵ Its use is also restricted to certain classes of verbs; see MOSER 1988: 131–45 for details.

The passive counterpart of the construction, εἶμαι + perfect passive participle, often also represents a stative present passive, sometimes even with substitution of ὑπάρχω for εἶμαι: σύν τῶν σπιτιῶν ὅπου ὑπάρχουσι συμμένα σύν τῆς ἐκκλησίας (1141, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XII: 5, 557.9–10) (“including the houses that are adjacent to the church”). Again, in this use the participle functions as an adjective and it can often be found in co-ordination with other adjectives, e.g.: κἄν καὶ ἀπόδημος καὶ χωρισμένος ἦμαι *Spaneas* V 34 (“even though I am far away and separated [from you]”); ἐναὶ ἐντιμὴ καὶ ὁμορφὴ καὶ ἀπὸ καλοῦς γονεὺς γεννημένη *Diig. Alex.* K 367.14–15 (“she is honourable and beautiful, and of good lineage”). Also, it can be used with verbs that do not normally have passive morphology, apart from a verbal adjective in -μένος (for details see 2.3.2): εἶναι μεθυσμένοι *Chron. Mor.* H 8305 (“they are drunk”); εἵμεστέν τρομασμένοι *PETRITSIS, Dig.* O 1417 (“we are scared”); ὅπου ἐνὶ χορτασμένος | ποτὲ οὐ πιστεύει νηστικόν *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 117–18 (“he who has a full stomach never believes a hungry man”). Other stative present examples are:

ἵνα ᾗσθε κρατημένοι (1346–7, Beylik of Aydin, ZACHARIADOU 1962: 256.45) (“so that you are obliged”)

ἐὰν γίνεταί οὕτως, ὅτι εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἐνὶ ταμένος εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ ἔλθῃ *Assizes B* 339.12–14 (“if a man has obligations at court, and can therefore not come [to appear before the judge]”)

ὅποιος τὴν μυρίζεται καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶναι συναχωμένος ἀπὸ κακοπιστίας λογισμὸν *MOREZINOS, Klini* 8.23–4 (“whoever smells [the bouquet] without having their nose blocked by faithless thoughts”)

εἶσαι ἀπ’ ὅλους βαρεμένος, τοὺς ἐδικούς (1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.26) (“all your relatives are a burden to you”)

εἶναι πολλὰ τρανὸ μοναστήρι, ἀμὴ εἶναι χρεωμένο *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §21.33 (“it is a very strong monastery, but it has debts”)

θέλει νὰ ᾖναι κομμένο καὶ ἀνουλάδο (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.15) (“he wishes for [his previous will] to be null and void”)

However, in LMedG and EMG the ἔχω/εἶμαι + participle periphrases can be used as perfects, e.g. “[the land ...] which I have bought”, in other words “the land which I have bought and which is now in my possession” in the following example: (τὸ χωράφιον ...) τὸ ἄπερ καὶ ἔχω ἀγορασμένον (1005, S. Italy, TRINCERA 1865: 13, 13.13–14); or: καὶ τίς ἔχει καὶ τόσα ἄσπρα φαγουμένα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 58.6–7) (for τίς see II, 5.3.2.6.2 (“and he has cheated them out of so much money too”); and ἐὰν ... μὲ τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ ἐνὶ εἰς τὸ σκολεῖον σταλμένος νὰ μάθῃ καμμία σοφίαν *Assizes B* 412.5–6 (“if ... by his [father’s] order he has been sent to school to acquire some wisdom”). The 11th-c. example of ἔχω + participle appears in a document from S. Italy, but it is noteworthy that the construction is absent from all other early texts: no examples have been found for instance in the published writings of Nikon of the Black Mountain, nor in Glykas, the three oldest versions of *Spaneas* (V, P and Va), the Ptochoprodromic poems, the collection of proverbs in KRUMBACHER 1893, the *Logos parigoritikos*, nor in any of the versions of *Livistros*. There are a few examples in *Assizes B*, but it must be borne in mind that this text

has come down to us in a late 15th-c. ms. By contrast, the early 14th-c. legal texts from Cyprus edited by SIMON (1973) and MARUHN (1981) offer no examples. In fact, with the exception of the isolated example from S. Italy (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.2), no examples have been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Assizes B* and the *War of Troy*), and all early examples are from areas that had been under Western rule for quite some time, making contact with Romance languages a likely reason for the emergence of the construction as a perfect in LMedG (HORROCKS 2010: 297–301). This supposition is reinforced by the fact that LMedG and EMG, just like the Romance languages, use the auxiliary εἶμαι to form active perfects of certain intransitive verbs, among which verbs of motion, e.g. εἶναι μισεμένος ἀπὸ τῇ Ρώμῃ (1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3) (“he has left Rome”).³⁶ In the EMG period constructions with a verbal adjective or a gerund can be found regionally.

The SMG perfect ἔχω + infinitive appears in written texts towards the very end of the EMG period. This construction had been in use as a future periphrasis until well into the LMedG period, though in the later LMedG period it was clearly residual and can be found mainly in literary texts (see 5.1.3.1). Evidently, the construction had to have been entirely obsolete as a future before it could be reintroduced as a perfect. It begins to be used as a perfect by analogy with the pluperfect εἶχα + infinitive, which first appears in texts in the 14th c. (see 5.3.1.1). The perfect ἔχω + infinitive has not been found before the end of the 17th c., and even then it is very rare indeed. For details on the emergence of the construction and a discussion of a fair number of phantom appearances from as early as the 11th c. and throughout the period under review see JANSSEN 2013.

5.4.1 Indicative and Subjunctive

	General	Restricted	Rare
Active	ἔχω γραμμένο(ν)	ἔχω γραμμένα ἔχω -δο(ν) ἔχω γραφόμένο(ν) ἔχω γραπτό(ν) ἔχω + πουν ἔχω γράφοντα(ς) εἶμαι -μένος	*ἔχω γραμμένος ἔχω γράφοντα(ς) ἔχω γράψει(ν)
Passive	εἶμαι γραμμένος	εἶμαι γραπτός εἶμαι -δος	εἶμαι γραφόμενος

³⁶ As noted by Romanos Nikiforou, who clearly interprets the construction as a loan: aliqui Graeco-Latini imitantes illud: *sono andato, je suis allé*, dicunt εἶμαι παγεμένος, εἶσαι παγεμένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 62.19–20. Romanos does not, however, condemn its use (“quae sunt optima omnia et utere indifferenter et secure”, *ibid.* 62.23–4).

5.4.1.1 ἔχω/εἶμαι + Passive Participle

Active

ἔχω + Perfect Passive Participle

As noted in the introduction to this section, ἔχω + perfect passive participle is used for the active voice mainly with transitive verbs and usually with an overt direct object, with which the declined participle displays full gender, number and case agreement. With the exception of the isolated 11th-c. example from S. Italy, no examples have been found before the 15th c. (ms date of *Assizes B* and the *War of Troy*), and all early examples are from areas that had been under Western rule for quite some time (Crete, Heptanese, Cyprus, Rhodes). Some representative examples are:⁵⁷

- (τὸ χωράφιον ...) τὸ ἄπερ καὶ ἔχω ἀγορασμένον (1005, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 13, 13.13–14)
 πάντα δσα νὰ ἔχη καμωμένα *Assizes B* 420.30; ἐκεῖνος ὁποῦ ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα χαμένον *ibid.* 426.22
 τόσους ἔχει χαμένους *Pol. Tr.* 3079
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁποῦ τῶς ἔχουσι οἱ μερίδες δοσμένη (15th c., Crete, KODER 1964: 51.48)
 δσα ἔχομεν γραμμένα καὶ ὁμωσμένα (1446, Adrianople, BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 276.33–4)
 κρασιά δσα ἔχουν συναγμένα (1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 37, 167.4)
 θωρῶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἔχει σας κερδεμένους LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 61; εἰς τὰ ἔχει ἐξοδιασμένα *ibid.* 439
 μηδὲ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἔχει τοῦτον μετρημένον *Pist. kekoim.* 51.470–1
 ἐκεῖνον ὁποῦ ἔχουν κτισμένον (1535, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 4, 120.13); ἔχουν ἀγορασμένον (1586, *ibid.* 30, 171.5)
 τὴν ἔχει παραδομένην (1538, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 10, 23.44)
 ὄσες γραφεῖς ἔχω καμωμένες (1550, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2002a: 237, 144.15)
 τὴν ἔχει εἰς τὸ προικίον τῆς ζιγανεμένη (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.22)
 ἔχομε κουρσεμένον τὸν μισὸν Μωρέαν (1571, Mani, CHASIOITIS 1970: 6.1, 241.18)
 ἔχει πολλὰ ξοδιασμένα (1597, Santorini, TSELIKAS 1985: 5, 77.17)
 τὸ λάσο ὁποῦ ἔχω ἀφησμένο (1599, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1957: 60.20)
 τὸ ὁποῖον τὸ ἔχω ἐδῶ ὀπισθεν κοπιαρισμένον (1622, Karpathos?, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.8)
 ὁ πατριάρχης ἔχει ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον παρμένα ἐνεήντα πέντε φορτία PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.199–200; διότι χαμένο δὲν τὸ ἔχεις *ibid.* II §7.21
 τὸ χωράφι ὁποῦ ἔχω ἀγορασμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀντρία Δαλιέτο (1658, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 2, 4.6)
 καὶ ἔχω ἄσπρα ἐξοδιασμένα (1672, Ikaria, TSELIKAS 2000: 48, 46.5–7)
 τὰ στρίτα, ὅπου τοῦ ἔχω δοσμένα (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.19)
 τίς ἔχει καὶ τόσα ἄσπρα φαγουμένα (1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 3, 58.6–7)
 (βαλάνια) τα ὁποῖα τα ἔχω διαλεγμένα ἕνα πρὸς ἕνα *Don Kis.* 498.31–2

With an invariable participle in -α this construction occurs from the 16th/17th c. onwards. It is usually used with intransitive verbs (διψῶ, μιλῶ, πταίω) and when the direct object of the phrase is a complement clause or a prepositional phrase, in texts from various, mostly southern, areas:

⁵⁷ The example from Adrianople (modern-day Edirne) is taken from a peace treaty between the Venetians and Mehmed II. The peace treaty was drawn up at the court of Mehmed II in Adrianople. The provenance of the Greek who drew up the treaty is unknown; he may have been a member of the Venetian diplomatic mission (BABINGER/DÖLGER 1956: 268) or of the Sultan's Greek Chancellery (BABINGER 1953: 45–6).

- ἐγὼ πῶς εἶσαι δυνατὸς καλὰ ἔχω γνωρισμένα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.60; (τίνος ἦμουνε παιδί ...) ἔχω ὡς ἐδᾶ ἔχωμένα *id.*, *Erof.* I.140
 ἔχεις μου δοσμένα κρασί μουστολογάδο (1618, Crete, VLACHAKI 1979: 4, 286.6–7)
 ἔχω γνωρισμένα | εἰς ἴντα τόπο κεῖτονται *P&N Diath.* 265–6
 δὲν ἔχουσι ποιὸς εἶμαι γνωρισμένα *Stathis Prol.* 12
 πῶς σὲ ἔχω γραμμένα πᾶσα ἐνοῦ πολιτεία PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* III §1.3 (hapax)
 στὸν κόσμο νὰ μὴ ζιῶ ἔχω ἀποφασισμένα TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.205
 καὶ κατεχέ το τὸ λοιπὸν τί ἔχω ἀποφασισμένα SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* A4v.21 (1658)
 ἀποφασισμένα ἔχω νὰ πουλήσω καὶ ρούχα μου καὶ βιβλία (1692, Palermo region, ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1994: 2, 182.32–3) (author from Sifnos)
 καθὼς μετ' αὐτὴ ἔχομε μιλημένα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.719; ἂν ἔχω σου πταισμένα *id.*, *Ifig.* IV.70

Examples of the construction with a nominal direct object have been found in Cretan texts and in texts from certain other islands (Kefalonia, Chios, Naxos) (cf. the pluperfect):

- μᾶς ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα ... ἀμπέλιν (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 35, 65.3)
 ἀκομή ἔχω του δοσμένα ἕνα σάκο (1569, Crete, KOLYVA-KARALEKA 1977: 6, 257.7)
 ἔχει κλειδωμένα | τὴν πόρτα CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.105–6; τοὺς ἔχεις γρικημένα *id.*, *Erof.* II.316
 νὰ ἔχη ὀρισμένα τὸν ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζουάνε (1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 79, 96.5)
 κακό, Πετρίτη, οὐδένα | δὲν ἔχεις, φαίνεται μου, παθημένα *Pist. voskos* II 3.1–2
 κορμί πλιά τέλειο δὲν ἔχω γνωρισμένα TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.408
 ραβδιές μου ἔχει δανεισμένα PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2548
 στὸν τράφον ποῦ ἔχει τῶρι φραμένα (1683, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 323, 525.2–3)
 μὰ μέ γυνή του νόμιμον δὲν μ' ἔχει γεννημένα KATSAITIS, *Thyest.* V.452

With an invariable participle in -ο(ν) it occurs marginally, not only in rhyme position (Katsaitis), but also in non-literary texts from Cyprus and Corfu (cf. the pluperfect 5.3.1.2): νὰ στρέψει τὰ μελίσσια ... μέ πάντα δσα ἔχουν μέσα καμωμένον *Assizes A* 198.18–19; ἔχω δομένο ... δύο κομμάτι<α> ἀμπέλι (1542, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 16, 228.21) (here the singular may have been triggered by ἀμπέλι); σὰν μῶχεις μιλημένο KATSAITIS, *Ifig.* II.228.

Agreement of the participle with the subject of the verb is highly unusual and it is doubtful whether this sole example represents a valid construction: τὰ πολλὰ ψυχικά ὁποῦ ἔχει ἡ αὐθεντία σου καμωμένος (1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 2, 171.16–17).

In texts from south-western regions, and especially the Heptanese, the ἔχω + participle construction can be found with the intransitive verb γίνομαι as a transitive construction with an overt direct object (cf. the pluperfect and future perfect, 5.3.1.2, 5.5.1), semantically equivalent to ἔχω καμωμένο(ν). For the varied morphology of γίνομαι see 2.4.

- ποῦ νὰ μπορῶ νὰ θυμηθῶ δσα ἔχεις γεναμένα KORONAIOS, *Pittakin* 51
 τὸ ὁμοίως ἔχει γεναμένα (sc. ὁ Θεός) καὶ δλα τὰ ἄλλα ποιήματα KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 107.34
 διὰ τὲς καρέλες ὅπερ ἔχουν γιναμένες εἰς τὸ ὀφίτζιο τῆς Καντζελαρίας (1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 33, 92.4–5)
 διαθήκην ..., μέ τὴν ὁποῖαν κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες ποῦ ἔχει παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινομένες (1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.7–9)

οἱ γραφεῖς ὅπερ ἔχω γεναμένες (1588 [17th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 464.10–11)
 ἀπὸ κάθε καρέλα ὅπου ἔχουνε γεναμένη (1655, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001b: 2, 188.12)
 φωλιά 'χει γεναμένην SOUMMAKIS, *Past. Fid.* P2v.18 (1658)
 διαθήκη ἡ κωντίκελλο πού 'θελε βρεθῇ νᾶχω γεναμένο (1694, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1950: 8, 164.30)

ἔχω + Present Passive Participle

The same construction but with a present passive participle has been found in a handful of texts. The choice for the present participle appears to be aspectual: in the first example the present participle may be triggered by *ἔως ἐδῶ γραφεῖς ἡ* – in other words “18 letters including the one that I am sending now”, and in the second example *ἔχω παραλαμβανομένους* may translate as “12 *marcello* are now in my possession on your behalf” rather than “I have received 12 *marcello*”. In the example from Epirus, the situation has not been resolved, and therefore the author of the letter feels she has been, and still is, unfairly treated. In the example from Corfu, the community is bound by their promise to do something which lies in the future.

νὰ ἡξεύρης ὅτι ἔχω σου πεμπάμενες γραφεῖς ἀπὸ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἔως ἐδῶ γραφεῖς ἡ' (1497, Crete, MAVROEIDI-PLOUMIDI 1971: 6, 143.33–4)
 μοῦ ἔδωσε μαρτζέλους πέντε διὰ ὀνομά σου τὸ ποῖον ἔχω παραλαμβανομένους μαρτζέλους ἱβ' (1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.9)
 ἐγνώρισαν οἱ ἄρχοντες ... τὲς ψευτιές του καὶ πῶς μ' ἔχει ἀδικούμενη (17th c., Epirus, MERTZIOS 1936b: 13, 50.19)
 μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶναι ὑποσχόμενη ἡ κοινότητα (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 367.3–4)

Passive

εἶμαι + Perfect Passive Participle

The passive counterpart of the *ἔχω* + participle construction is formed with the present *εἶμαι* + perfect passive participle. It is mainly used with transitive verbs, and the participle is in full gender, number and case agreement with the subject. As noted in the introduction (5.4), this construction often represents a state in the past rather than an anterior action/event in the past, and purely stative examples have not been included in the following list of examples. The construction usually does have a particularly strong emphasis on the state resulting from the action/event that is anterior to it.

καθὼς ἄνωθέν ἐστιν λαλημένον *Assizes B* 382.22; περὶ ἐκείνης τῆς γυναίκας ὅπου ἐνὶ φονεμένη *ibid.* 465.22
 εἰς γινώσιν καὶ ἀπὸ φρόνεσιν εἴσθε διαλεγμένοι *Pol. Tr.* 2500
 σφαλισμένο εἶναι (15th c., Athos?, VASMER 1922: 2320)
 εἶμαι ἱκανωμένος καὶ πληρωμένος (1480, Constantinople, LAMBROS 1908c: 1, 480.6)
 θωρώντα νὰ 'ναι κι ἀπὸ σέ ἱτὶς ἀπορριμμένη *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 164
 ὠρισμένοι εἴμεσταν ἀπὸ τὸν ρήγα *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 206.20–5
 τοὺς κριτάδες εἶναι δομένο νὰ σκοτώνουν *Diig. Alex.* F 172.4–5 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἐγρικῆσαμε ὅτι εἶναι κακὰ πουλημένα (1548, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2001: 2, 38.12–13)
 τὰ δλα ὡς καθὼς ἐνὶ εἰς τὸ ἀβεντάριο γραμμένα (1551, Kastoria, DRAKOPOULOU 2005: 16, 33.4)
 νὰ καταλάβετε ... τὸν αὐτὸν κόντον μὲ ἱντα μόνον εἶναι καμωμένος (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 132, 216.11); ὁμολογεῖ πῶς εἶν πληρωμένος (1565, *ibid.* 241, 337.2–3)

εἶναι 'δὰ τρεῖς φορές στιμαρισμένα (1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.10)
 εἶναι ἀποστελιμένο ἀπὸ τὸν υἱό του (1644, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 296, 233.6)
 σοῦ εἶναι συγχωρημένες οἱ ἀμαρτίες σου *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Matth. 9.2; ὁ λίθος εἶναι κυλισμένος *ibid.* Mark. 16.4
 νὰ μαρτυροῦνε ... πῶς εἶναι πουλημένο (1678, Gortynia, GRITSOPOULOS 1950: 25, 133.9–10)
 εἶσαι γελασμένος, Σάντισε *Don Kis.* 153.27

In texts of Heptanesian provenance, *εἶμαι* + passive participle is also used with the intransitive deponent verb *γίνομαι* (cf. active *ἔχω* + participle; see also the pluperfect (5.3.1.2) and future perfect (5.5.1)). Given the general confusion regarding the morphology of *γίνομαι*, the innovative aorist middle participle *γενάμενος* surely has the same meaning as the innovative perfect passive participles *γεναμένος* and *γιναμένος* (for AG *γεγονώς*) (see also 2.4):

στὸ νησί τάφος ἐν γεναμένος *Alex. Rim.* 2003
 τὰ κόκκαλα γυρίζουν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὕλην ὅπου εἶναι γιναμένα *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 106.12–13; ὁ ἀνθρώπος εἶναι γενάμενος μὲ τὴν ψυχὴν *ibid.* 122.4
 ὅλοι ἀπὸ κρεᾶς καὶ κόκκαλο εἴμεστε γεναμένοι *DEFAR., Log. did.* 423
 εἶναι γεναμένη εἰς τοὺς χιλιούς 1630 (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 39, 56.9)
 ὅτι καλόγερος γεναμένος δὲν εἶναι (1606 [late 17th–early 18th-c. copy], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1980: 519.24); ἡ ὁποία γραφὴ εἶναι γεναμένη (*ibid.* 521.13)

εἶμαι + Present Passive Participle

The construction *εἶμαι* + present passive participle, even rarer than its active counterpart with *ἔχω* (see above), has only been found in Machairas's *Chronicle*, versions O and R: καὶ φαίνεται μας πῶς δὲν εἶναι πεμπάμενος ἀπὸ τὸν ἀφέντην μας τὸν ρήγαν *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 290.18 (same in O); εἴμεσταν πεμπάμενοι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς Κύπρου *ibid.* 443.24–5. It should perhaps be interpreted as a present: “we are on a mission from the King to save Cyprus”, rather than as a true perfect: “we have been sent by the King to save Cyprus”.

ἔχω/εἶμαι + Past Participle in -δος

The same construction, with *ἔχω* for the active and *εἶμαι* for the passive voice, can also be found in Venetian-ruled areas (Crete, Heptanese, Aegean) with past participles in *-δος* and past participles of irregular verbs (e.g. *ἀστρέτος*), borrowed from Venetian.⁵⁸ These participles show full adaptation to Greek adjectival morphology, with some variation in the feminine singular (see II, 3.2.2 for details). All the examples found come from non-literary sources:

Active

ὅταν φανῇ καὶ δὲν τὴν ἔχω σατισφάδα καὶ σαλντάδα τὴν λεγομένην Κάμεραν (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 78, 76.38–9) (< Ven. *satisfar, saltar*)
 τὴν ἔχει πληρωμένη καὶ σατζιφάδα (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 37, 117.14) (< Ven. *satisfar/satziar*); ἔχει μας ἱγκανάδους τυρὶ λίτρες 44 (1565, *ibid.* 283, 392.38–393.1) (< Ven. *inganar*)

⁵⁸ For the morphology of Venetian past participles in *-ado/-adho* see FERGUSON 2007: 96.

τοῦ ἐκκλησίας ... ὅπου ἡ ἀφεντιά του ἔχει φαμβρικάδα (1619, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 2, 260.6–7) (< Ven. *fabricàr*)
 ἔχει ἵποτεκάδα ἡ ποτὲ Γλέντα τὰ καλὰν της (1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 2, 144.17) (< Ven. *ipotecàr*); τὴν ἔχου σατισφάδα (ibid. 31, 179.18)
 τὰ κόπανά τους νὰ ἔχουν ἀπαρκιάδα *Leilasia Par.* 362 (< Ven. *parechiàr*)

Passive

ὁμολογῶ πῶς ἦμαι πληρωμένη ἀπὸ κείνον καὶ σατισφάδα εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον δλον χρέος (1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 71, 132.33–4); τὸ ὅποῖον ἔναι στιμάδον, ὡσὰν λέγω, ἔβδομήντα πέντε δουκάτα (1529, ibid. 137, 247.19–20) (< Ven. *stimàr*)
 ἡ πρώτη κουμεισιὼν ... νὰ εἶναι ἀνουλάδα (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 18, 61.37) (< Ven. *anulàr*)
 εἶνιε ἱγκανάδα (1537, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 173, 173.12); τὸ ὅποῖον ἔνε διαλαλημένον καὶ κομπλίδο (1538, ibid. 184, 184.12) (< Ven. *complir*)
 νὰ σῶναι ρεφουδάδα ἡ λεγόμενη μισθὴ βουδέα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 261, 205.21) (< Ven. *refudàr*)
 εἶμαι πληρωμένος καὶ σατισφάδος ... ἀπὸ σένα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 295a, 292.1)
 ἡ ὁποία ἔνε στιμάδη ὑπέρπυρα λε' (1551, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 91, 111.7–8)
 εἵμαστε ἱγκανάδοι (1565, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 283, 387.23)
 καὶ ἔναι τὸ χαρτὶ σταμπάδο (1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 12, 25.31) (author from Nauplion) (< Ven. *stampàr*)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶναι ἀστρέτοι ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκλαμπροτάτην Ἀφεντία νὰ πλερώσου ... (1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 26, 45.3–4) (< irregular participle *astretto*)

5.4.1.2 εἶμαι + Perfect Passive Participle with Active Meaning

The construction εἶμαι + participle is also used for the *active* voice of intransitive verbs, not only of deponent verbs (ἔρχομαι) but also of active verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology (διαβάζω (in the sense of διαβαίνω, “leave”), μισσεύω, παγαίνω). The participle in -μένος or -δος (Venetian loanwords) is in full case, number and gender agreement with the subject of the verb. The verbs involved are often verbs of motion (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.2):⁵⁹

στὸ Νίκλι γὰρ τοῦ εἶπασιν ὅτι ἐνὶ διαβασμένους *Chron. Mor.* H 2298
 εἶναι μισεμένος ἀπὸ τὴ Ρώμη (1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3)
 καὶ τότες εἰς τὸ σπῆτι σας νὰ σας γυρίσω πάλι | με δίχως κούραση κι αμιά, σαν εἰστ' ἐδῶ
 ἐρχωμένοι *CHORTATIS, Panor. Prol. theas* 80–1,⁶⁰ ἀπὸ ὅστε σ' τοῦτο σήμερο τὸν τόπον
 ἐρθωμένοι id., *Erof. Interm.* II.32
 ποῦ ὅστε τώρα διαβασμένοι *Fallidos* 158
 δὲν ἔμπορεῖ ὁ ἀ<ν>τρας της νὰ <μ>πεῖ εἰς τὴ γραφὴ διατὶ εἶναι φθαισμένος ἀπὸ τὴ δικαιοσύνη
 (1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 39, 57.20)
 δὲ θέλει ξεύρει ὁ βασιλιὸς πῶς εἵμεστα ἐρθωμένοι *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.1 (ἡμεστα ed.)
 εἵστε ἐδεπὰ ἐρθωμένοι *FOSKOLOS, Fort. Prol.* 134
 εἶναι μισεμένος (1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 448.16)

⁵⁹ This construction, now obsolete, is still found in TRIANDAFYLIDIS 1941: 311: εἶμαι πηγεμένος.

⁶⁰ The form ἐρχωμένοι in this example from *Panoria* looks like a present participle, but the stress indicates that it is a perfect. Of course, the difference between pres. ἐρχόμενοι and perf. ἐρθωμένοι is but one letter.

ἔπταίσαμεν καὶ εἵμεσθεν πταισμένοι *Thrinios Kypr.* 89
 εἶμαι παγεμένος, εἶσαι παγεμένος *ROMANOS, Grammar* 62.20

5.4.1.3 ἔχω + Verbal Adjective

Constructions with a verbal adjective in -τός have been found in south-western areas and in the Aegean, mostly of the verb ἀγοράζω. No passive examples (with εἶμαι) have been found (but cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.3, for which, however, the passive is also very rare):

ἔχω + Verbal Adjective in -τός

τὸ δπερ ἔχει ἀγοραστὸν ἡ μονή (1264, Kefalonia?, TZANNETATOS 1965: 1, 43.195)
 τὸν ὅποῖον μύλον ἔχουεν ἀγοραστὸν (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 176, 176.4–5)
 ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτὸς ὁ Μανόλης ἀγοραστὸν (1541, Thasos?, KRAVARI 1987: App. II, 341.35)
 τὰ ὁποία λέγει πῶς ἔχει ἀφητὰ εἰς τὴν Χλον (1551, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 78, 97.40)
 ἕνα κομμάτι χωράφι, δνπερ ἔχει ἀγοραστὸ (1564, Cythera, DRAKAKIS 1999: 30, 109.3)
 τὸ ἀμπέλι ὅπου ἔχουν ἀγοραστὸ (1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 41, 61.4)
 δπερ ἔχω ἀγοραστὸ (1636, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995: 3, 216.10)
 ἀμπέλιον ... ὅπου τὸ ἔχω ἀγοραστὸν ἀπὸ ... (1636, Patmos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 18, 13.14–15)
 τὸ χωράφι ὅπου ἔχουσιν στὸν Ἅγιο Κωνσταντῖνο ἀγοραστὸ (1676, Sifnos, SYMEONIDIS 1992b: 1, 123.23)
 ἔλēs τρεῖς, ἐκεῖνες ὅπου ἔχω ἀγοραστές ἀπὸ τῆς Θεοφίλης (1726, Mani, SKOPETAS 1950: XXIV, 82.17–18); εἶτι καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἀγοραστὰ (ibid. 82.20)

With an invariable form in -α it has been found of verbs meaning “to hear”, in two late texts from geographically diverse areas (note that ἔχω ακουστά is still used in SMG): ἔχω γροικητὰ -καὶ κάτεχέ το- | τὸ πλοῦτος ἐκεινοῦ τοῦ Μιχελέττο *Leilasia Par.* 105–6; τὸ ἔχω ακουστά αὐτὸ το βιβλίον *Don Kis.* 572.31.

5.4.1.4 ἔχω + Noun

In the construction ἔχω + noun, the noun expresses the action of the corresponding verb. The auxiliary retains some of its possessive meaning and therefore the construction is only used with certain nouns, e.g. ἔχω ἀγορασιά (“I have bought, I have in my possession”), but not *ἔχω πουλησιά (“I have sold”) (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.4):

τὸ ὁσπίτιον τὸ ἔχης ἀγορὰν ἐσοῦ ὁ ἀγοραστής (1134, S. Italy, GUILLOU 2009: 43, 192.12)
 (κομμάτιν ...) τὸ ἔχω ἀγορασίαν ἀπὸ τὸν Ποντᾶν (1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/ BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 52, 29.27)
 ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἀγορὰν τὸ τρίτον τοῦ μύλου τοῦ Καλημέρη (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.32)
 ὁποῖον τὸ ἔχει ἀγορά (1447, Corfu, EFSTRATIADIS 1925: 50.3–4)
 ἀκουήν τὰ θεs ἔχει ἀπὸ ἄλλους (1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 2, 18.4–5) (modal, epistemic)
 μα ὅστερα μεταγνώματα ἔχω ακοήν καὶ ἔζαζου *Apoll. Rim.* N 1439 (ακουήν in E)
 τὸ κλεῖσμα πῶς ἔχουεν ἀγορασίαν ἀπὸ τὸ Νικολὸ (1570, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 1, 9.13–14);
 τὸ ὅποῖο περιβόλι τὸ ἔχει ἀγορά ἀπὸ τὸ Θεοδωρὴ Σάλαχα (1598, ibid. 84, 114.6–7)

ὥς καθὼς σὰς ἔχομεν παραγγελία (1571, Mani, CHASIOU 1970: 5, 239.13–14)
 μὲ τὴν κατοικίαν ὅπου ἔχω ἀγορασίαν (1590, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 8, 310.38–9)
 ἔχω ἀκουγὴ ἀπὸ τῶν γονεῖς ἡμῶν *Vios Filaret*. 241.19–20
 ἔχομεν παραγγελίαν τὸν κυρ-Στεφανὴν (1653, Constantinople, TCHENTSOVA 2004b: 340.
 14–15)
 ὁ Ζαννὴς δὲν τῶν ἀγορὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυροῦ τῆς (1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.8–11)
 (τὸ σπῆτιν ...) ὅπου ἔχειν ἀγορὰ ὁ ρηθεὶς μισὲρ Μικὲς (1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.
 1982/83: 428, 650.5)
 ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἔχω ἀλλαξία ἀπὸ τὸ μισὲρ Πέτρο (1636 [copy of 1695], Zakynthos, MAVROS 1983:
 452.16)

5.4.1.5 ἔχω + Gerund

The construction ἔχω + gerund is used only for the active voice and does not have a passive counterpart. With a present gerund it has been found in Cretan texts (mainly of the verb δίδω, but cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.5), and with an aorist gerund it appears in one document, again from Crete. Insofar as the limited number of examples allows for conclusions, there does not appear to be an aspectual difference between imperfective and perfective complementation. For the morphology of gerunds see 4.7.

ἔχω + Present Gerund

τὰ δύο δουκάτα ὅπου ἔχω δίδοντας (1530, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1978: 9, 41.25)
 ὁ,τι τῶν δίδοντας (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 287, 225.12); ὁ,τι διενέριαν τῶν δίδοντας
 (ibid. 434a, 343.6) (for crasis /u/+e/ see I, 2.9.5)
 ἔχω σου δίδοντας ... ὑπὲρ πύρα εἴκοσι πέν<τ>ε (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 52, 55.7)
 ἔχω λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ σοῦ ... (1552, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 148, 146.3–4)
 ἀπὸ τὸ ἐνοίκιν τῶν ὅπου μῶν δίδοντας (1566, Crete, PANAYOTAKIS 1986: 2, 119.9–10)

ἔχω + Aorist Gerund

τὲς παραγγελίαις ὅπου σοῦ ἔχει εἰπόντας (1502, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 6, 29.13)

Or, in a more “elevated” form, with a participle instead of a gerund: ἐπειδὴ ἔχω λαβὼν παρὰ τῆς εἰρημένης Καλῆς τῆς γυναικὸς μου εἰς πράγματα καὶ στολισμὸν γυναικεῖον ... (1504, Crete, SATHAS 1877: 23, 690.26–7).

5.4.1.6 ἔχω + Infinitive

Tracing the emergence of the SMG perfect ἔχω + infinitive has led to interesting findings (published in JANSSEN 2013), the most important of which is that CHATZIDAKIS 1901b was correct in supposing that it certainly did not appear before the 17th c. Only a very modest handful of late 17th-c. and 18th-c. examples have been found, all of northern provenance.⁶¹ For an indication of the rarity of ἔχω + infinitive even in the 18th and 19th c., see again JANSSEN 2013. Equally telling is the fact that the periphrasis is absent from most

⁶¹ It is noteworthy that northern texts of the first half of the 17th c., such as Papasynadinos and Kallioupolitis, do not have the construction. Nor does the grammarian from Thessaloniki, Romanos Nikiforou (early 17th c.), neither in his paradigms, nor when he mentions italianized Greeks who literally translate *sono stato a Roma* as ἐστάθηκα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, whereas non-italianized Greeks will say ἐπῆγα (both aor. ind.) (ROMANOS, *Grammar* 58).

MG dialects (see RALLI et al. 2007). For the use of this construction as a future see 5.1.3.1; as a subjunctive, 5.7.1.1.

ἔχω + Aorist Infinitive

The construction ἔχω + aorist infinitive, as noted, has not been found before the very end of the period under review, and it is very rare. The fact that only two examples have been found in a text as extensive as the translation of *Don Quixote* illustrates just how rare it is. All examples appear in texts from the northern mainland, and no passive examples have been found. Its use is that of the SMG construction: it presents an action/event anterior to the present with a clear focus, not on the action/event itself, but on the result of this action/event in the present:

ὁποῖος χρεωστὰ ἕνας περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου μὴ ὁμολογία καὶ δὲν ἔχει πλερώσει κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογία
 του, νὰ εἶναι θεληματάρης μὴ τὴν κρίση νὰ τὸν φυλακῶναι (1691, Sibiu, TSOURKA-
 PAPASTATHI 2011: A 25, f.51v.2–4) (“if someone owes another by bond and has not paid
 according to the bond (in other words ‘is in default’), [the other party] has the right to send
 him to prison through the courts”)
 καὶ ἄλλα ὅσπρα ἔχει δώσει διὰ κίρι (1697, Dyrrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 74, 243.15)⁶² (“he
 has also paid for candle wax”, in other words “the order has been placed”)
 ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου δικαίως ἔχουν ἀποκτήσει μεγάλην φήμην *Don Kis*. 164.13–14 (“they who have
 rightly obtained great fame”, in other words “are very famous”)

The only example in which the construction is used somewhat differently is the following, where it appears in a main clause with a temporal clause that makes explicit the moment in time when the action expressed by the perfect occurred. This use has not been encountered in other texts and is an impossibility in SMG. As the text is a translation from Italian, the translator is likely to have been influenced by the text he was translating (“tu m’hai già detto” in Franciosini’s translation):

αὐτὸ δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι ..., ὅτι εὖ με ἔχεις εἰπεῖ πῶς τὴν εἶδες ὅπου ἐκοσκίνιζεν σιτάρι, ὅταν
 με ἔφερες τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ γράμματος ὅπου τῆς ἐστεῖλα με λόγου σου *Don Kis*. 203.20–3
 (“this cannot be true ..., as you have told me that you saw her sifting wheat when you brought
 me the answer to the letter I sent to her through you”)

5.4.2 Imperative

The perfect imperative is formed with the present imperative of the auxiliary + perfect passive participle (ἔχε γραμμένον) for active 2 sg. and 2 pl., and with a particle (ἄς or νά) + perfect subjunctive for active 3 sg. and 3 pl. as well as all persons of the passive voice, as the verb εἶμαι does not have a synthetic imperative (see 4.8.3). It is, understandably, rather rare. Semantically it does not differ significantly from the present imperative. Examples:

Active

κ’ ἔχετε τὰ φουσάτα σας καλὰ εὐοδωμένα *Alex*. Rim. 779
 ἔχε γραμμένον, ἄς ἔχει γραμμένον ἔχετε γραμμένον, ἄς ἔχουν καὶ ἄς ἔχουσι γραμμένον
 SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 55.2–3

⁶² For reliability issues in Mertzios’s publications and several “phantom” perfects, see JANSSEN 2013. This reading has been verified by Katerina Korre, to whom we are indebted. The document is now filed as *Documenti Greci*, busta 2, no. 118.

ἔχε γραμμένα ... ἔχετε γραμμένα ROMANOS, *Grammar* 27.3–4
 ἔχε το καλὰ πελεκημένον μὲ κοπτερόν μαχαίριον LANDOS, *Geopon.* 147.22; τότε ἔχε
 μαζωμένες τὲς ἑλίες τὴν ὥρα ἐκείνην *ibid.* 212.22; τότε ἔχε βρασμένες τὲς μαραθίες *ibid.*
 212.27–8
 παρακαλῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Louk. 14.18

Passive

ἄς ἔναι ἡτοιμασμένα *Eisit.* f.1v.16
 νά 'ναι πριβάδος ἀπ' αὐτά, ἡγουν ἀποβαλμένος (1525, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003:
 102, 191–2.16–17)
 κι ἄς εἴστ' ὀρδινιασμένοι, | νά 'λθετε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *Alex. Rim.* 461–2
 ας εἶναι χαρισμένα τον θεόν τον Σαβαώθ *Diig. Alex. K* 348.21 (ἄς ἔνε δῶρημα in other
 versions)
 νά σδναι ρεφουδάδα ἡ λεγόμενη μισὴ βουδέα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 261, 205.21)
 ἐτούτῃ ἡ χάρις ἄς σοῦ εἶναι γιναμένη *Bertoldos* 74.23
 γιὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ λόγου μας ἄς εἶσαι χωρισμένος PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 1512

5.4.3 Infinitive

The perfect infinitive is formed with the infinitive of the auxiliary (ἔχει(ν) for the active and εἶσται(ν)/εἴσθαι(ν) for the passive) + passive participle (sporadically gerund). This infinitive is used in epistemic utterances preceded by a form of θέλω, in conditionals with auxiliaries εἶχα and ἤθελα (5.2.2 and 5.2.3), in the pluperfect with auxiliary ἤθελα (see 5.3.2.1) and in the future perfect with θέλω and ἤθελα (see 5.3.2):

Active

μὰ μετ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψόματα θὲς ἔχει κομπωμένη | τὴν Ἑρωφίλην ἀκομή, τὴν τρισκαταραμένη
 CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* IV.690–1
 ἀνίσως καὶ δὲ | σέ 'θελα ἔχει ὀλοπληρωμένον καὶ σατζιφάδον (1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI
 2002: 24, 58.12–13)
 ὁ,τι σοῦ ἔθελαμεν ἔχει δίδοντα (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 227, 226.24)
 πρὶν περὶ νά γράψω τῆς ἀφεντίας σου, θέλεις τὰ ἔχει ὅλα διορθωμένα (ca. 1560, Venice,
 MARKOS 1977: Πα, 28.14–15)
 ὅσα γράμματα θέλει ἔχει μαθημένα (1567, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 14, λ'.9)
 θέλει ἔχει γρικημένο CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* III.46 transcr. X (Legrand); θὲς ἔχει κομπωμένη *ibid.*
 IV.691
 θὲς ἔχει γρικημένα *Thysia Avr.* 121
 θέλω ἔχει γραμμένον GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.18–19

Passive

νά εἴχετε εἴσταιν σκοτωμένοι MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 396.31
 θελ' εἴσταιν ἀφορισμένη VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.5
 θέλομεν εἴσται κακὰ ἀναπαμένοι (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.24–5)

5.4.4 Gerund

For the active voice the perfect gerund is formed with the present gerund of ἔχω (ἔχοντα(ς)) + participle (in -μένος or -δος). Very few examples have been found for the passive voice, because the participle ἔσ(τ)οντα(ς) (of εἶμαι) is usually used in phrasal conjunctions

(ἔστοντας νά, καί, etc.) rather than as a gerund,⁶³ whereas ὄντα(ς) appears relatively late and is generally quite rare (see 4.8.5). The few passive examples found in fact represent (stative) presents rather than perfects:

Active

ἔχοντά με ζαμινάδον οἱ αὐθέντες (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 134, 110.11–12)
 ἔχοντας δοσμένα τοῦ ἀνοθεν κυρ-Ἀντρέα τὰ σπῆττα ὁ κύρης του (1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN
 GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.3)
 ἔχοντας τὰ πρῶτα μου παιδιὰ προιτζιμένα καὶ ξοφλησμένα (1664, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1995:
 8, 221.5) (< προικισμένα)
 ἔχοντας ἡ Καλὴ ἀντρα στεφανωμένο τὸ Γιαννάκη (1680, Skyros, ANDONIADIS 1990: 41, 68.2)
 ἔχοντας δοσμένα τοῦ Γιώργη Νιστάγρα ... γίδια (1698, Peloponnese, GRITSOPOULOS
 1968/69: 3, 335.2–3)

Passive

ἔστοντας βυθισμένοι FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 4
 ἔσοντα ζηλεμένος KORONAIOS, *Andrag. Bua* VIII.13
 ὄντας οἱ πόρτες σφαλισμένες KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Ioann. 20.19
 ὄντας βυθισμένος *Don Kis.* 158.11

5.5 The Future Perfect

The future perfect expresses that something will happen or is expected to happen before a specific time in the future; it is, in other words, the past in the future.

Although all ways in which a future can be formed could conceivably be used to form the future perfect as well, this is not the case. As the future perfect is a much rarer tense than the future, variation in formation is more limited, and, for instance, very few examples have been found with νά and μέλλω νά. The most common way of expressing past in the future is the perfect infinitive (ἔχει(ν) + perfect passive participle; regionally ἔχει(ν) + gerund or ἔχει(ν) + loanword in -δος) preceded by θέλω, which marks it for future (for the perfect infinitive see 5.4.3). Very few examples have been found in literary texts, which, as far as versified texts is concerned, can be explained by the sheer length of the construction, which requires a minimum of six syllables (θέλ' ἔχω γραμμένο) and is therefore hard to fit into the hemistichs of the political verse (see below for one such example from the *War of Troy*). In legal documents the imperfect rather than the present of θέλω may be used, making the utterance more hypothetical (cf. the conditional, 5.2).

For the passive voice one would expect θέλω εἶσται + perfect passive participle to be the most common construction, but in fact very few examples have been found. The same construction with ἤθελα for θέλω appears to be more common, but the written sources may be deceptive here. The vast majority of examples come from legal documents, in which the use of ἤθελα stresses the hypotheticality of the utterance (cf. the conditional, 5.2). The passive construction with εἶμαι is also used with deponent verbs (γίνομαι) and with intransitive verbs (παγαίνω), in which case the meaning is active.

⁶³ For a similar use of ἔχοντα(ς) see IV, 3.4.1.1.

It must be stressed that θέλω/ἤθελα + perfect infinitive, or, with omission of the future marker, εἶμαι + participle, often expresses the (imperfective) future of εἶμαι, rather than a true future perfect. The participle then functions as an adjective: δὲν θέλουν εἶσταιν χαμένα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 254.7–8 (“[my words] will not be in vain”); αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τὸν θέλομεν διὰ ἡγούμενον, ὅτι ἔχει γυναῖκα καὶ παιδιά καὶ γαμβροὺς, καὶ ἐμεῖς θέλομεν εἶσται κακὰ ἀναπαμένοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ (16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.24–5) (“we do not want him for an abbot, because he has a wife and children and sons-in-law, and we will be seeing nothing but trouble from him”); θέλω καὶ τὸ παρόν μου κονιτζίλο, τὸ ὅποιον θέλει εἶσται σοτοσκριβερισμένο μὲ τὸ ἴδιό μου χέρι, νὰ ᾗ ἀμετάσ τετα ἐξεκουτζιόν (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 4, 68.86–7) (“and I want this codicil, which will be undersigned by my own hand (i.e. bear my signature), to be executed to the letter”). This use of the construction can also be found with the active voice: ημεῖς θέλομεν τὸν ἔχει συγχωρεμένον *Don Kis.* 33.33 (“we will not hold it against him”, literally: “we will have him in [a state of] forgiveness”).

In subordinate clauses introduced by νά, ὅταν, ἄν, etc. the perfect subjunctive (see 5.4.1) may be used, without an explicit future marker:

ὀδεκαλὰ τὸν ἔχω ξετελειωμένον, νὰ μὲ ἔχεις καὶ ἀποπληρωμένον (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 312, 311.8–10)

(ὑπόσχεται ...) νὰ ἔχη ἐξωφλισμένα ἔως τὲς 14 τοῦ λεγομένου μηνὸς (1661, Naxos, GRITSOPOULOS 1994: 27, 383.9–10)

νὰ τὸν ἔχη μαθημένον εἰς χρόνους πέντε ἐρχάμενους ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.9–10)

νὰ τὰ ἔχουν κονσενιάδα ὡς ἄνωθεν εἰς διορία χρόνον ἕναν (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.9–10)

The future marker may also be omitted with the second verb when two verbs are paratactically coordinated. The second verb is then a perfect indicative: ἂν ἴσως καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς τελευτῆς μου ἤθελεν εἶσται προτύτερα μισεμένος ἀπὸ τὸ σπῆτι μου καὶ εἶναι ἰσιασμένα τὰ ἀπερασμένα (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936e: [1], 116.26–7). The perfect indicative may also be used instead of the future perfect in main clauses, to give them more rhetorical force. Note that in the second of the following examples the construction is used with *active* meaning, with the transitive verb νικῶ:⁶⁴ καὶ ὡς τὸ Μάη τὰ ἔχει τελειωμένα τὰ τριακόσια κάτεργα (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 13.35–6) (“and by May [the Turks] will have finished building those 300 galleys”); φωνάζουν “δῶστε πόλεμον, κι εἵμεσθεν νικημένοι” *Thrinis Kypri.* 796 (“we shall be victorious!”, literally: “we will be won”).

Future perfects of the SMG type θα ἔχω φάει have not been found in the texts examined, which is unsurprising given the relatively late appearance of the particle θα and the very late appearance of ἔχω + infinitive as a perfect (for details on θα see 5.1.5, for the perfect infinitive see 5.4.1.6).

⁶⁴ For the same use of νικημένος see γὰ νάβγῃ ἐκ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον νικημένος ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 176, as noted by Xanthoudidis in his review of the edition in *Χριστιανική Κρήτη* 1 (1912), 289–311, at 296. A similar development can be observed with the semantically related verb κερδαίνω/κερδένω (for which see 5.3.1.2).

	General	Restricted	Rare
Active	θέλω ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) γραμμένο(ν)	ἤθελα ἔχει(ν) -δο(ν) ἤθελα ἔχει γράφοντα(ς) ἤθελα εἶσται -μένος	ἤθε ἔχει(ν) ραμμένο(ν) ἤθελα εἶχε γραμμένο(ν) θέλω εἶσται -μένος μέλλω/μέλλει νὰ ἔχω γραμμένο(ν)
Passive	ἤθελα εἶσται γραμμένος	θέλω εἶσται γραμμένος	

5.5.1 θέλω + Perfect Infinitive

The first future perfect of this type has been found in the *War of Troy*, and the first example after that dates to the middle of the 16th c. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the future perfect appears almost exclusively in non-literary texts. This is not surprising where verse texts are concerned, as it requires a minimum of six syllables (θέλ' ἔχω γραμμένο), not counting clitic pronouns, which are often present, which makes it difficult to fit into the hemistichs of the political verse; hence the unusual violation of the caesura in the example from the *War of Troy*:

Active

τί νὰ σὲ λέγω τὰ πολλά; ἀπάρτι ἐὰν πιστεύης (app. crit.) | ὅτι γοργὸν τοὺς θέλουσιν ἔχει δλους πιασμένους *Pol. Tr.* 6945–6

καὶ ἂ δὲν σὲ θέλω ἔχει πληρωμένον ἔως τοὺς λεγομένους χρόνους γ' ... (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 317, 316.11–12)

ὅτι πρὶν περὶ νὰ γράψω τῆς ἀφεντίας σου θέλεις τὰ ἔχει δλα διορθωμένα (ca. 1560, Venice, MARKOS 1977: Πα, 28.14–15)

δσα γράμματα θέλει ἔχει μαθημένα περισσότερα ἀπὸ τὰ ἄσπρα ὅπου θέλει ἔχει παρμένα (1567, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1936/37: 14, λ'.9–10)

νὰ χάνη τὴν δούλευσή του ὅπου θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη (1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53.10–11)

μὲ τὸν κομέσο ὅπου θέλεις ἔχει καμωμένο ὁδὶά λόγου μου (1616, Crete, ANGELOMATI-TSOUNGARAKI 1996: 4, 364.4)

τότες θέλω ἔχει γραμμένον GERMANO, *Grammar* 101.18–19

πάσα λογῆς ὅπου θέλουσιν ἔχει μανιτζαρισμένη (1622, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 3, 51.116–17) (< Ital. *maneggiare*)

θέλω ἔχει γραμμένα, J'auray écrit, θέλεις ἔχει γραμμένα, etc. ROMANOS, *Grammar* 23.23
νὰ εἶναι κρατημένος ... νὰ γιαγιέρνη δ,τι θέλει ἔχει ἐπαρμένα ἀπὸ τὴν κάτωθεν πλεωμήν (1645, Crete, DETORAKIS 1980: 8, 51.14–16)

δούλεψες ὅπου θέλει ἔχει καμωμένα (1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999b: 18.1)

In a text from the Heptanese the θέλω + perfect infinitive construction has been found with the intransitive verb γίνομαι as a transitive construction with an overt direct object (cf. the pluperfect, 5.3.1.2 and the perfect, 5.4.1.2): νὰ ἰδεῖ τὰ ἄλογα ποὺ θέλει ἔχει γεναμένα ὁ κυρ-Γιώργος (1591, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1949: 162.15–16).

Passive

The passive counterpart to the above construction does not appear to be very common: θέλω εἶσθαι γραμμένος ROMANOS, *Grammar* 24.2; ὡς καθὼς παρακάτω θέλουν εἶσθαι γραμμένα (1672, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1938: 1, 294.4–5).

For the pluperfect and the perfect (see 5.3.1.2, 5.4.1.2), the passive construction ἦμουν/εἶμαι + perfect passive participle may be used with *active* meaning for intransitive verbs, not only deponent verbs (e.g. ἔρχομαι) but also active verbs that otherwise lack passive morphology (e.g. παγαίνω). A few comparable examples with the construction θέλω + perfect passive infinitive have been found for the future perfect:

ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω 'σται παγομένη (1644, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1979: 3, 229.71); πάλι καὶ θέλω 'σται παγομένη (ibid. 229.72–3); ἀνίσως καὶ ἐγὼ θέλω 'σται παγομένη (ibid. 230.75) καλυτερίσματα ὅπου θέλουσι εἶσθαι γινομένα (1665, Crete, VOURDOUMBAKIS 1915: 19, 389.19–20)

After subordinating conjunctions (νά, ἄν and others), the future marker may be omitted:

Active

αὐτὰ νὰ παραλάβουσιν ὅσοι ἔβγουν ἀπὸ σένα, | ὅσοι στὴν θεοσέβειαν νὰ 'χουσι δουλεμένα CHOUNMOS, *Kosmog.* 741–2

καὶ θέλω ὁκαὶ πανδρεύοντα ἢ λεγομένη Μαρίνα νὰ 'χη ἑπαρμένα τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπέρπυρα, ἀπὸ τὰ καλὰ μου, τὸ πολὺ ἕως χρόνον ἕνα (1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 219.60–1)

νὰ σοῦ τὰ 'χω ἀποδοσμένα καὶ ἀποπληρωμένα ἕως ὅλον τὸν 'Ιούλλιον τὸν πρῶτον ἐρχόμενον (1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 29, 35.13–14)

(νὰ 'σαι κρατημένος ...) εἰς τὸ κομπλιμέντο τῶν λεγομένων χρονῶν δ'ω, νὰ τὸν ἔχης μαθημένον τὴν τέχνην σου καὶ τότε νὰ τόνε ἀποβγάνης (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 15, 16.7–8); (ὁ μύλος ...) ὅτι νὰ ἀλέθῃ καλὰ, ἀρεσκούμενά σου, καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχω ἀποξετελειωμένον, ἀρεσκούμενά σου, ἕως ὅλον τὸν Αὐγουστον, τὸν πρῶτον ἐρχόμενον (ibid. 312, 311.6–7); νὰ μοῦ τὰ δίδῃς ἄλα τζορνάδα, κάμνοντα καὶ παίρνοντα, ἦγουν ὀδεκαλὰ τὸν ἔχω ξετελειωμένον, νὰ μὲ ἔχῃς καὶ ἀποπληρωμένον (ibid. 312, 311.8–10) (ξεκαθαρίζοντας ...) νὰ ἔχουσι καμωμένες τσί κατοικίες τῶνε ... ἄλλῶς ἢ γραφὴ ἐτούτη νὰ εἶνε κομμένη (1622, Crete, MALTEZOU 1989: 359.34–7)

ἄν ἀποθάνω γλήγορα καὶ δὲν τῶς ἔχω ἀποδοσμένα ἐκεῖνα ποὺ τῶς ἔφηκεν ὁ μακαργιασμένος ἀφέντης ... (1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 80.49–50)

ὁ σταυρὸς νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ καμωμένο ἕως τὰ Χριστοῦγεννα (1631, Crete, KAZANAKI 1974: 4, 267.17–18)

(ὑπόσχεται ...) νὰ ἔχῃ ἐξωφλισμένα ἕως τῆς 14 τοῦ λεγομένου μηνὸς (1661, Naxos, GRITSOROULOS 1994: 27, 383.9–10)

νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ μαθημένον εἰς χρόνους πέντε ἐρχάμενους ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (1666, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 1, 144.9–10)

νὰ τὰ ἔχουν κονσενιάδα ὡς ἄνωθεν εἰς διορία χρόνον ἕναν (1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.9–10)

Passive

εἴτι κάμουν νὰ 'ναι κακὰ καμωμένον (1507, Sinai, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 1, 264.11)

νὰ εἶναι κακὰ πουλημένα καὶ κακὰ ἀγορασμένα (1668, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1971/73: 482.27)

Sometimes a perfect indicative is used in the main clause instead of a future perfect, without any future marker. In the second example below, the construction is used with

active meaning ("we shall be victorious!" (literally "we will have won")), with the transitive verb νικῶ. In both examples, the perfect indicative appears in a main clause that is causally coordinated with the preceding clause through καί: (ὁ μέγας Τοῦρκος ἔχει τριζόρο πολὺ ...) καὶ ὡς τὸ Μάη τὰ ἔχει τελειωμένα τὰ τριακόσια κάτεργα (1572, Warsaw, PATRINELIS 2000: [1], 13.35–6); φωνάζουν "δῶστε πόλεμον, κι εἴμεσθεν νικημένοι" *Thrinis Kypr.* 796.

5.5.2 ἤθελα + Perfect Infinitive

The construction ἤθελα + perfect infinitive is a feature of LMedG/EMG "legalese": it is used to set up mere hypotheses ("in the event that X will have happened before Y will happen ...") rather than situations envisaged as actually occurring, thus covering all imaginable times and situations. It is therefore used mainly in conditional clauses and in indefinite relative clauses. The perfect infinitive consists of the infinitive of ἔχω (active voice) or εἶμαι (passive voice) + perfect passive participle (declined, or invariable in -α), past participle in -δος (Venetian loanwords) or gerund (for details see 5.4.3). For the use of the same construction as a conditional see 5.2.3.1.

Active

νὰ μπορῇ νὰ 'χῃ ἐξουσίαν ὅστις ἤθελεν ἔλθιν οἰκονόμος νὰ χαλᾷ ὁ,τι ἤθελεν ἔχειν καμωμένα ὁ πρῶτος οἰκονόμος (1507, Sinai, VIOLIDAKIS 2006: 1, 264.13)

νὰ 'μαι κρατημένος νὰ τῆς δίδω ὁ,τι ρούχα καὶ ὁ,τι ἐνδυμασὲς τῆς ἤθελα ἔχει καμωμένα (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 211, 166.10–12)

εἰς ἄλλῶς καὶ δὲν σὲ θέλαμεν ἔχει ὀλοπληρωμένον εἰς τὸ τέρμενον (1546, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 14, 50.11–12); ἀνίσως καὶ δὲ σὲ 'θελα ἔχει ὀλοπληρωμένον καὶ σατζιφάδον (1547, ibid. 24, 58.12–13)

νὰ τοῦ ἐπιστρέφῃ τὰ ἄνωθεν στάμενα καὶ νὰ χάνῃ καὶ εἴτι ἤθελε ἔχει δουλεμένο (1576, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 48, 110.13–14)

νὰ χάνει ὅλα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀγομένα ὅπου ἤθελεν ἔχει καμωμένα (1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 4, 27.9–10); ἂ δὲν τὸν ἤθελεν ἔχει πλερωμένο ... νὰ σπέρνου πάλι τὰ λεγόμενα χωράφια ἄλλους πέντε χρόνους ... ὥστε νὰ τὸν ἀποπλερώσῃ (1603, ibid. 187, 198.11–12) ("if [by the end of the five-year period] he has not repaid him ... they shall sow the above-mentioned fields again for another five years ... until he pays him off")

ὅσον καιρὸν ἤθελε ἔχει δουλεμένο (1667, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2004/06: 3, 147.32) ("the period she will have worked")

ἂ δὲν σταθεῖ νὰ φινίρει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἰντιέρο, νὰ χάνει τὸν κόπον τοῦ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ποὺ ἤθελε ἔχει δουλεμένο (1685, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954/55: 34, 64.6–8) ("if he does not stay for the whole time to finish [the job], he shall lose his efforts for the time he will have worked")

ἂ μοῦ τὰ 'θελες ἔχειν ὅλα δίδοντα, νὰ σοῦ γιαιγέρνω τὰ λεγόμενα δουκάτα ἐπτὰ (app. crit.) (1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 282, 221.37–8) ("once you will have given it all back, I shall return the seven ducats to you")

καὶ νὰ μᾶς γιαιγέρνης ὁ,τι σοῦ ἐθέλαμεν ἔχει δίδοντα εἰς αὐτὰ (1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 227, 226.24–5)

Passive

ἀνίσως καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν πράγματα ἤθελαν εἶσθαι ζημιωμένα ἀπὸ ἀφορμὴ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Ἰωάννου (1586, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 110, 85.26)

In the following example the passive construction is used with *active* meaning with the verb μισεύω, a verb of motion, which otherwise lacks passive morphology (cf. the construction with θέλω, above): ἄν ἴσως καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς τελευτῆς μου ἤθελεν εἶσται προτύτερα μισεμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ σπῆτι μου (1691, Venice, MERTZIOS 1936: [1], 116.26–7).

Sporadically the construction can be found with a shortened form of the auxiliary, ἤθε(ν) (cf. 5.2.3.6): σώνοντας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἤθε ἔχει μαθημένο τὸν Ἀνδρέα (1564, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969g: 132.10).

5.5.3 ἤθελα/ἤθελε + Pluperfect

The construction ἤθελα/ἤθελε + pluperfect has been found once. The pluperfect, if it is not a simple writing mistake (εἶχε for ἔχει), is probably used to reinforce the hypotheticality of the utterance. As the example happens to be 3 sg., it cannot be established whether the auxiliary is impersonal or personal: νὰ ἡμπορεῖ νὰν τοῦ πάρη ὀπίσω εἴ τι σόλδι τοῦ ἤθελε εἶχε δομένο (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOROULOS 1970: 1, 251.26).

5.5.4 μέλλω/μέλλει νά + Perfect Subjunctive

The use of μέλλω (cf. the future, 5.1.2) is very rare. As the single example found is 3 sg., it cannot be established whether μέλλει is personal or impersonal: ὀμπλιγάρεται νὰν τὸν μάθει ἔως στὸ σουπλιμέντο τοῦ ἄνωθεν καιροῦ καὶ ἐτότες ὅπου μέλλει νὰν τὸν ἔχει ὁ ἄνωθεν μαθημένον, νὰν τοῦ δίδει ... (1670, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 10, 41.4–6).

5.6 The Aorist and the Imperfect

In the period covered by this Grammar, periphrastic constructions consisting of ἤθελα or εἶχα + infinitive are widely used to form conditionals (see 5.2) and pluperfects (see 5.3). However, as noted by KRIARAS (1936: 53–5), sometimes εἶχα and ἤθελα + infinitive are equivalent to an aorist indicative or an imperfect.⁶⁵

5.6.1 εἶχα/ἤθελα + Aorist Infinitive

The construction εἶχα/ἤθελα + aorist infinitive may denote an action/event, usually in the more remote past, that is, however, presented as anterior to the present. It is thus equivalent to an aorist indicative. This use is quite common in verse texts, but it has also been found in non-literary sources from various areas:

[τὸν ἱμῆριο] τὸν εἶχα δεῖ καὶ μδτυχεν ἀπλὰ διεγραμμένον, | βούλομαι νὰ τὸν βάλω γὰρ εἰς τὸ ριμαρισμένον *Imb. Rim.* 9–10

τώρα τσι πάγω 'ς τς Ἀρκολιάς, σὰ μοῦ 'χεν ὀρδινιάσει CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.131; εἶντα μιλούσι τα πουλιά ξεύρει, σαν εἶχ' ἀκούσει | ὄντε γυρίζου ἀπεταχτά καὶ γλυκοκιλαδοῦσι

⁶⁵ However, Kriaras is incorrect in assuming that in Cretan texts εἶχα + infinitive is never used as a pluperfect (see 5.3.1.1).

id., *Panor.* I.267–8; ποιοὶ ἐπερμαζῶσα τὰ βουνιά κ' ἐμεσοξετελειῶσα | τὸν πύργο ἐκεῖνο τῆς Βαβέλ, γῆ ποιοὶ 'χασινε κάμει | τοῦτες σας τσι πυράμιδες id., *Erof. Prol.* 53
ὡσὰ θωρῶ τῇ λίγῃ | δροσιά, ἀπού 'χες πιάσει | φιλῶντας τη, Μυρτῆνο, ... πολλὰ ἀκριβὴ τὴν εἶχες ἀγοράσει *Pist. voskos* II 1.371; γυναῖκα δὲ θέλ' εἶσθαι, | ὅπου 'χε τόνε κάμει | πόθον καὶ αὐτὸς νὰ γνῶση *ibid.* III 5.192–4; δὲν εἶναι τοῦτος | ὅπου 'χε σοῦ χαρίσει τὸ κοπέλι; *ibid.* V 5.239

μ' ἀπόψε πλιά παρὰ φορὰν ἄλλη εἶχε με σηκῶσει | τὸ πρिकाμένον δνειρο TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.535 (εὐχαριστιῆς σὰς δίδομε ...) γιὰ τὴν καλὴν ἀκρόαση, ὅπου 'χετε μὰς δώσει FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* V.411

πάλιν ἐκεῖ λιμοκτονοῦν που δὲν ἔχουν νὰ φάσιν | καὶ τα χουζούρια που 'χασιν, ὅλα τα εἶχαν χάσει IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 5010

τὰ ράζα ὅπου μοῦ εἶχες γράψει, λογιάζω μὲ πρώτη ὀκαζιὸν νὰ τὰ ἔχω (1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 305, f.2r.2–3)

στοχαζόμενος πῶς ἔχω τὸ βάρος τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὅπου ἔχω ἀπάνου μου, ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ εἶχα φτεῖρει τὴν παρθενίαν τῆς Ἑλένης (1692, Kefalonia, EVANGELATOS 1995: 2, 161.9–10)

νὰ τοῦ δώκετε μιὰ γραφὴ, ἦγουν ρεσπόστα εἰσὲ ἄλλην γραφὴ ἀπού μὰς ἤθελε στελεῖ ὁ ἐγλαμπρότατος αὐθέντης (1571, Mani, DOKOS 1972: 6, 262.9–10)

γράφω τὸ μούλκι ὅπου μοῦ ἤθελαν δώσει τὰ ἀδέλφια μου (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 66, 91.5); διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν κλείσμα, ὅπου ἤθελαν ἀφήσει ὁ μακαρίτης ὁ γερο-Τούντας ... ὅτι νὰ εἶναι τὸ ἔμισόν τοῦ μοναστηρίου (1598, Andros, POLEMIS 1999a: 68, 94.6–7)

μὲ <τὸ> νὰ ἤθελε φανερωθῇ ... ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος σας (1684, Preveza, CHAVIARAS 1879: 1, 251.4–6)

μα τοῦτο με παρηγορά, γιατί 'θελα γροικήσει | το πῶς σ' ετοῦτα τα λαγκά ... | βρίσκεται γεῖς παλιὸς βοσκὸς CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.263–5; δὲ μπορῶ ... νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποκοιμηθῶ ... γιατί ἐκ τσι κορασίδες μου μιὰ μοῦ 'θελε μὴνύσει | πῶς ἀρρωστεῖ id., *Erof. Intern.* II.64–8

ἔδῶ 'ναι, Αὐγουστε, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅπου 'θελα σοῦ φέρει *Zinon* 42

τὸ χέρι ὅπου μ' ἤθελε δοξέψει, | μόνον τὴν ὥραν τούτη ἄς μὲ γιατρέψει *Pist. vosk.* V 7.45–6; ἐκεῖνος ὅπου 'δῶ σ' ἤθελε βάλει *ibid.* V 7.79

With εἶχα it may also be used to express a simple action/event that follows another action/event that is situated in the past:

ὁποῖος ἔκαμεν τὴν σύνοδον ... καὶ εἶχεν ἀποθάνει (15th c., Cyprus, BRAYER et al. 1951: 71, f.Iv.4–5)

στον πόλεμον διάβηκε διὰ νὰ πολεμήσει | κάποιος τότε τ' ἄλογον ἐκεῖ 'χε τὸ κτυπήσει ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ, *Ais. Myth.* 57.9–10 (= ἐκτύπησε); χελῶνα παρεκάλεσε τὸν αἰτόν νὰ μάθει | νὰ πέτεται στα σύννεφα, καὶ ἰδέτε τι 'χε πάθει *ibid.* 60.1–2 (= ἔπαθε); ὁ φύλλος ἐδιάβηκεν, ἀλλοῦ 'χεν ἀπηδήσει *ibid.* 61.5 (= ἐπήδησεν); καὶ με τὴν μύτην το 'συρε καὶ εἶχε τὸ εβγάλει *ibid.* 143.10

κι οὐδ' εἰς παλάτι ἐφάνηκε ... μὰ ἐγὼ ὕστερα εἶχα μάθει | τὸν τρόπο ἀπού ἐμίσειε TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.514–15 (= ἔμαθα)

καὶ τοῦ 'δωκεν εἰς τὴν καρδιά κ' εἶχε τὸνε σκοτώσει BOUNIALIS M., *Diig Pol.* 168.16; καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐμαύρισε θολὰ, καὶ δάκρυα χύνει, | καὶ ἀστραψε μὲ πολὺ θυμὸ κ' εἶχε πολλὰ βροντήσει *ibid.* 206.14–15

In indefinite relative clauses introduced by ὅταν, εἴτις etc. the construction with ἤθελα may also denote a habitual/repetitive action or event situated in the past, and is thus equivalent to imperfect:

καὶ ὅταν ἤθελαν συμβῇ νὰ ἔχη ὁ Δεσπότης χρεῖαν, | φουσσᾶτα ἐκ τὸν πρίγκιπα καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἀρμάτων, | ὅσα ἔχρηζεν καὶ ἤθελαν εἶχεν τα εἰς θέλημά του *Chron. Mor.* H 3135–7

εἴ τις ἤθελέ τις διαλύσειν, ἔπαιρνε χαράτзин ἀπ' ἐκείνον ὅπου ἔγραφε τὰ λόγια *Vios Aisop.* D 236.10–11

καὶ αὐθεῖνες οἱ ἀρματωσίες εἶχαν περίσσια χάρη, | διατι 'σανε τοῦ γέροντος κ' ἦσαν προβαρισμένες | καὶ, ἀπούθεν ἤθελαν 'βρεθεί, ἦσαν τιμημένες *Apoll. Rim.* A 702–4; ἡ Τάρσια στα γράμματα ἐξέβηκε τὴν φύση, | σ' ὅ,τι τῆς ἠθέλες εἰπεῖ, ἤξευρε νὰ 'μιλήσει *ibid.* 1143–4

καὶ ὅταν ἤθελε βαρέσει ὁ ἄνεμος, ἐσειέτον ὁ πλάτανος *Chron.* 1570 632.1–2

5.6.2 εἶχα/ἤθελα + Present Infinitive

Εἶχα + present infinitive can be equivalent to an imperfect, expressing a state in the past (for its use as a pluperfect see 5.3.1.1). This use has been found in texts from the Heptanese, the Peloponnese and Crete:

καὶ εἶχεν ὀρίζει τὸ Δοράχι ὁ αὐθέντης ὁ Ρουμπέρτος *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 420.17–18 (= ὀρίζεν; Robertos is still the ruler of Dyttachion)

ἓνα ἀγριογούρουνον ἐπήγε ν' ἀκονίζει | τὰ δόντια τοῦ εἰς δένδρον, εἶχε τὰ καλλωπίζει | μὴ ἀλεποῦ ἠρώτησε τὴν ἀφορμὴ νὰ μάθει *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 53.1–3 (= ἐκαλλώπιζε); ἤκουσε κὶ ἐκλαίγε παιδί καὶ γραῖα ποὺ 'χε κράζει: "ὦ λύκε ἐπαρ' το παιδί, γιατί πολλά φωνάζει" *ibid.* 137.3–4 (= ἐκραζε); μόνον τὴν γραῖαν ἤκουσε πάλαι οὗ ποὺ 'χε λέγει *ibid.* 137.10 (= ἔλεγε)

ἔναν ἀδελφόν ἀπού ἤθελεν ἔχει ὁ ἄρχων ἐκείνος *MOREZINOS, Klini* 50.11–12

κ' ὅπου 'χεν ἀγαπᾶ κιαμιὰ, χρεῖά 'τον σὲ ρουφιάνες | μέρα καὶ νύχτα νὰ γλακᾶ *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.306 (= ἀγαποῦσε)

μ' ἔπαιρνε εἰς τὸν τόπο ἀπού 'χε πηλαίνει | συχνὰ ἡ νεράϊδα τούτη *Pist. voskos* II 1.141–2 (= ἐπήγαγε)

ἐκεῖ ἐστεκόντησαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ... καὶ δὲν εἶχανε ἡξέρει ἀκόμη τὸ κακὸ καὶ τὸν τζακισμό *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 59.26 (= ἡξεραν); τότε εὔρεθη ἓνας ἀρνιγάδος, ὅπου ἦτονε πρῶτα χριστιανός, ὅπου ἦτονε Ταλιάνος, καὶ εἶχε ξέρει ἀπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν λέγουσι Πό, ὅπου ἀπερνοῦσι τὰ πλεούμενα, καὶ ἐδιάρη καὶ εἶπε τοῦ Σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη ὅτι ... *ibid.* 81.2–5 (= ἡξερε)

ὅταν ἤθελε ἔχει ὁ στρατιώτης ζήτησιν διὰ γυναῖκα, ὑπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν ἐταιριάρχην *Alex. Fyll.* 41.6–7

When ἤθελα is complemented by a present infinitive, the construction is always equivalent to an imperfect, not a pluperfect, as it represents a state or something that is ongoing in the past. It has been found in texts from the Aegean, Crete and the Heptanese, as well as in a text written in Preveza on behalf of Francesco Morosini (provenance of its author, Alesandro Lokadelinis, unknown):

προικίον ὅπου ἤθελεν τὸ ἔχει ἀπὸ τὸν πατέρα της (1598, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1999a: 81, 109.6) κ' ἡ 'Ερωφίλη, ἀπού 'θελεν ἔχει τσι χρόνους μου ἴσα, | σὰ νὰ 'θελά 'σται ἀδέρφι τση μ' ἀγάπησε περίσσια *CHORTATIS, Erof.* I.153–4

μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐθέλετε ὀμπλιγάρεσθαι νὰ δίνετε ἐκείνον ὅπου ἐδίνετε τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀπερασμένης ἀμάχης (1684, Preveza, *CHAVIARAS* 1879: 1, 251.8–9)

εἰμητὰ δντες ἤθελε τῶσε δουλεύει τοῦ 'δῶνασιν ψωμί καὶ ἡτρωγεν (1685, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA* et al. 1982/83: 604, 834.3)

(ἓνας Γιάκομος Πετρόπουλος ...) ἤθελε ἔχει πολὺν ἔρωτα διὰ μίαν κορασίδα *PYRRIS, Diig. panouklas* 110.6

μὰ ἡ κουβέντα ἤθελε τὸ φέρνει *KATSAITIS, Klathmos* III.279

5.6.3 εἶχα/ἤμουν + Perfect Passive Participle

The construction εἶχα/ἤμουν + perfect passive participle is widely used for the pluperfect (see 5.3.1.2), but sometimes it can be equivalent to a simple past, expressing anteriority in relation to the present rather than to a point in time in the past.

Active

ἐχάσετε τὸ δάσκαλο τὸν πολυαγαπημένο | κὶ ἐγώ, ἡ πτωχή, τὸν Κύριο μου, τὸν εἶχα γεννημένο *FALIEROS, Thrinos* 90 (the implied ἔχασα refers to the present)

τὴν εἶχα χαμένη ἀφόντου τὴν ἔδειξα (1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 126, 86.31); ὅκ τὰ ὁποῖα ἐμολογάγουν πῶς εἶχαν λαβωμένα δουκάτα ἐξί (*ibid.* 205, 124.13)

τὰ σπίτια ὅπου ... ἔχει τὴν σήμερον ..., τὰ ὁποῖα λέσι ... πῶς τὰ εἶχαν πουλημένα οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν ἄνωθεν χηράδω (1600, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 84, 101.6–8); ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ 'χεν κάποια χωράφια καὶ ἄλλα πράματα πουλημένα τῇ κερα-Ἐργίνας ... ἴτσι τὴν σήμερον ... λέγει ... (1605, *ibid.* 344, 323.2–4)

Passive

Where the passive construction is concerned, if it is not a pluperfect (see 5.3.1.2), it usually represents a stative past, with the participle functioning as an adjective (ἦτον σφαλισμένη, ἦσαν κατοικισμένοι). Rarely it may represent an aorist, expressing an action/event (ἦτονε προβαλμένη) that follows another action/event in the past (ἔνοιξε): τὴν πόρταν ἔνοιξεν, ὅπου 'τον σφαλισμένη, | φλόγα πολλή ἀπὸ φωτιάς ἦτονε προβαλμένη *CHOUNOS, Kosmog.* 1105–6; ἦσαν κατοικισμένοι *AITOLOS, Ais. Myth.* 19.1.

5.6.4 εἶχα + Aorist Subjunctive

The construction εἶχα + aorist subjunctive is usually used for the pluperfect (see 5.3.1.6 for details on geographical spread), but sometimes it can be equivalent to a simple past, expressing anteriority in relation to the present rather than to a point in time in the past: τὰ μάτια θυμῶντας τὰ ἐκεῖνα ποὺ εἶχαν δοῦσι | τὰ χεῖλη μου τοῦ ταπεινοῦ φρίττουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσι *Rim. Sant.* 119–20; δός μου κ' ἐσύ τὸν πόθον σου πρῶτα σὰν μοῦχες τάξεις *SOUMMAKIS, Past. Fid.* E8r.29.

5.6.5 εἶχα + Present Subjunctive

Εἶχα + present subjunctive can sometimes be equivalent to an imperfect, expressing a state in the past: καὶ 'δράμασι μὲ τὴν χαράν, γιατί εἶχας θαρροῦσι | οἱ πέτρες βάρκες νὰ 'τονε, καὶ πῆγας νὰ δοῦσι *Rim. Sant.* 755–6.

5.6.6 ἤμην + Present Participle

The obsolete construction ἤμην + present participle is sometimes used in mixed- and higher-register texts to express an imperfect: καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πάλιν ἦν φροντίζων [*ANDR. PALAIOI.*], *Kallim.* 411; ἀλλ' ὅμως ἦν εὐχαριστῶν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τούτῳ *Dig.* A 4275.

5.7 The Subjunctive

In LMedG and EMG the subjunctive can be expressed periphrastically. The most common and well-known periphrasis is *ἔχω* + infinitive, which is also used to express the future indicative (see 5.1.3.1). Its use as a subjunctive predates the period covered by this Grammar (see MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 150–5 for discussion and bibliography). In the majority of cases the construction appears in clauses introduced by *νὰ* (in various functions, see MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 150), though several examples have been found where the clause is introduced by a different conjunction (*ἄν*, *ἀφόντις*), a particle (*ἄς*) or a negative (*οὐ μή*).

Multiple examples have been found in texts from south-western areas, but the examples from S. Italy and Glykas, as well as the single, and surprisingly late, example from Naxos, indicate that the construction had a wider geographical distribution.

Other complementations, though rarer, are also possible for *ἔχω*. Several examples have been found of the perfect subjunctive (for which see 5.4.1), *ἔχω* + perfect passive participle, used instead of the aorist subjunctive. There is also a “legalese” variant found in documents and texts from the Heptanese, which makes use of the conditional *εἴχα* + infinitive (for which see 5.2.2.1).⁶⁶ Given the modal character of *ἔχω*, the construction may sometimes have deontic, potential or other modal connotations, without, however, ceasing to be futurative: *δός με ἄλογα καὶ συντροφίαν τοῦ νὰ ἔχω ὑπαγαίνει Chron. Mor. H 2414* (intentional “so that I can be on my way”); *καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἐδῶ θανατωθῇν Liv. V 2603, Liv. α 2960 and Liv. S 1673* (Lambert-van der Kolf) (deontic “if I must die here”); *μὴ συκοφάντην πτοηθῇς, ... | ἂν ἔχη τὸ κοντάριν του φθάσειν εἰς τὸ Δυρράχιν GLYKAS, Stichoi 347–8* (potential “if his spear might reach Dyrrachion”).

The other auxiliary verbs that are used to form the future indicative may also be used to form a subjunctive (BĂNESCU 1915: 90; MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 169–70), most notably *θέλω*, including its shortened forms *θέ* and *θά*, and, very rarely, *μέλλω*. Contrary to the *ἔχω* + infinitive construction, which may express a plain subjunctive and is also used in past contexts, *θέλω* and *μέλλω* only occur in futural and final contexts. Finally, a “legalese” variant has been found in a Heptanesian document (Corfu), which makes use of the conditional *ἤθελα* + infinitive (for which see 5.2.3.1).

5.7.1 *ἔχω*

Subjunctive	General	Restricted	Rare
Aorist	<i>ἔχω γράψει(ν)</i>	<i>εἴχα γράψει(ν)</i>	<i>ἔχω γραμμένο(ν)</i>
Present	<i>ἔχω γράφει(ν)</i>		

⁶⁶ The following one-off example in Ioakeim Kyprios's *Struggle*, *θέλομεν ἔχειν νὰ εἰπείν καὶ διὰ τοὺς συμβούλους IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 1867*, which combines the infinitive of *ἔχω* (after the control verb *θέλω*) with *νὰ* + infinitive, appears to be a curiosity rather than a “real” construction.

5.7.1.1 *ἔχω* + Infinitive

As noted in the introduction to this section, *ἔχω* + infinitive appears before the period covered by this Grammar,⁶⁷ and examples have been found well into the 17th c. The auxiliary *ἔχω* is usually followed by an aorist infinitive, expressing a simple action/event. Examples of the present infinitive occur in the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *War of Troy*, and they are normally used to express a state or an ongoing or repeated action/event. The present infinitive is not restricted to verbs that do not have a perfective stem. When the imperfective and perfective stems of a verb are homophonous, an ostensible present infinitive may in fact represent an aorist infinitive: *τῆς γῆς γὰρ καὶ τῆς θάλασσης, βούλεται νὰ ἔχη βάλλει | φύλαξιν Chron. Mor. H 2899–900*, for which read: *βάλλει*.

ἔχω + Aorist Infinitive

ὅστις ἂν ἔχει εὐρεθῇ μετατρέπων καὶ διασείων (... ἔστω ἀναθεματισμένος) (1050, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 37, 46.39–40)

μὴ συκοφάντην πτοηθῇς, ἂν ἔχη δρακοντιάσειν GLYKAS, Stichoi 347

στὴν Βενετίαν ἀπήλθασι διὰ νὰ ἔχουσιν περάσει Chron. Mor. H 404; καὶ πῶς νὰ ἔχη γενεῖ, νὰ τοὺς ἀποφληθοῦμε; ibid. 610; ἐδῶ ποὺ εὐρίσκεστε ἐνομοῦ, ἄς ἔχωμεν συντύχει ibid. 2837; καὶ θέλω νὰ σᾶς ἔχω εἰπεῖ καὶ νὰ σᾶς ἀφηγήσω ibid. 3140.

ὥσόντου ὁ βασιλέας | ὑπάγη νὰ ἔχη κοιμηθῇ Pol. Tr. 410–11; καὶ θάρρος ἔχω εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πρὶν παροῦ νὰ ἀποθάνω | νὰ ἐπάρω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν, πολλοὶ νὰ τὸ ἔχουν κλαύσει ibid. 1184–5; τοὺς θέλω κάμει, μάθε το, διὰ νὰ μὲ ἔχουν γνωρίσει ibid. 2624; ὥσόντου νὰ ἔχουσι βραχὴ ibid. 6832; ἐμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ ἔχη διαβῇ τὸ κάθισμαν ἐτοῦτο ibid. 8989

δὲν μὲ θέλεις καταπεῖση | ἡ βουλή σου νὰ ᾿χη γένη ERMON., Ilias 8.53–4 (hapax)

οὐ μὴ τοὺς ἔχης λείπει Chron. Mor. P 239

μὴ νὰ ᾿χη φύγει θάνατον παντοτινὸν καὶ κρίσιν Defi. Par. 272

καὶ ποτὲ διὰ κανέναν καιρὸν κανεὶς ἀπὸ τοῖς ἐδικοῖς τῆς νὰ μὴν ἔχει τρομήξει νὰ κοντραδίρει στὸ λεγόμενον ψυχικόν (1576, Naxos, VISVIZIS 1951: 79, 98.15–16) (τρομήξει = τολμήσει, see 2.2.1.9.2)

τὸ ρέστος νὰ τοῦ τὰ δίδει ἀφόντις ἔχει φινίρει τὸν καιρὸν του (1685, Zakynthos, VAYAKAKOS 1954: 34, 64.3)⁶⁸

ἔχω + Present Infinitive

κι οὐκ ἔχουν ἄλλον φυσικὸν νὰ τοὺς ἔχη ἀφεντεύει Chron. Mor. H 836; τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσουσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ πῶς νὰ ἔχουν διάζει ibid. 3818; ὁ πρίγκιπας ἀφκράζετον τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ λόγια | κ' ἐσκόπα πῶς ν' ἀποκριθῇ ὅπως νὰ μὴ ἔχη σφάλλει ibid. 4252–3; ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἤμποροῦν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει | ἀφῶν ἔχει σωτάρχισιν κ' ἐνὶ ἀφρωμένον ibid. 8273–4 πολλὴν νὰ τὸ ἔχουν κλαίει Pol. Tr. 1185 app. crit. (B) (but read: πολὺν); διὰ τοῦτο ἐνὶ χρήσιμον βουλήν νὰ ἔχωμεν ἔχει ibid. 7869

⁶⁷ See MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 151–2 for an example in a 6th/7th-c. papyrus.

⁶⁸ There are several reasons why this example from Zakynthos should be interpreted as a subjunctive (“after he finishes”) rather than a perfect (“after he has finished”) or a future perfect (“after he will have finished”). Firstly, in a futurative context the conjunction *ἀφόντις* always takes the subjunctive. Secondly, in the period covered by this Grammar the construction *ἔχω* + infinitive is very rare for the perfect, with only a handful of examples, all from northern regions and none from the Heptanese (see 5.4.1.6). Thirdly, and predictably because of the tense's general rarity, no examples have been found of this construction with the future perfect (see 5.5).

5.7.1.2 ἔχω + Perfect Passive Participle

The perfect subjunctive ἔχω + perfect participle is sometimes used where one would expect an aorist subjunctive.⁶⁹ It occurs in futural contexts and is not restricted to versified texts. The use of this construction perhaps stresses the urgency or desirability of the action in question:

μὰ θέλω κανενὸς πτωχοῦ νὰ τὸ ᾿χω δανεισμένον *Fyll. gadar. 276b*
τὸ δίκαιον ὀρίζει ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐντέχεται νὰ ἔχη καμωμένη τὴν αἵτησιν *Assizes B 357.22–3*
καὶ ᾿σκόπα πῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ καμωμένο | στὴν δουλосύνην τοῦ Θεσέου νὰ
τὸν ἔχουν βαλμένον *Theseid IV 48,8 ms P (f. 32v) [ed. 1529: καὶ σκόπα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα*
μέ τὴν πιδεξοσύνη | πῶς γὰρ νὰ ἔμπει στοῦ Θεσίου τὸ σπῖτι σ' δουλосύνη]

An example of a passive variant of the construction, consisting of εἶμαι + participle, has also been found: γρικώντας κείνα Δάρειος, εἶπε διὰ νὰ γένῃ, | ἐπιστολὴ ἐγλήγορα γὰ νὰ ᾿ναι γεναμένη *Alex. Rim. 798* ("listening to all that, Darius said that it should be done, [and] that a letter should quickly be written").

5.7.1.3 εἶχα + Infinitive

Εἶχα + infinitive is a "legalese" construction, which may replace the (futurative) aorist subjunctive in commands introduced by νὰ and in complement clauses. Examples have been found in Heptanesian (Kefalonian) documents and in *Bertoldos* (for its use as a future-referring conditional see 5.2.2.1):

ἐπρόσταξε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Βασιλεὺς, ὅτι πάραυτα νὰ εἶχαν ὑπάγει διὰ τὸν νοδάρων ... διὰ νὰ
τοῦ τὸ διαβάσει κατὰ παρησίαν τοῦ *Bertoldos 80.33–4*; ἄρχισεν νὰ κάμει ἰνστάτζια νὰ
ἰδοῦν ποῦ νὰ εὐρίσκεται τὸ παιδὶν τοῦ ὁ Μπερτολδίνος καὶ ἡ Μαρκόλφα μάννα του, καὶ νὰ
εἶχαν τοὺς φέρει εἰς τὴν χώραν *ibid. 85.10–13*
(ἐσυνφώνησε ... νὰ φτιάσει ... τὰ διάστυλα ... με ξύλα ὀλολάρζινα ...), τὴν ὅποιαν ξυλὴν νὰ
τὴν εἶχε βάλει ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς μάστορας (1646, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1970:
1, 250.4–5)
σὲ ὅ,τι θέλει λάβει, νὰ μὴν εἶχε εἰπεῖ κανεὶς ... (1677, Kefalonia, MOSCHOPOULOS 1981: 3,
288.26–7); ὅποτες μοῦ ἔλθῃ θάνατος, νὰ εἶχε στείλῃ ὁ ἄνδρας μου ... (*ibid. 288.33*)

5.7.2 θέλω

Subjunctive	General	Restricted	Rare
Aorist	θέλω γράψῃ(ν)	θέλω νὰ γράψω θὲ νὰ γράψω	ἤθελα γράψῃ(ν) θὰ γράψω
Present	θέλω γράφῃ(ν)		

⁶⁹ Cf. the normal use of the perfect subjunctive: ἀνίσως καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἄλλες διαθήκες γενάμενες, κόβω καὶ λιώνω (1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 11, 36.44–5) ("if I have made other wills, I declare [them] null and void"); καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν διὰ νὰ εἶναι παρακαλεσμένοι ἀπὸ φίλους τοὺς *SOFIANOS, Paidag. 102.7–8* ("and others [entrust their children to bad teachers], because they have been asked [to do so] by friends").

5.7.2.1 θέλω + Infinitive

The earliest example found so far of θέλω + infinitive used instead of the subjunctive dates to the 13th c.⁷⁰ No examples have been found after the 16th c. The most common complementation for θέλω is the aorist infinitive. The present infinitive typically occurs with verbs that lack perfective morphology (ἔχω) and after aspectual verbs (ἄρχασαν, ἄρξασιν):

θέλω + Aorist Infinitive

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχει ὁ Δημήτριος τὴν δοίκησίν του ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριν, ὥσποτε νὰ θέλῃ ἐξελθεῖν νὰ
ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν (ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9)
νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ ἔχουν πλευτικά, νὰ θέλουσιν περάσει | στὸν ἄγιον τάφον τοῦ Χριστοῦ *Chron. Mor. H 331–2*; τοὺς τόπους ὅπου ἐπρονοιάστησαν νὰ τοὺς ἔχουν κερδίσει, | κ' ἐκεῖνους ὅπου
οὐκ εἶχασιν νὰ θέλουν κουγκεστήσει *ibid. 2020–1*; νὰ τοὺς καλέσῃ, με ἄρματα νὰ ἔλθουν νὰ
μᾶς βοηθήσουν, | τὰ κάστρη ὅπου μᾶς μάχονται νὰ θέλωμεν τὰ πάρει *ibid. 2637–8*
κύρ Ἥλιε, τί νὰ ποιήσωμεν τὸ ἀδελφί μας νὰ εὐροῦμεν, | καὶ πῶς νὰ τὴν γνωρίσωμεν, νὰ τὴν
θέλωμεν θάψῃ; *Dig. E 91–2*
καὶ οὐδὲν τοὺς ἄφηκε καὶ αὐτοὺς νὰ θέλουν πολεμήσει *Pol. Tr. 3298*; ὀψιδας ἄς ζητήσωμεν,
κάμε νὰ θέλουν ἔλθῃ *ibid. 5639*; ἀπεδὰ με φαίνεται νὰ θέλωμεν κερδίσει | καλὰ τοὺς
ἀντιδίκους μας *ibid. 8045*; τέτοιον γομάριν βούλεται νὰ θέλῃ περιλάβει *ibid. 12568*
τὸ νὰ τὸ θέλεις μάθειν | εἰς ἑκατὸν νὰ διαρραγῇ, νομίζω, ἐκ τὴν λύπην *Liv. V 80–1*
πολλὰ ἐπιβουλεύτηκα νὰ τῆς τὴ θέλω πάρει *Synax. gadar. 166*
ὁ δε Ζεὺς ... εἶπεν ὅτι τότε θέλουν ἐλευθερωθούσιν ἀπὸ τὴν κακοπάθειαν [sc. οἱ γαϊδάροι],
ὅταν κατουρώντας νὰ θέλουν κάμει ποταμόν *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth. 92.4–6*

θέλω + Present Infinitive

οἱ Φράγκοι ὥκονομήθησαν νὰ θέλουν ὑπαγαίνει | ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὸ ταξίδιν τοὺς *Chron. Mor. H 705–6* ("they prepared to be on their way"); καὶ τοὺς Λουμπάρδους ἄρχασαν νὰ τοὺς θέλουν
τοξεύει *ibid. 1067*; ὅπου ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πρίγκιπα διαβόντα εἰς τὸν Μορέαν | καὶ ἄρξασιν νὰ
λέγουσιν, νὰ θέλουν ἀφηγᾶσαι *ibid. 6447–8*
διὰ τοῦτο εἶναι χρήσιμον βουλὴν νὰ θέλωμ' ἔχει *Pol. Tr. 7869 app. crit. (X)*

5.7.2.2 θέλω νὰ + Subjunctive

Substitution of θέλω νὰ + subjunctive for θέλω + infinitive is not very common. In fact, the following examples can best be viewed as use of the future indicative instead of the subjunctive: τὰ θαλάσσια ἐγνωρίζουσιν ὅταν θέλῃ νὰ ἀλλάξῃ ὁ καιρὸς *LANDOS, Georon. 131.14–15*; ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ τὸ ζυμώσῃς, ἀπομένει τὸ ἄλως *ibid. 140.30–1*.

5.7.2.3 ἤθελα + Infinitive

A "legalese" construction, ἤθελα + infinitive may replace the (futurative) aorist subjunctive. An example has been found in a Heptanesian (Corfiot) document (for its use as a future-referring conditional in indefinite relative clauses see 5.2.3.1): ὑπόσχεται ... ὅτι ... νὰ μὴδὲν ἤθελε γυρεῦσει τὴν κληρονομιά (1541, Corfu, RODOLAKIS/PAPARRIGA-ARTEMIADI 1996: 11, 223.13–14).

⁷⁰ Although a volitive reading ("until he wishes to leave") cannot be excluded entirely, a 14th-c. copyist who adapted the document to a higher linguistic register substituted an aorist subjunctive (ἐξέλθῃ, "until he leaves") for the construction. For discussion of this example see also MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 169–70.

5.7.2.4 *θέ νά + Subjunctive*

The construction *θέ νά + subjunctive*, which is very common with volitive meaning (see 2.4 s.v. (ἐ)θέλω) and to express the future (see 5.1.4.6), can sometimes be found as a periphrasis for the subjunctive in texts from Cyprus and Crete, though it cannot be excluded that the examples involving *άν* are rather instances of the use of the future indicative in place of the subjunctive:

- άν* *θενά* μπούν από την τρύπα MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 498.18
άν *θενά* πᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμόχουστον MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 286.37
 μα ἔγω δεν τῶς οργίζομαι σ' ὅ,τι κι α θε νά πούσι CHORTATSI, *Panor.* V.14
 μα ἔγω δεν τοὺς ὀργίζομαι, ὅ,τι κι ἄ θε νά ποῦσι Stathis Prol.10
άν ἔνε καὶ ... ἤθελεν θελήσει ... νά θε νά σπείρουν τὰ λεγόμενα χωράφια (1602, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 132, 146.11–12)
 κι ὅπου κι ἄ θε νά ξοριστῇ, πέμπει νά τὸν ξεδράμη KORNAOS, *Erot.* III.1171; ὅ,τι κι ἄ θε νά πᾶθωμε *ibid.* IV.122

5.7.2.5 *θά*

The construction *θά + subjunctive* is first encountered in Cretan texts of the late 16th c. as a future periphrasis (see 5.1.5). In the same area it may also be used to reinforce the subjunctive (see MARKOPOULOS 2006: 240–2 for the modern dialect):

θά + Aorist Subjunctive

- θυμοῦμαι τινε μιὰ φορὰ νά θά διαβῇ στον Ἄδη CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.353; μ' ἄλλοι παρὰ παιδί σου | τόση μεγάλη βασιλεία νά θά κληρονομήσου | κρίμα πολὺ μοῦ φαίνεται *id.*, *Erof.* V.623–5
 δντε θά τὸ σκεπάση (1606, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 396, 369.9)
 (ἀποκοτῶ ...) τοῦτη τὴν κωμῶδιά μου | εἰς τ' ὄνομά σου τὸ ψηλὸ νά θά καθιερώσω
 FOSKOLOS, *Fort. Dedic.* 36–7; λογιᾶζω ἢ ἀφεντιά σου | νά θά γενῆς πρᾶματευτῆς *ibid.* III.15–16
 κι ἂν ἔναι καὶ λογιᾶσω κιὰς νά θά τὴν ἀποβγάλω TROILOS, *Rodol.* I.377

θά + Present Subjunctive

- πάραυτας βάνεις σ' ὀρδινιά τοῦ Πριάπου τὴ ντοτρίνα | νά θά μοῦ δείχνεις FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* I.414–15; ἀρχίζει | ἀγάλια ἄγνια ... νά θά μοῦ ξανελίξη *ibid.* V.59–60

5.7.3 *μέλλω + Infinitive*

In the period covered by this Grammar *μέλλω + infinitive* is very rarely used instead of the aorist subjunctive. See MARKOPOULOS 2009a: 123–4 for a discussion of this example in a document from S. Italy: ⁷¹ *ἵνα μέλλει ποιῆσαι ... ἀγορὰν* (1270, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 323, 476.25–6).

⁷¹ The use of *μέλλω* after *ἵνα* predates the LMedG period, with several examples from about the 4th c. onwards (see the online *TLG*). In most examples *μέλλω* appears to have been added to reinforce the “destiny-future” meaning (cf. MARKOPOULOS 2009a) of the subordinate clause (e.g. σπούδασον ἅπερ συνέθου ποιῆσαι τοῦ μὴ κακοποιῆσαι αὐτήν, *ἵνα μὴ μέλλῃς τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀπολαμβάνειν* in the *Life of St Theodore Sykeotes*). However, examples in which *ἵνα + μέλλω + inf.* is simply futurate also occur, e.g. *ἵνα μὴ μέλλῃς λέγειν* in John Chrysostom (4th c.).

5.7.4 *πᾶ (νά) + Subjunctive*

Another construction consists of a shortened form *πᾶ* (for which see also 2.4. s.v. ὑπάγω) followed by *νά + subjunctive*. Although it clearly expresses futurity, the idea of motion is always present:

- νά πᾶ νά πινεθοῦμεν Achil.* L 152 ms (ed. πᾶν)
ἐνι κρατημένοι νά πᾶ νά δοῦν Assizes A 108.30
νά πᾶ νά ἀπλικέφουν MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 94.18–19
νά πᾶ νά κοιμηθοῦμε Fyll. gadar. 15e
ὀγιά νά πᾶ νά φᾶσι Apoll. Rim. V 774
νά πᾶ νά βροῦμε Vosk. 121
νά πᾶ νά τὴν ἀγκαλιαστῶ MONTSEL., Evgena 604
νά πᾶ νά βασανίζεστε BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 431.25
νά πᾶ νά ἀφιερωθοῦν (1673, Sikinos, ZERLENDIS 1913a: 139.33)

Invariable *πᾶ + bare subjunctive*, in which the conjunction *νά* has been omitted or incorporated into *πᾶ* (cf. *θελά* (5.1.4.5), *μπορά* (4.1.2.1) and *μελλά* (5.1.2.3)) occurs occasionally: *θέλω νά πα μισέψω CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.115; *πῶς θές νά πᾶ τοὺς βροῦμεν Pist. voskos* V 2.231; *νά πᾶ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου* (1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15).

5.7.5 *θέλω ἔρθῃ νά + Subjunctive*

The rare construction *θέλω ἔρθῃ νά + subjunctive* occurs in a text from the Heptanese. The use of *ἔρχομαι* is probably due to Italian influence (see GIACALONE RAMAT/SANSÒ 2014: 24–34 for the use of *venire* as an auxiliary in Old Italian vernaculars, though in Italian it is complemented by a participle or adjective); cf. the conditional, 5.2.5, where the aorist indicative of *ἔρχομαι* has been found in texts from Cyprus: *ἂν ἡ πόλβερη θέλει ἔρθῃ νά βραχεῖ* (15th/16th c.?, Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.1).